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ABSTRACT

This volume contains 21 papers commissioned by the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force, the first of which is an introduction that outlines the work of the Task Force and summarizes issues discussed at 7 regional hearings. Based on testimony and written materials submitted to the Task Force by hundreds of educational practitioners and concerned citizens, the papers provide in-depth analyses of current conditions in Native education and set forth rationale, plans, and strategies for the improvement of American Indian and Alaska Native education. The focus is on action to ensure high quality academic programs delivered in a Native cultural context. The topics of the 20 papers that follow the introduction are: current conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native communities; current demographics and trends in Native American education; responsibilities and roles of governments and Native people in Native education; funding and resources; Native and non-Native teachers and administrators for schools serving Native students; continuous evaluation of Native education programs; early childhood education in Native communities; plans for dropout prevention and special school support services; improving parent participation; incorporating Native languages and culture into the curriculum; strategic plans for the use of modern technologies in Native education; curricula for reading and language arts, mathematics and science, and history and social studies; gifted and talented Native students; Native Americans with disabilities; Native higher education; tribal colleges; adult literacy and vocational and technical education; and a concluding prospectus on change and development for Native education. (SV)

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INDIAN NATIONS AT RISK

TASK FORCE COMMISSIONED PAPERS

Submitted by: The U.S. Department of Education

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Indian Nations At Risk Task Force: Listen to the People

G. Mike Charleston and Gaye Leia King
Project Director and Deputy Project Director
Indian Nations At Risk Task Force

Purpose of the Supplemental Volume

This volume of commissioned papers is not another study about the plight of American Indians and Alaska Natives. The commissioned papers are about solutions to the problems facing Native education and, in fact, all American education. The purpose of these papers is to review current Native education and set forth rationale, plans, and strategies as an *Educational Strategy for Action for Indian Nations At Risk*.

This supplemental volume of commissioned papers is the primary product of the work of the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force. It is intended to serve specific needs of the Task Force and the broader needs of Native students, educators, legislators, and administrators involved in the education of Native people. These papers provided the Task Force with analyses of the current conditions and the knowledge and wisdom of hundreds of Native and non-Native practitioners and concerned people presented through testimony and submissions to the Task Force. It provided the expertise of professionals in the disciplines. The focus is on action to insure the highest quality enriched academic programs delivered in a Native cultural context. A context in which Native culture and language and the role and status of tribal society in the education of Natives are paramount.

A description of the process used by the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force in the development of the supplemental volume of commissioned papers and the Final Report follows.

The Task Force

In order to determine solutions to the problems faced by American Indians/Alaska Natives in reaching their fullest potential, Education Secretary Lauro F. Cavazos established the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force on March 8, 1990. The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force was comprised of 14 individuals. The Task Force was chartered to summarize and make practical recommendations for action to be taken by educators, boards of education, public officials, state and local government, the federal government, affected tribes, parents, students, and others having a vital interest in the education of American Indians/Alaska Natives.

The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force was co-chaired by:

- **William Demmert, Jr.** (Tlingit/Sioux), Visiting Professor of Education at Stanford University and former Commissioner of Education for the State of Alaska, and
- **Terrel H. Bell**, noted lecturer and former United States Secretary of Education.

The other Task Force members were:

- **David L. Beaulieu** (Minnesota Chippewa), Minnesota Department of Education's Indian Education Manager;
- **Joseph H. Ely** (Paiute), Stetson Engineering, Inc.

and past Pyramid Lake Paiute Tribal Chair;

- **Byron F. Fullerton**, attorney and former Dean at Texas Tech School of Law;
- **Norbert S. Hill, Jr.** (Oneida), Executive Director for the American Indian Science and Engineering Society;
- **Hayes A. Lewis** (Zuni), Superintendent for Zuni Public School District;
- **Bob G. Martin** (Cherokee), President of Haskell Indian Junior College;
- **Janine Pease-Windy Boy** (Crow), President of Little Big Horn College;
- **Wilma Robinson** (Creek), Director of Tribal Development for the Choctaw Nation of Oklahoma;
- **Ivan L. Sidney** (Hopi), Assistant to the Executive Vice President of Northern Arizona University and former Hopi Tribal Chair;
- **Robert J. Swan** (Chippewa-Cree), Federal Projects Coordinator for Rocky

Boy Schools and past President for the National Indian Education Association;

- **Eddie L. Tullis** (Creek), Tribal Chair of the Poarch Band of Creek Indians and Chair of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education; and
- **L. Lamar White** (Creek), Program Director for Instruction Technology, Florida Department of Education Technology Center.

The Task Force staff included: Executive Director, Alan Ginsburg; Project Director, G. Mike Charleston; Deputy Project Director, Gaye Leia King; Program Analyst, Nancy Loy; Administrative Officer, Manny Smith; and Secretary, Margie Lewis. Policy Studies Associates provided staff members Rosiland Hammar and Marjorie Weschler to assist with the summaries of Task Force meetings and hearings.

The Task Force Meetings

The Task Force meetings were held in Washington, D.C. in May, 1990; Juneau, AK, in July, 1990; San Diego, CA, in October, 1990; Palo Alto, CA, in February, 1991; and Washington, D.C. in May 1991. These meetings were announced in the *Federal Register* and were open to the public.

At the first meeting, the Secretary of Education installed the Task Force members and gave a brief speech on the importance of the work to be accomplished. The Task Force then began exchanging views on Native education, developing the Guiding Principles, and establishing Native education goals. The Task Force also began discussing the contents of the Final Report.

In Juneau, the Task Force heard an overview of the BIA Mini-Summits on Indian Education, and discussed the process for developing the Final Report through a national call-for-papers, commissioned papers, regional hearings, and issues sessions to be conducted during the annual conference of the National Indian Education Association (NIEA).

After conducting issues sessions during the NIEA's annual conference held in San Diego, the Task Force reviewed and discussed the outline for the Final Report. Task Force members focused on the need to develop an "attention grabbing" report with "punch," as well as the timing of its release to the Secretary of Education and the public.

At the fourth business meeting at Stanford University, the Task Force discussed and developed the draft of the Final Report. Stanford professors met with the Task Force members and discussed issues related to language acquisition and accountability.

The Task Force met for their last time in May, 1991 to complete the final report. Staff began disseminating 10,000 copies of the Final Report to Native educators and parents, as well as to a broad audience of Congressional representives, state officials, federal agencies, national education associations, and private foundations. Commissioned papers of the Supplemental Volume were distributed to Native tribes and organizations, college and university libraries, and other key information clearinghouses.

Contributions of the Public

The Task Force established serveral methods for obtaining public contributions of information, opinion, materials and testimony: A call-for-papers, public meetings, regional hearings, special issues sessions at the National Indian Education Conference, and site visits by the Task Force staff.

Call-For-Papers

The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force issued a Notice that appeared in the *Federal Register* on July 20, 1990. The Notice invited the public to mail newly prepared or existing relevant papers and/or written testimony on American Indian/Alaska Native education issues directly to the Task Force offices. Over 200 documents were submitted by the public in response to the call-for-papers. These documents were reviewed and catalogued, and copies were distributed to the author of each relevant commissioned paper. The papers constituted a significant resource for use by the Task Force.

Regional Hearings

The Task Force announced regional hearings in the *Federal Register*. One or more Task Force members and staff conducted the hearings throughout the United States: Juneau, AK; Billings, MT; Seattle, WA; Phoenix, AZ; Oklahoma City, OK; St. Paul, MN; and Cherokee, NC. The regional hearings were well attended with hundreds of individuals providing verbal and written testimony. Native and non-Native educators, administrators, government officials, parents, students, and scholars addressed the Task Force on a wide range of issues. Court reporters transcribe the hearings. Soon after each hearing, detailed notes of the proceedings were prepared and made available to all Task Force members and authors and other interested parties. The proceeedings and summaries of the regional hearings are available through ERIC documents. A summary of the results of the regional hearings is provided in this chapter. (See Summary of the Regional Hearings: The Voice of the People provided.)

National Indian Education Association Conference

The Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, in conjunction with the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) conducted 32 special issues sessions at the San Diego, CA, National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Conference on October 15th and 16th, 1990. Each of the two days of sessions was attended by Task Force members and NACIE board members. Most of the sessions were repeated to allow more opportunity for the public and American Indian/Alaska Native educators to present comment in small groups on a variety of key issues.

During these issues sessions, the audience was invited to address the specific issue that was the subject of the session in a discussion format moderated by the chair of the session. The discussion format allowed the presentation and development of ideas with comments from a number of individuals as in a committee or council meeting. This format avoided repetition of the same point or idea by several people and allowed many people from all areas of the country to participate in an organized discussion of important issues.

Individuals interested in participating in any of the issues sessions were asked to complete a brief identification card that was used in all of the sessions. The card was used by participants to indicate to the session chair a desire to speak to the issue through a microphone. The chair moderated the discussion by recognizing speakers and limiting the time of each speaker as necessary to ensure broad participation in the discussion. Individuals could speak repeatedly to the topic in dialogues and discussions. The comments of the chair were limited to a very brief introduction of the session. The intent was to allow maximum opportunity for the audience to address the issues and for the Task Force and NACIE members to listen.

All discussion was recorded for the public record by court reporters and made available in transcripts. The proceedings of each of the sessions were prepared, copied, and distributed to all Task Force members, authors and interested parties. Over 550 individuals participated in the 32 issues sessions. These proceedings are also available through the ERIC system.

Site Visits

While in the field between regional hearing dates, the Task Force staff conducted 33 site visits. These sites were selected based on availability of individuals who were willing to be interviewed and on the vicinity of sites in relation to the regional hearing locations. These site visits produced detailed information on effective practices for use as examples in the development of the Final Report and the Supplemental Volume. Staff conducted informal interviews with over 100 individuals representing parents, school board members, school superintendents, principals, teachers, counselors, students, tribal planners, tribal chairmen, Native spiritual leaders, tribal college presidents, and Native organization directors. Key issues and problems were discussed as well as possible solutions and how best to foster excellence in schools serving American Indians/Alaska Natives.

Staff observed a variety a sites ranging from education cultural centers to public, BIA operated, and Native controlled schools. Specific programs at each site were examined and included: dropout prevention research; dropout prevention through student leadership and career education; alternative schools serving dropouts; drug/substance abuse prevention through teacher and student training; bilingual teacher training; Native language and culture; computer technology in teaching; gifted and talented teacher training; tribal economic development through education; and educational reform planning to increase academic achievement of Native students in 19 dependent rural schools.

Sites were located in a variety of areas across the United States; coast to coast from Quileute Tribal School at La Push, Washington to Robeson County Schools of North Carolina. These sites depicted the diversity as well as the commonality of rural areas like northern Montana's Ft. Peck Community College and Poplar Public Schools to sprawling urban areas like Minnesota's St. Paul/Minneapolis metropolis. A list of these site visits follows.

- Little Big Horn College, Crow Agency, MT on Crow Reservation: *Bilingual Teacher Training Program*.
- Busby School, Lame Deer, MT on Northern Cheyenne Reservation: *Native Contract Elementary School*.
- Dull Knife Memorial College, Lame Deer, MT on Northern Cheyenne Reservation: *Computer Technology in Teaching; and Dropout Prevention Research*.

- Poplar Public School District, Poplar, MT on Ft. Peck Reservation: *Drug/Substance Abuse Prevention through Teacher and Student Training.*
- Ft. Peck Community College, Ft. Peck Agency on Ft. Peck Reservation: *Future Roles of Tribally Controlled Community Colleges.*
- Ft. Peck Tribal Office, Ft. Peck Agency on Ft. Peck Reservation: *Role of Tribes in Education Planning for Tribal Members.*
- Spotted Bull Adolescent Treatment Center, Poplar, MT on Ft. Peck Reservation: *Native Controlled Adolescent Treatment Center.*
- Denver Indian Center, Denver, CO: *Early Childhood Education Program; and Adult Education Program.*
- Council of Energy Resource Tribes (CERT), Denver, CO: *Tribal Economic Development through Energy Resources Management.*
- Native American Rights Fund (NARF), Boulder, CO: *Tribal Education Codes and Roles and Responsibilities of Governments.*
- The Center for Racial and Ethnic Studies, University of Colorado, Boulder, CO: *Philosophical Foundations in Native Education.*
- Quileute Tribal School, La Push, WA on Quileute Reservation: *Native Language and Culture Program.*
- Northwest Indian College, Bellingham, WA: *Alternative High School.*
- Seattle Indian Center, Seattle, WA: *Alternative School for Dropouts; Adult Education for the Homeless; and Life Quest - Youth Leadership Program for At Risk Students.*
- United Indians of All Tribes Foundation, Seattle, WA: *National Education Cultural Center; Early Childhood and Kindergarten Programs; Alternative School for Youth At Risk; and National Native Reader Publication.*
- Seattle Public Schools, Seattle, WA: *Native Urban Education Program.*
- Phoenix Union High School, Phoenix, AZ: *Native Urban Education Program.*
- Phoenix Indian Center, Phoenix, AZ: *Career Education and Dropout Prevention Strategies through Youth Leadership.*
- Salt River Pima-Maricopa Tribal Education Department, Scottsdale, AZ on the Salt River Pima Reservation: *Education Planning for Tribal Members; and Impact Aid Memorandum of Understanding with Mesa Public Schools.*
- Santa Fe Indian School, Santa Fe, NM: *Native Controlled School.*
- Santa Clara Day School, Santa Clara, NM: *BIA Operated Day School.*
- American Indian Graduate Center, Albuquerque, NM: *BIA Contract Scholarships for Graduate Study Program.*
- National Indian Youth Leadership Program, Gallup, NM: *Community Based Youth Leadership Program for At Risk Students.*
- American Indian Research and Development, Inc., Norman, OK: *Native Gifted and Talented Teacher Training Program; and Gifted and Talented Summer and Weekend Enrichment Programs for Native Students.*
- Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma Education Department, Tahlequah, OK: *Tribal Education Department.*
- American Indian Resource Center, Inc., Tahlequah, OK: *Planning for School Reform through Project CRISES - Consortium of Rural Indian Schools for Education Survival.*
- Center School, Minneapolis, MN: *Alternative School for At Risk Native Youth.*
- Heart of the Earth Survival School, Minneapolis, MN: *Native Controlled Elementary and Secondary School Focused on Native Culture and Language.*
- South High School, Minneapolis, MN: *A Native Magnet Public School.*
- Mississippi Band of Choctaws Tribal Education Department, Philadelphia, MS: *Tribal Education Planning.*
- Cherokee Schools, Cherokee, NC: *BIA Operated School.*
- Robeson County Schools, Lumberton, NC: *Native Rural Education Program.*
- Pembroke College, Pembroke, NC: *Recruitment and Retention of Native Students.*

Commissioned Papers

To respond rapidly to the need for information, analyses, and syntheses in preparing the Final Report of the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force, the Planning and Evaluation Service, in the Office of Planning, Budget and Evaluation, contracted for a series of commissioned papers by experts in the field of American Indian/Alaska Native education. Approximately one-half of the papers were commissioned in September 1990. Commissioning of the remainder of the papers was delayed until December, 1990, due to delays in the fiscal year 1991 budget process.

The commissioned papers addressed topics selected by the Task Force which are holistically linked to one another. Each paper addressed a specific set of topics developed by the Task Force staff. To accurately portray the broadest possible perspectives of Natives on the subject topic, the authors utilized information gathered from public testimony at national and regional Task Force meetings and hearings, documents from the national call-for-papers, existing literature and reports on Native education, and research relevant to the topic. The authors were encouraged to communicate and coordinate with one another. The drafts of the papers were compiled into draft book form and were distributed to all of the authors and the Task Force members. The drafts allowed each individual to read and consider the available work of all of the others in the development of their papers. The drafts also provided the Task Force members with a wealth of information for their use in the development of the Final Report.

This paper, *Indian Nations At Risk Task Force: Listening to the People*, provides an overview of the 20 Commissionsed Papers. A listing of the titles and authors of the 20 commissioned papers follows:

Commissioned Papers of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force

Current Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities: Margaret Connell Szasz (Paper 1)

Native American Education at a Turning Point: Current Demographics and Trends: Walter Hillabrant, Mike Romano, and David Stang (Paper 2)

Responsibilities and Roles of Governments and Native People in the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives: Kirke Kickingbird and Mike Charleston (Paper 3)

Funding and Resources for American Indian and Alaska Native Education: William Brescia (Paper 4)

Native and Non-Native Teachers and Administrators for Elementary and Secondary Schools Serving Native Students: Grayson Noley (Paper 5)

Continuous Evaluation of Native Education Programs for American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Richard Nichols (Paper 6)

Early Childhood Education in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities: Alice Paul (Paper 7)

Dropout Prevention and Special School Support Services for American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Jon Reyhner (Paper 8)

Improving Parental Involvement in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Robbin Butterfield and Floy Pepper (Paper 9)

Teaching Through Traditions: Incorporating Native Languages and Cultures into Curricula: Linda Skinner (Paper 10)

Strategic Plans for Use of Modern Technology in the Education of American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Paul Berg and Jason Ohler (Paper 11)

Reading and Language Arts Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indians and Alaska Natives: Gerald Brown (Paper 12)

Mathematics and Science Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Vera Preston (Paper 13)

History and Social Studies Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Schools: Karen Harvey (Paper 14)

Gifted and Talented American Indian and Alaska Native Students: Stuart Tonemah (Paper 15)

American Indian and Alaska Natives with Disabilities: Marilyn J. Johnson (Paper 16)

American Indian and Alaska Native Higher Education: Toward a New Century of Academic Achievement and Cultural Integrity: Bobby Wright (Paper 17)

Tribal Colleges: Underfunded Miracles: Schuyler Houser (Paper 18)

Adult Literacy, Adult Education, and Vocational-Technical Education for American Indians and Alaska Natives: John Hatch (Paper 19)

A Concluding Prospectus on Change and Development for Native Education: David Beaulieu (Paper 20)

Dissemination of Information

The Task Force determined in their first meeting the importance of availability of information collected through the work of the Task Force. Task

Force staff met with ED's Office of Education Research and Improvement (OERI) and the current contractor, Appalachia Educational Laboratory in Charleston, WV, to discuss the availability of key Task Force documents through the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools. Plans were made to submit the following key documents of the Task Force to the ERIC system: the Final Report; the commissioned papers of the Supplemental Volume; proceedings and summaries for each regional hearing; proceedings for each business meeting; and summaries of the 32 issue sessions held in San Diego during the 1990 Annual Conference of NIEA. Individuals may request information on obtaining access to these documents by calling ERIC/Cress on a toll-free number 1-800-624-9120 (in WV-1-800-344-6646) or writing to ERIC/Cress, Appalachia Educational Laboratory, P.O Box 1348, Charleston, WV 25325.

The Task Force staff also developed a dissemination plan to distribute 10,00 copies of the Final Report and 1,000 copies of the commissioned papers of the Supplemental Volume. The Dissemination Plan identified Federal Agencies, Tribal Education Program Officials, Local Education Program Officials, Postsecondary Education Program Officials; State Education Program Officials; Parental and Community Elected and Appointed Officials; Tribal Elected and Appointed Officials; State Elected and Appointed Officials; Federal Elected and Appointed Officials; Educational Organizations; and the Media.

The Task Force staff also compiled a mailing list of individuals requesting a copy of the Final Report and Supplemental Volume through correspondence or sign-up sheets distributed at the Task Force business meetings, regional hearings, and issue sessions.

Summary of the Regional Hearings: The Voice of the People

Many issues and recommendations were brought before the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force during regional hearings which were held on July 16, 1990, in Juneau, AK; August 20, 1990, in Billings, MT; September 5, 1990, in Seattle, WA; September 12, 1990, in Phoenix AZ; September 17-18, 1990 in Oklahoma City, OK; September 21, 1990, in St. Paul, MN; and October 2, 1990, in Cherokee, NC. The following section summarizes the views expressed by the public in the hearings. Presentation of issues are listed in order according to the frequency on which individuals provided comments in their testimony.

Federal Funding of Native Education

Chronic underfunding of all Native education programs must come to an end. Education is a basic part of treaty rights and obligations. Gradual decreases in federal funding for Native education programs are resulting in cuts in essential and desperately needed services. These programs should be exempt from Gramm-Rudman budget cuts.

The quality of Native education at the local level is directly dependent on the levels of federal ED and BIA funding. Local schools cannot effectively address critical problems such as high dropout rates and low academic success without significant increases in federal assistance. Funding for direct educational services, support services, facilities, and libraries is significantly lower for Native students than for their non-Native counterparts.

- A full review of the ISEP formula is necessary since it currently funds programs at one-third less per pupil than public schools.
- BIA education programs should be forward funded to eliminate the tremendously adverse impact of current-year funding.
- Tribal schools should receive direct federal funding for JOM and school lunch programs without the imposition of state and local administration and assessed overhead costs.
- BIA grant and contract schools seriously lack funds for facilities improvement and consequently must operate their programs out of temporary facilities that are often little more than shanties with numerous violations of health and safety codes. Tribes should be allowed to design, finance, and construct their own school buildings and renovation projects with BIA-guaranteed long-term leases to back up construction loans.
- Additional funds must be made available to establish adequate school and community libraries, to address the problem of prohibitively high transportation costs for students on large reservations, and to provide appropriate, well equipped vocational programs.

Funding for Native education programs must be stabilized so that long-range planning can establish the program and staff continuity which are essential to helping Native American youth overcome barriers and achieve academic success.

The federal government should hold public schools accountable for their use of Impact Aid funds. Existing regulations that mandate Native parent and community input must be enforced through sign-off authority. Performance standards should be established for districts serving Native students. When schools do not comply with the regulations or fail to meet performance standards, funds should be withheld and assigned to parents so they might apply them to the education site of their choice.

Regulations should be simplified so that less red-tape and fewer restrictions hamper effective delivery of services.

Teachers and Teacher Training

American Indian and Alaska Native teachers, administrators, counselors, and specialists are needed in schools at all levels and in all areas because Native staff serve as role models for Native students and thus help increase self-esteem. In general, Native staff are more sensitive to the cultural and learning styles of Native students because they share a common cultural and language background.

We must establish targeted incentive and support programs to attract American Indian and Alaska Native young people into the education profession. Increasing the number of Native graduates who return to their own communities to teach would help reduce the high teacher turnover rates in remote locations.

Both Native and non-Native teachers across the country should be required to complete a course in Native history, culture, languages, and educational needs as a part of pre-service training. This would increase their cultural sensitivity and recognition of Native American contributions to the country.

Public schools, especially those serving significant numbers of Native students, should fully utilize in-service days, workshops, and other staff development programs to improve staff ability to effectively teach Native students.

Non-Native teachers who go into Native communities should receive the same kind of language and cultural orientation that Peace Corps volunteers receive before they are posted. Their training should prepare them to recognize the different learning styles of Native students and learn how to provide appropriate instruction (including use of more experiential, participatory, and cooperative learning strategies).

Alternative certification requirements must be instituted to allow tribal Elders and community members with cultural expertise to participate in the instruction of Native children.

Native Parent & Community Participation and Self-Determination

Parents are still not part of the system despite efforts to increase their involvement. They know things must change, but they lack understanding of the system and how to influence it. They are angry, frustrated, and alienated.

- Schools in Native communities should have Native staff to interact with Native parents and create a comfort level that encourages their participation. These schools should have open classrooms where parents are welcome to come any time to observe and participate, and should establish a place where parents can congregate. Schools should offer extended building hours, parent-child library programs, and other family-based programs and services.
- Schools need to be accountable to the communities they serve. They need to reach out by informing and reporting educational realities to their communities and seeking their input.
- Teachers must make it their business to get to know parents, share information with them, and enlist their involvement with the school.
- Parents need training to become active partners in the educational process and advocates with the schools for their own children. Schools should offer this kind of training as well as parenting classes with provisions for transportation and child care services.

Native parents need to be empowered through Native-controlled schools where there is respect for Native values and cultural ways.

- Native communities must be the producers of Native education materials that reflect the language and culture of the local area.
- A Native model of education is a multigenerational model. Schools should welcome the meaningful involvement of Elders in Native education.

The old definition of "getting parents to do what we tell them" must be exchanged for partnerships and shared decision-making.

- In public schools with significant numbers of Native students, participative management that includes Native parents and community members will foster more community awareness of and interest in education.
- There are seldom any Native school board members. We need mandated school board representation for Native people in public schools where there are large percentages (20 percent and up) of Native Americans.
- Parents who serve on school boards need to have training to better understand their roles and more effectively fulfill their responsibilities.

Natives need to be specifically included in national educational reform.

All BIA personnel, nationally and locally, should be required to receive tribal and community recommendations regarding the education programs they manage.

Integration of Native Language and Culture

The preservation of Native languages is of primary importance to the survival of our cultures and to the self-esteem of Native children, which leads to higher academic achievement.

- Extensive curriculum development and training of Native speakers as teachers is necessary to restore Native language capacity. The federal government should initiate a monumental extra effort in this area to compensate for the monumental effort that was expended to eradicate Native languages over the past decades.
- Foreign language requirements in Native schools discredit the importance of Native language. Students should be encouraged, or at least permitted, to study their ancestral language, as well as modern Western European languages, for high school credit and to meet college entrance requirements.

The study of Native American language, law, history, culture, art, and philosophy should be required of students of Native heritage to build pride, confidence, and understanding.

- Where Natives are the majority, efforts should be made to assure that teaching and learning is not only about the culture, but of the culture. More research should be funded to identify and apply culturally relevant pedagogy.
- Culturally appropriate instructional strategies are based on a multi-generational approach that asks students to focus on their own culture, work collaboratively in small groups, seek the wisdom of their Elders, learn from the environment and experience, and demonstrate their learnings from the work they actually produce.
- Native American studies need to be infused into all areas of academic study: art, history, natural sciences, literature, etc.
- Cultural curriculum should be localized to reflect the historical experience, culture, and values of the local and regional Native communities.

Public school curricula for Natives and non-Natives must reflect accurate and balanced instruction in the history and culture of American Indians/Alaska Natives. We need to hear about Native contributions and successes. Very few people know that Native people helped write the Constitution or that a Native was Vice President of this country. More balanced curricula would help non-Native students overcome their unfamiliarity with American Indians/Alaska Natives and increase general respect for their contributions to this country.

Textbook vendors must be firmly persuaded to publish revised texts that do real justice to the contributions of Natives and other minority groups. Paragraphs and sidebars inserted here and there are not an adequate response to this demand.

At the postsecondary level there is a paucity of multicultural and crosscultural programs. Even where courses are offered, "culturally relevant curriculum" is poorly defined and articulated.

More regional Native heritage, cultural and historical societies, and learning centers should be established to help revitalize the values and traditions of Native families and communities, as a way of minimizing social dysfunction.

Postsecondary Education — Financial Aid

In every region inadequate financial aid is viewed as the major reason that Native students leave higher education. Amounts that are currently available do not begin to cover the actual tuition and living costs. Non-traditional older students are especially in need of increased financial aid to meet family responsibilities and cover the cost of off-campus housing and daycare for their children.

- Tribal grants should be considered "sovereignty awards" and should stand apart from the calculation of eligibility for other financial aid.
- Tuition waivers for American Indians/Alaska Natives should be increased at the undergraduate, graduate, and professional levels.
- The "property as an asset" statement should be removed from financial aid qualification calculations since tribal property cannot be sold and its inclusion misrepresents the resources available to grant applicants.
- Native students need increased access to scholarships, fellowships, work-study programs, graduate assistantships, employment opportunities, and internships.
- There must be an increased financial base of support for Native students at sophomore through graduate levels. Major portions of financial aid are now dispersed to first-year students who have the highest attrition rate.
- Students who wish to attend postsecondary vocational training programs rather than a college or university should have equal access to financial aid.

The timing of disbursement for BIA and PELL grants is typically at least three weeks behind registration for Fall semester. Tribal contributions are often inadequate to fully cover fees. This means that students have no money for books (and therefore immediately fall behind in class) or for general living expenses (which creates discouraging personal hardships).

- BIA and PELL grants must be disbursed prior to or not later than Fall registration.
- Tribes should be given responsibility for the administration and disbursement of PELL and BIA grants.
- Book vouchers should be made available at registration to eligible Native students awaiting financial aid, so that they do not have to wait several weeks into the term to purchase textbooks.
- Lack of reliable transportation, especially in rural areas, can become a major barrier to Native students attending college. Funds should be made available to assist colleges serving large numbers of rural Native students in addressing this problem.
- Native students from low income families who attend college away from home are especially penalized by having to move out of dorms during breaks when they also cannot afford to travel home. They should be provided with the same inter-term access to dormitory facilities as are foreign students.

Postsecondary Readiness, Recruitment and Persistence

Unacceptable preparedness for college is a betrayal of American Indian and Alaska Native youth who enter college with inadequate basic language, math, and study skills and are unable to complete their freshman year.

- Identifying and nurturing potential college-bound students should begin in elementary school or at least at the middle school level.
- There must be closer coordination between all levels of education to ensure that every effort is being made to help students finish high school and continue their education.
- Special college preparation and tutorial services need to be provided to Native students at the secondary level.

Natives are underrepresented in higher education in proportion to the general population. Colleges and universities should implement more aggressive recruitment programs to increase the number of Native students who attend college.

- Native high school students must have access to better college counseling. Native schools need to more actively inform themselves and their students about college opportunities. Public school counselors need training to redress their tendency to think minimally about the college potential of Native students.
- There should be greater coordination between high schools and postsecondary institutions that serve large numbers of Native American students.
- Summer on-campus programs like Upward Bound should be more widely available.
- College admissions officers should consider teacher recommendations of Native

applicants as well as test scores in determining acceptance.

The failure rate of Native students in postsecondary institutions is greater than that of any other ethnic group. To reduce college attrition and increase persistence, support services need to be provided to address the social and cultural needs of Native students who often have had limited or no exposure to a college environment.

- College campuses with large concentrations of Native students should develop Native Learning Centers with counseling and tutorial support systems. These Centers should host cultural and social events and also serve as a place where Native students can gather informally and find a support network.
- Currently enrolled Native college students in good standing could be selected and trained to serve as positive peer mentors and "retention specialists" for incoming Native students.
- Postsecondary institutions need to provide Native American students with better career counseling and mentoring programs to increase graduation rates and raise employment aspirations.

Tribal Colleges

Tribally-controlled community colleges are the pride of the Native people. They are currently struggling to serve increasing numbers of students. They need increased support because of the essential role they play in preparing students for entry or return to four-year colleges and universities, or for employment in the Native community.

- Congress needs to fulfill its commitment to tribal community colleges by providing funding of $5,820 for each student.
- Additional funding is urgently needed for facilities renovation and construction.
- At least six more tribal community colleges should be established in states like Oklahoma, California, and New Mexico, which have large Native populations.

Other Postsecondary Concerns

Institutions of higher education must address the challenges of recruitment and retention of minority faculty and staff. Native faculty are often overextended as minority representatives and are not rewarded for necessary work such as counseling Native students, obtaining funding for Native programs, and researching Native topics.

In many rural Native reservations and villages the rate of high school graduates who stay in or return to the community is extremely high. Unemployment is a major problem. Native students should not be taught to feel that pursuing postsecondary vocational education rather than college means failure.

Jobs in Native communities (and elsewhere) often require experience as well as education. Internship programs are needed for college juniors, seniors and graduate students to help them prepare for successful post-graduation employment. Internships could be established in partnership with tribes and Native organizations.

Support Services for At-Risk Native Youth

Many of our children who come from dysfunctional homes are in emotional pain and anger. They end up being suspended, expelled from school, and "thrown away." They are likely to abuse drugs and alcohol, commit suicide, develop emotional problems, or become teenage parents. Support services are necessary to provide a safety net for these children.

- The system and teachers must no longer deliver the standard curriculum without acknowledging that at-risk Native students come to school ill-prepared to learn because they are coming from dysfunctional families. Teachers, administrators, and support staff need training to recognize cries for help.
- Support must be made available to strengthen Native families and help them resolve their problems. For the child whose parents are not supportive, mentoring relationships with other adults may provide an answer.
- Native counselors are needed at all elementary, middle, and senior high school levels to provide culturally sensitive support services.
- Identification and intervention programs should begin early and include counseling on an individual and group basis; mentoring programs should include teacher, peer, and community resources.
- Special efforts should be targeted at the middle-school-age student since this is a critical and vulnerable time when many students are making key life decisions.

More funding is needed for culturally-appropriate substance abuse prevention and dependency programs targeting Native youth. Such programs are essential to guaranteeing safe, disciplined, and drug-free schools.

- These programs must be community based and tribally controlled and must advocate a return to traditional values and wisdom.
- Tribal and community leaders must provide the leadership in such programs to assure their success, since substance abuse problems are a part of the social and economic fabric of many reservations and Native communities.
- These programs must include parents, extended families, and Elders.

Serious and immediate attention must be focused on addressing the alarming increase in incidence of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) and Fetal Alcohol Effect (FAE) children.

Resources are needed to educate young people to avoid teen pregnancy. Failing that, adequate day care must be made available to teen parents to enable them to complete their education.

Comprehensive wellness and health education programs must be provided to address problems that may become barriers to academic success. These programs must be integrated into the curriculum in grades preschool through 12 rather than being offered only as a semester course in high school.

Curriculum and Educational Programs

Native students should have greater access to enriched programs rather than just remedial programs.

- Improved mathematics and science programs for Native Americans are crucial to adequately preparing young people for jobs in the future. These subjects must be taught in enriched, interesting, and creative ways that motivate children. The traditional mathematics and science instructional methods used in the present American education "factory" system have failed to motivate Native and non-Native students. Instruction should include culturally relevant materials and hands-on experiences. The instruction needs to "come alive" and use the available modern technology at the earliest grade levels. Effective programs would also offer supplemental summer programs and increased support services, including mentoring.
- Natives are underrepresented in Gifted and Talented programs, and many bright students need these opportunities to enhance their skills. The two Indian Gifted and Talented Centers mandated in PL 100-297 should be funded and implemented.
- Dynamic and strong Native youth leadership programs and opportunities must be developed and implemented in grades K through 12. The federal government should establish a grant program in this area which would be matched by state, local, and/or tribal funds.

Effective tutorial programs should be established to provide one-on-one assistance to help bring Native students up to grade level in basic skill areas.

Teachers can help Native children improve their reading skills by basing instruction on materials and subjects of interest to the child. Reading skills must be emphasized in elementary levels because of the increasingly debilitating impact that poor skills have on children as they progress through school.

There is a critical need for good vocational education programs for American Indians/Alaska Natives. Native schools need to plan their curriculum in concert with tribal economic development efforts to prepare youth to participate immediately in the reservation economy.

Native schools should make increased use of "effective schooling" practices.

Roles of Federal, State, and Tribal Governments

The federal trust responsibility for Native education must be maintained and strengthened. The Task Force should make a clear statement that all issues in Native education are tied in a larger sense to abrogation of treaty rights.

The Office of Indian Education, currently under the Assistant Secretary for the Office of Elementary and Secondary Education, should be restored to its original status directly under the U.S. Secretary of Education. Within this office all programs (early childhood through postsecondary) that provide Native education services should be reorganized under one cohesive policy and administrative banner.

For the first time in ten years the ED Office of Indian Education and the BIA Office of Indian Education Programs have directors, not "acting directors." The lack of consistent administration in these critical positions for this length of time has contributed greatly to the problems in Native education because no consistent and strong direction or attention was given to the many programs within these Departments.

- Timely dissemination of information from the BIA and ED to tribes regarding policy changes, public hearings, technical assistance, and legislation is very poor.
- BIA and ED technical assistance in Native education is sorely lacking and desperately needed.
- ED and the BIA must strengthen their collaborative efforts. One critically important area should be the establishment of a comprehensive national and state-by-state database on Native education.

The BIA is universally regarded by tribes and Congress as an ineffective, poorly managed and frequently hostile player in the Native education community, yet Native educators and tribes are wary of tampering with the bureaucracy because of the trust relationship that BIA represents.

- Information provided concerning plans to reorganize the BIA Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) has been inadequate for thorough evaluation.
- Closure of area offices is opposed in some regions because it would abolish important and accessible support services.
- BIA schools do not allow enough local involvement in selecting teachers, and they require excessive documentation and paperwork on the part of school administrators.

A national Native accreditation agency should be established as an entity separate from the current state and regional systems. This would assure that Native schools are encouraged and allowed to offer culturally relevant appropriate programs as determined by local Native communities.

The planning for the White House Conference on Indian Education has been very slow and poorly executed. It cannot be successful unless it is given the priority that the conference and the Native people deserve.

States must legislatively assure that local education agencies institutionalize their commitments to Native education.

- The "New Federalism" suggests that states may play a greater role in assuming responsibility for Native education, yet many states continue to be unresponsive to the needs of Natives. Tribes are unwilling to allow a delegation of the federal trust responsibility to the states. But, tribes expect states to recognize and respect their tribal sovereignty, jurisdiction, and legal status.
- There is a need for greater coordination of efforts between states and tribes.
- Centers for Native education should be established at the state level to coordinate Native education resources and technical assistance.

Tribal communities need to come to the aid of tribal children. Their education must be designed by the tribes from start to finish. The federal government's role must be to support and provide the resources to tribal governments for establishing their own tribal education departments and education codes to serve their own children.

Improved relations are needed between state departments, local school boards, and tribal governments. Some tribal groups have taken steps in this direction by creating and gaining signatures for joint interagency memoranda of understanding among all of these groups.

Prejudice and Racism

American Indians/Alaska Natives are experiencing racism on both personal and institutional levels.

- Native students as a group are frequently categorized and treated as remedial students and therefore fail because of negative teacher expectations.
- When Native students are scattered and isolated in inner-city and suburban schools, they feel they are misfits. If they acknowledge themselves as Natives they are often subjected to taunts and racial slurs which make them feel threatened and ashamed. If they defend themselves against verbal and physical harassment, they are suspended and expelled. Alienation is a key contributing factor in the high dropout rates.
- Prejudicial attitudes of administrators and teachers still prevail and prevent schools and districts from integrating Native language and culture into the curriculum, even when excellent materials and resources are available.
- Schools and districts (especially those that are small and rural) often constitute power bases in which there is active resistance to

shared decision-making with Native parents and tribes.

Racism, as reflected in media coverage of Native issues, feeds an undercurrent of negative attitudes in communities with Native populations and across the country.

Meaningful workshops must be widely offered to non-Native teachers and administrators in order to overcome prejudicial attitudes by raising cultural awareness and appreciation of Native history, literature, language, culture, and spiritual values.

There must be an end to the continued use of Native people as mascots, official symbols, emblems, and namesakes for school (and professional) athletic teams, newspapers, yearbooks, and so forth. Such depiction is offensive, demeaning, and degrading and perpetuates negative racial stereotypes.

Standards and Testing

Native parents and communities must stop thinking of success as reduced dropout rates and fewer suspensions and start thinking of success as high graduation rates and postsecondary enrollment.

Excellence as well as equity must be assured for Native students. Teachers must hold high expectations for Native students whom they teach and provide a variety of opportunities for successful achievement. The same standards and values should be applied to everyone.

Native students should be educated in "least restrictive environments," but not by pulling them out and treating them as problems.

There is a need to "Nativeize" Native education at all levels; this includes philosophy, textbooks, methods, content, and especially standards. An initiative should be started through the Native Education Centers to establish comprehensive Native education standards that could guide both BIA and ED programs.

Native students are not adequately evaluated by standardized tests, which tend to be biased toward middle-class, Euro-American culture. We need to develop measures of Native student aptitudes and abilities that are unbiased and sensitive to their psycholinguistic and cultural differences.

Early Childhood Education

Preschool programs, such as Head Start and Home Start, must be made available to all eligible American Indian/Alaska Native children. Early childhood education clearly contributes to later school success.

- Eligibility should extend to two years minimum. One year is not enough to adequately meet the goals of school readiness.
- Parent income level eligibility requirements should be eliminated since they serve as a disincentive to parents who want to improve their own education and employment but don't want their children to lose Head Start benefits.
- Funding for programs should not be restrictive, based on poverty level or the existence of a BIA school, but should be based on the Native community needs.

Programs should be family-based and include parent training and involvement components. They should also incorporate culturally relevant curriculum and include health and nutrition education.

Preschool programs must be readily available to rural populations, be well-staffed with well-paid trained professionals, have generous budgets for equipment, and be flexible to allow for Native community and parental involvement.

It is particularly important that teenage Native parents receive training in parenting skills. Prenatal care should be provided to young parents, and health screening should be provided for preschool children.

Native Head Start programs should include provision for transportation to make these services more accessible, especially in isolated rural areas.

Urban and Public School Education

Desegregation has been harmful to Native education and has hurt Native students by scattering and isolating them from their peers and making it costly and difficult to provide effective cultural programs and support services. *Brown v Board of Education* has been a benign weapon with a disastrous impact on Native American students.

- When the impact of these policies can be demonstrated to be negative, waivers and other alternatives must be allowed to reverse this impact.
- American Indians/Alaska Natives are a tribal people; Native students learn best when there is a "critical mass" together in one site. Therefore, urban Native children should be brought together in schools of choice, such as Native magnet schools.

Most Native students are now being educated in public schools. Yet public education systems are structured in ways that are counterproductive to the education needs of Native students.

- Unions and collective bargaining mitigate against hiring and retaining Native educators.
- Native programs are continually underfunded and marginal.
- It is difficult, if not impossible, to get Native curriculum into schools because teachers and administrators refuse to use materials that are developed outside the system.

Until public schools are restructured to adequately meet the needs of Native students, there must be continued local, state, and federal support for effective Native alternative schools.

As a result of assimilation, Native young people are increasingly assuming the profile of other disadvantaged inner-city youth. There is escalating gang activity, violence, and use of weapons at younger and younger ages. Native communities must develop intervention and respite strategies to reverse this trend and to guarantee safe passage for innocent young people to and from school.

Adult Basic Education (ABE)

As a result of high dropout rates and high unemployment rates, some of the most severe needs in Native education are for adult services. Studies show that Native GED graduates attend college at equal or greater rates than high school graduates. Native ABE needs more prominence and more funding; it should not always be an add-on.

Native ABE needs to be staffed with culturally sensitive teachers and offer culturally relevant content. The most critical success factor for these programs is the degree to which they reflect the goals, needs, and values of the adults they serve.

Native ABE programs should no longer be awarded on competitive grant bases. Funding must be stabilized to assure continuation of services. For the same reason, Native ABE program staff should have full-time positions and should receive benefits.

Native ABE programs need to be offered in Native communities and should provide transportation and child care to increase their accessibility.

Counseling and support services should be attached to ABE/GED programs to help students make life-decisions and select and complete employability programs.

Special Education, Chapter 1, and Other Special Services

Native students are overidentified for special education services and Chapter 1. Parents are ill-equipped to challenge school diagnoses and advocate for their own children. This issue needs to be better documented on a national basis. Advocacy programs need to be established to support parents and assure that their children's needs are accurately identified and served.

Students who require special and remedial services must be assured access to free, appropriate education and the necessary support services.

There is a great need for more special education teachers for Native children with disabilities. Very few Native teachers have this preparation.

Speech therapists who work with Native children need to be trained to recognize local and regional dialects of Native English and the influence of Native languages so that Native children are not so often mistakenly referred for speech therapy.

Data Collection and Research

A national database on Native education is sorely lacking and must be established. The federal government must take the initiative in funding the National Center for Education Statistics to provide this information. The Indian Health Service data system should be used as a model.

States must be encouraged to establish their own databases to regularly collect the information that will inform their own programs and support national data collection efforts.

"Data equals power." Local education agencies (LEAs) are more responsive when Native leaders can present data to support their concerns about the academic status, performance outcomes, and disciplinary experience of Native students in their systems.

- BIA and ED funding should be made available to help schools that serve large numbers of Native students establish and maintain comprehensive computer records, in order to improve tracking and bring Native education closer to the level of non-Native education.
- LEA administrators involved in data collection for a dropout study in Montana found the effort well worth their time because of the useful information it provided them about their own districts and schools.

Native college and graduate students should be involved in research and data collection efforts.

Increased funds should be made available to support other research in critical areas of Native education.

Recommendations for the Final Report

American Indian/Alaska Native people feel that the problems in Native education have been well defined and redefined. They are very tired of repeating the process of testifying before national hearings which identify problems and result in recommendations that only end up gathering dust on a shelf. There is nationwide concern that this effort must lead to changes that will make a difference.

- The final report should stress a sense of urgency in carrying out recommendations.
- The Task Force must therefore be very concrete as it makes its recommendations. The problems are well known; therefore the report must deal in specific *actions* and *solutions* which lead to clearly defined, measurable *outcomes*.
- The final report must establish timelines (at three, five, and ten years) for key milestones.

Current Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

Margaret Connell Szasz

Abstract

The school experience of American Indian and Alaska Native children hinges on the health and well-being of their families, their communities, their governments, and the relationship between Native and non-Native people. Improved economic conditions rely on partnerships between Native communities and state/federal governments, private business, as well as urban universities, but economic health also relies on improved technical training programs in rural/reservation areas, and in urban environments, especially for Native adults. Natives must control their own natural resources. Native communities across the nation are establishing wellness centers and substance abuse recovery centers that are consistent with their cultural heritage. The Indian Health Service needs to become accountable and equitable in its programs. In their homes, communities, schools, in their reading material and through the media, Native children must learn that their cultures are valid. They must be treated with respect. Responsibility for this validation lies with teachers, who should be educated about the cultures of their pupils, and with parent and Elder participation in education. Tribally Controlled Colleges also play an important role in validating cultures and providing economic training; they should be adequately funded. Urban universities should reach out to Native communities; faculty and other scholars should present accurate portrayals of Native people. Since Native role models can inspire the children of their communities, Native governments should expand scholarships and provide incentives for graduates to return. Native people are striving to improve all of these conditions; they are reaching within and finding resources.

The School experience of American Indian and Alaska Native children hinges on the health of their families, communities, and Native governments, as well as the relationship between Native and non-Native people. As those surrounding entities thrive, so too will these children thrive in their schools. As those entities suffer, so too will those children reflect that suffering in school and beyond school. For Native children, the best school programs and the most understanding teachers cannot relieve the impact of dysfunctional families; alcoholism and other forms of substance abuse; poverty; diabetes, fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS), and other health problems; and an ambivalence toward their unique cultural heritage. Five centuries after contact with the outside world, many Native children are in desperate straits because of the immense difficulties that hinder their families and communities. They will continue to be dropouts or "pushouts" until these conditions within their communities improve and the non-Native world gains some understanding of Native people. A member of the Yakima Indian Nation concluded: "Today, for people to grow up in dysfunctional and traumatic environments, the chances are substantially increased for becoming chronically depressed, suicidal, alcoholic, drug-dependent and having a poor self-esteem .... For many Indian children today, the educational environment may be the only stability and security they know" (Seattle Hearing, Martin, 1990, p. 2).

These issues are urgent: Native children are at risk. The future of American Indians and Alaska Natives is a precarious one. An Alaska Native testified in Juneau: "We are working as hard as we can to rebuild and to heal ourselves, but we need help. We DESPERATELY NEED HELP!" (Juneau Hearing, Armstrong, 1990, p. 30). It is time to spell out a blueprint for action. Another Alaska Native testified, "Our grandchildren are at a greater and greater risk unless drastic action is taken," (Juneau Hearing, Wulf-Shircel, 1990, p. 13). This paper, therefore, will focus on plans for action that will encourage Native children and their communities to realize their full potential in schooling through internal improvements within Native communities and external improvements in relations between Native and non-Native societies. Since the subject of this paper is so broad, I have divided it into several sections, each of which is also viewed from different angles. The basic sections are: economic conditions, health, cultural heritage, and the relationship between components of Native societies, family, community, government and schooling, as well as between Native communities and the outside world. Within each section, I will look at specific recommendations for rural and reservation communities and for urban Native communities.

Economic Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

An education administrator writes from the Devils Lake Sioux Reservation: "The Task Force needs to take a realistic look at issues that are suppressing the education process outside the school" (INAR Northern Plains Regional Public Hearing, Trottier, 1990, p. 3). One of the critical issues is economic conditions. If the general public bears any impressions of Native people, it generally falls into two categories: Native warriors living on the Great Plains in the nineteenth century; and impoverished Natives living on reservations in the twentieth century. Both are images largely created by the media, ranging from late-nineteenth-century dime novels to contemporary television and newspapers. The reality, which is seldom broadcast to the public, is far more complex.

Since the hundreds of Native communities incorporate tremendous diversity, it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to generalize about economic conditions within these communities. Under most circumstances, however, and especially among reservation communities, Native people suffer from the highest unemployment rates and greatest poverty conditions in the United States. Robert C. Posner characterizes reservation economies by comparing them with third world countries. On some reservations the average family income is as low as nine hundred dollars a year. A Native testifying in San Diego pointed out that in her community 60 to 80 percent of the people are unemployed. She added: "We live in poverty every day" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, 1990, p. 2). In some rural Native communities fewer than ten percent of the population is employed. Under these circumstances Native economies are unable to provide members with resources or activities that generate the basic necessities.

Where these conditions dominate the environment, Natives fear the impact on their children. Our children, a Squaxin testified in Seattle, are "our most precious resource" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Johns, 1990, p. 22). Yet it is the children who suffer and despair under the pervasive poverty. Commenting on economic conditions in the Yakima Indian Nation, a Yakima observed: "Employment is so limited on the reservation. What will these kids do? If we educate them, then they must leave the reservation in order to survive" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hoptowit, 1990, p. 61).

Those youth who remain on their reservations carry the low self-esteem linked with poverty into their schools. Explaining how this affects Tohono O'odham children on the Papago reservation, a Tohono O'odham testified in Phoenix: "due to the problems of poverty, alcoholism, and isolation, a majority of Indian students do not believe that they have the ability to learn as much as they are capable of" ((INAR Southwest Regional Public Hearing, Mason, 1990, p. 27). Conditions at Tohono O'odham in southern Arizona are not unique. A member of the Colville Federated Tribes, who also serves as Secretary of the Nespelem District Johnson O'Malley (JOM) Program Parent Committee, reinforced this position. "The Colville Indian children of this area," she said, "are entering schools with a low esteem of their families, as well as their communities" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Aripa, 1990, p. 50). She noted that 69 percent of the Colville members are unemployed. Nor is the link between negative self-image and economic status restricted to rural and reservation Native communities. The Chicago panel of Public School Finance concluded that success in school is directly related to family income, noting that the 1980 United States census reported Indians as the poorest group in the city, with 40 percent at or below the poverty level (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Eichhorn, 1990, p. 44).

The issue that needs to be addressed, therefore, is not whether poverty has a strong influence on Native youth: its pervasive influence is a well-documented reality. The question that plagues Native people is: what are some solutions that will enable them to support their families without drastic cultural changes in their way of life? In the decade of the 1980s, a number of Native communities, as well as individuals, were searching for those solutions.

In the rural and reservation communities, solutions evolve around: improved vocational training, economic role models, strengthening of Tribally Controlled Community Colleges, and increasing of economic ties between Native governments, groups, and individuals and other forms of government and institutions.

Native students who graduate from high school in reservation communities often receive little training to prepare them for employment on the reservation even though many of them remain there when they have graduated from high school. Those who do move away to attend universities or other post-secondary schools often receive training that prepares them only for off-reservation jobs or professions. Hence, they are not able to contribute their skills to their Native communities; nor are they able to serve as role models for Native children growing up on the reservation. In recent decades, this dilemma has become increasingly acute. I would urge that Native communities work toward developing institutions in reservation and rural areas that provide technical training for their youth that will enable them to earn a living within this familiar environment. Institutions that are setting the pace for this type of training include United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, North Dakota; Lummi Community College, Ferndale, Washington; the Eight Northern Pueblos Council-Employment and Training Program, New Mexico; the (Navajo Nation) Crownpoint Institute of Technology; Sinte Gleska College, Rosebud, South Dakota; and the vocational program of the Sac and Fox Nations, Oklahoma. The director of the Sac and Fox Nations program described the 77 students who had received certificates in 1989. "These people wanted to get an education," he recalled, "but they were scared. Most of [them] were 25 or 26 years old and when they came in, they could not hold their heads up. They were not even able to present themselves to their friends and neighbors," he added. "How could they possibly present themselves to an employer? We taught these students to stand up for themselves. At the end we had an award ceremony and it was amazing to see the difference in students as they displayed self-confidence." He concluded: "We need more Indian education programs to instill confidence and show people they can go out and get what they want" (INAR Plains Regional Public Hearings, Anderson, 1990, p. 23). Training for Natives in reservation and rural communities is crucial for these communities if they want to retain their youth. Providing them with skills, such as the aquaculture economic base pioneered by the Lummi Tribe during the last two decades, will strengthen that goal. As indicated by some of the examples, key development can be tied into expansion of the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges through significant funding increases to those institutions by Congress.

Native youth who receive their education in urban areas and return to their reservations can serve as important role models. A number of those individuals who testified at the Task Force regional hearings in the Summer and Fall of 1990 suggested that Native students who received scholarship funds from their Native governments or other sources owed a debt to their people that could be repaid only if they returned and devoted at least part of their career to their own communities. A Navajo woman attorney who has served her people in a number of positions, including that of Attorney General for the Navajo Nation, exemplifies this concept. She concludes: "I believe when you are blessed you are obligated to give back .... I had a good education and wanted to put it to work to help Indian people." Thus, she has spent her life "working with and for Indian people." Would it be possible or feasible for Native governments to adapt this philosophy for the scholarships that they provide for Native youth who receive their education in urban institutions?

This suggestion could be strengthened if additional universities would develop agreements with Native governments or groups for economic development. Universities establishing a precedent in this area of economic cooperation include Northern Arizona University, which has agreements with the Hopi Tribe and the Navajo Nation, South Dakota State University and the University of Minnesota, which have cooperated with the Sisseton-Wahpeton Sioux on farm planning; and several universities that have cooperated with the Lakota Produce Growers, Inc., an innovative venture begun in the early 1980s by Oglala "who have an interest in growing their own food." Major universities located within the radius of Native communities should, I believe, accept as one of their responsibilities the negotiating of agreements to assist Native governments and groups in economic planning. In like fashion, various levels of government, including city, state, and federal, also should be urged to expand previous agreements or introduce new ones. The trend of the decade of the 1980s, which saw the encouragement of private business and industry negotiations with Native governments, such as the successful negotiations between the White River Apache and the McDonnell Douglas Helicopter Company, may well continue, but it should not preclude additional agreements between Native and outside governments, such as negotiations between the State of Wisconsin and the Anishenabe (Chippewa), that led to a cooperative wild rice reseeding project in 1990. At the National Symposium on Native American Enterprise Zone Development held in the spring of 1990, it was pointed out that some creative approaches to reservation economic development have come into being in the 1980s. These include the Seventh Generation Fund, a Native-run foundation based in California that promotes small-scale development to Native reservation businesses.

Frank Pommersheim argues that "too often in the past, the question of what economic development is needed in Indian country has yielded very specific 'answers,' such as the massive leasing of tribal natural resources, capital intensive manufacturing, or large-scale agribusiness ventures." In *Indian Self-Rule* Philip S. Deloria adds: "The basic issue that Indians face is are we going to use our own resources, or is somebody else going to use them?" He concludes: "The answer, for the last two hundred years, has been very clear. Somebody else is going to use our resources." The issues, therefore, evolve around the question of Native control, but even within this context there are no simple answers.

Increasing economic development on reservations has created a difficult pattern of choices for many Native communities. Some Native governments, such as Laguna Pueblo of New Mexico, believe there are distinct advantages to establishing Native industries on reservations. Recently, Laguna has formed Laguna Industries Inc., a manufacturing plant, as well as Laguna Construction Company, which will undertake the reclamation of the uranium mines that closed in the early 1980s. Proponents of these ventures argue that even though it means the workers may have to change their ways, "that's the way it's going to be if you're going to live here." On the other hand, traditionalists remain concerned that development will counter their values. The question of introducing Bingo on reservation lands symbolizes these antagonisms. As the governor of one New Mexico Pueblo concluded: "Personally I don't believe in unearned money," but as "a business venture," this governor has accepted it. Proposals for reservations to serve as sites to store conventional garbage or toxic waste raise further divisions among Native communities. In early 1990 the Campo Band of Mission Indians, located east of San Diego, was considering a proposal by San Diego to store the city's waste. Once again, the issue evolved around the polarized positions of the need for income thrust against the impact on the environment and the culture. The Native-run Seventh Generation Fund maintains that development on Native lands must be "environmentally and culturally sensitive," but increasing conflict over these considerations suggests this advice is merely one position in the wide array of Native rural and reservation economic decisions.

Urban Natives face similar conflicts between retention of cultural values and working in jobs that appear to go against the grain of those values. Some have resolved the conflict by working with the Native community, either in job-related employment or as a volunteer. The extraordinarily active Native communities in cities such as Minneapolis or Seattle have an enormous task ahead of them in encouraging adult education for urban Native dropouts or "pushouts." Yet the economic results forecast by Gary D. Sandefur and Wilbur J. Scott make the challenge a crucial one. Sandefur and Scott argue that "the single most effective measure for improving the wages of Indians relative to those of whites would be to increase the proportion of Indians who continue their education beyond high school." Funding is an ongoing, crucial theme for the urban centers and programs that offer Adult Basic Education (ABE) and other adult training for urban Native people. Flourishing programs in this critical area for urban Native adults include centers in Minneapolis and Seattle. The American Indian Opportunities Industrialization Training Center (AIOIC) in Minneapolis, founded in 1979, formed as a response to high unemployment among Native people, and has provided training for over 3,000 Natives. The Seattle Indian Center, one of many important Native urban centers across the United States, offers ABE and GED preparation classes as survival skills for the 40 to 60 percent of urban Native people in Washington who are unemployed. Relying heavily on volunteer help, along with aid from other institutions, such as community colleges, and businesses, the Seattle Center, like other centers in urban America, has been hard hit by budget cuts. Yet its services are crucial, as the testimony suggested: "Those students who study for the GED exams often are experiencing for the first time instructors who are Native American themselves, and who truly acknowledge that they are intelligent human beings who are capable of learning and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. For many, this is a new concept, but the test scores speak for themselves and validate the intelligence and capabilities of the Native American adult learner" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Egawa, 1990, p. 48).

Health Conditions in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

American Indians and Alaska Natives are people dominated by their youth. The birth rate of Native people in the mid-1980s was 27.9 per thousand or a rate that was 79 percent greater than the birth rate for the "U.S. All Races" population. In many Native communities children and youth are about one-half of the population. Their promise as leaders of the future must not be diminished by the severe health problems that characterize both urban and rural and reservation Native youth.

How Native children respond in school is a reflection of their health, as well as the health of their families and communities. As a Native testified at the San Diego Joint Issues Session on Dropout Prevention, "Health is a big consideration. Some students arrive at school hungry and cold, or both. The socioeconomic conditions in communities are devastating right now for our kids in schools, and this is nothing new to our people" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, p. 4). The historical roots for contemporary Native health reach deeply into the past. The present health conditions of Native children spring from the centuries of interaction between their ancestors and the immigrants to America. As Roland J. Lamarine concluded in "The Dilemma of Native American Health,": "An examination of Native American health problems inevitably leads to the conclusion that for Native Americans, the biggest problem is the majority culture." The combination of disease, military defeat, removal, alienation of the land base, and cultural oppression has led to a heritage of overwhelming economic and psychological barriers for contemporary Native youth. In addition, the post-World War II reversals of termination and relocation, plus the economic stringency of the Ronald Reagan years have compounded the health difficulties of today's Native youth. Contemporary Native youth face economic deprivation, deteriorating family conditions and the availability of alcohol and other drugs. The overall rate of alcoholism among Natives is two to three times the national average, although the rate varies widely. Cumulatively, these conditions have led to depression and despair among Native youth, reflected in the high rates of suicide that characterize a number of reservation communities. The suicide rate among Natives is at its highest in adolescence and young adulthood, and is the second leading cause of death among adolescents.

It is difficult to separate these aspects of Native communities because they are all interrelated. Drug abuse is related to poverty and joblessness; child abuse is linked with all three; fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) is one result of these conditions, as well. When all are joined in a vicious, destructive circle, the children become the primary victims, their children's children become the eventual victims. If the cycle is to be broken, it must happen now. The potential for change is promising but it must begin without delay. It will require incentive from within Native communities, as well as a partnership with the non-Native community.

A Suquamish woman who testified at the Task Force Hearings in Seattle summarized the challenge:

> For generations our people each had a place in their own communities. We must not have throw-away people and throw-away communities. Our children are committing suicide because they have no role. (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Forsman-Boushie, 1990, p. 59)

The societies that have been held together through an intricate network of familial, clan, and other links that bound all with a common sense of purpose and caring have been battered and beaten like abused children. The ties remain but they are greatly weakened. In order for Native children to regain their "role," the traditional bonds must be strengthened. Children need to grow up with a sense of security, which emerges from knowing what their system is and where they belong in it. A principal at a Chippewa school phrased the challenge eloquently: "Dysfunctional families are producing dysfunctional learners. The extended family has always been a strength for Indian people ... as we see a deterioration in the American family," he noted, "we are also seeing a disintegration of the Indian family. This is due to the environmental factors of unemployment and alcohol and drugs." His conclusion echoed that of the Suquamish: "We have many children who are in emotional pain and are angry. They end up being suspended, expelled from school, and 'thrown away'" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, 1990, Waukau-Villagomez, written testimony, p. 4).

In the fall of 1989 a news team from NBC Nightly News taped some footage at Pine Ridge reservation. According to Tim Giago, editor of *The Lakota Times*, the resulting news clip portrayed "every negative thing they had ever misconceived about the Pine Ridge Reservation." Giago agreed that some of the story was true: "There is alcoholism, fetal alcohol syndrome, welfare, and plenty of unemployment." But NBC's news team missed the point: "the situation is not hopeless," argued Giago. Moreover, he apologized because he did not have enough room in his column "to write about all of the wonderful Lakota people fighting gallantly to turn the negatives on the reservation into positives. They go about their tasks without fanfare," he explained, "but the programs they have initiated are having an impact."

In his praise for the Lakota, Giago included an aspect of this movement for change that has become a recurring theme among Native communities in the late twentieth century. Observing that there are many people on the reservation not on welfare, he added, "there are also many people who have turned back to the traditional spirituality of the Lakota and have forsaken alcohol and drugs." Giago's observation could be applied to many Native communities, in rural and reservation and urban areas. In the fall of 1988 the Cheyenne River Sioux passed a tribal resolution that established the year 2000 as a target date for the reservation to be 100 percent drug and alcohol free, and incorporated a series of measures to make this a reality. In the spring of 1989 over 900 runners participated in the Standing Rock Sobriety Run to help fellow members overcome alcohol and drug abuse. At the run, Virgil Taken Alive, a Standing Rock tribal councilman, sang a song that told of the difficult road traveled by many of the Lakota people:

- Look up to the skies and take courage,
- the people will have pity for one another.
- We know how hard life is,
- the people will have compassion for one another.
- We know how life is hard. (*Lakota Times*, May 9, 1989)

Native communities are becoming increasingly aware of the potential catastrophe to their people if these threats to the health of their children are not lessened. At the hearing held in Seattle, a Brule from the Rosebud Sioux Tribe testified on the severity of FAS and Fetal Alcohol Effect (FAE). He said: "I am convinced that we have two generations, meaning to your children's children, to halt FAS and FAE among our Indian people or we will cease to exist as Indians" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Ferron, 1990, p. 38). The impact of FAS has been likened to that of smallpox epidemics that destroyed as much as 80 percent of some Native groups in the past. In response to this challenge, many Native governments and other Native organizations have developed programs to fight substance abuse. In the summer of 1990, when Fort Berthold Community College received a grant from a private foundation to promote sobriety "through cultural Traditions and Elder Wellness," it announced that it would select six elder spokespersons to represent each of the three Native peoples: Mandan, Hidatsa, and Arikara. These Elders would receive intensive training on the effect of alcoholism on families, and would help to develop materials for the program. I would urge all Native governments or groups within reservation communities to establish centers and programs that provide healing for children and youth who are victims of substance abuse. Moreover, I would also urge that these be established within a framework of the culture of the people.

This is not a new idea; many centers of this type are already in place. Some of them are located on reservations; some are adjacent to reservations. I urge, however, that the number be expanded to encompass virtually every Native community that faces this threat. In addition, I urge Native communities to establish programs both in the schools and in the communities to teach wellness within the context of the Native culture. The Lac Court Oreilles Ojibwe are facing this challenge. They note: "Today, a breakdown of the extended family unit along with a de-emphasis on cultural traditions is very evident ... and the role of the Elders has been diminished in the community. As a result, the community is weakened and traditional cultural beliefs, values, and Ojibwe language are not being passed on to children and families ... as they were in the past" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Benton, 1990, p. 63). In order to counter the tremendous problems facing their people, they have created two programs. One is the "Lac Court Oreilles ADDA project, an alcohol and drug intervention, prevention program which addresses problems targeted in Indian families"; the other is the Three Fires Mide Lodge, a "traditional, spiritual, education, preservation society, which is part of an international (United States and Canada) network to retrieve, preserve, and maintain all facets of the spiritual, cultural heritage of Ojibwe Indian people." On the Rosebud reservation, concerned Lakota women formed the White Buffalo Calf Society in the late 1970s. The society came into being because the founders wanted to improve the position of women, especially in terms of domestic violence. It has developed several programs and runs a shelter which was opened in 1980 and is widely used. In the interim years, however, the society has expanded its role, in accordance with its belief that "the strengths and power of a race of people are only as strong as the family within it ... Growth and progress ... cannot be achieved on the reservation while some are ill, hungry, or powerless because of being homeless, jobless, or poorly educated in life-coping skills" (*Akwesasne Notes*, October 17, 1989).

Relying on funding from a private foundation and the Oklahoma Department of Mental Health and Substance Abuse Services, two members of the Cheyenne and Arapaho Tribes of Oklahoma have developed a project entitled "Cheyenne Visions for 2001." With a goal of drug-free Cheyenne children by the year 2001, the directors are focusing on four communities suffering from chronic alcoholism for at least two decades. In these communities they have formed a Cheyenne Children's Gourd Dance Clan called "The Circle Keepers." "We tell our children," one of the directors writes, "that they are keepers of the circle ... and that they have a responsibility to keep the circle, ... that which is whole, total, and complete. They learn that their well being is connected to that circle. If they keep the circle they will have a balance of the social, physical, mental, and spiritual dimensions of life." The members must meet four requirements: recite a pledge that they will keep their bodies free of drugs and alcohol; participate in a Sweat Lodge; recite a Cheyenne prayer while in the Sweat Lodge; and, finally, "remain active in the organization and free of gateway drug use." Equally important to this planning is the inclusion of parents, aunts, and uncles. The codirector concludes: "We know the Cheyenne ways and are using these ways to build a strong organization." Programs like these, which include traditions, and depend on parents and families, are relying on the ancient strengths of Native communities. Those reserves are deep; without them, the challenges facing Native communities in rural and reservation areas might remain overwhelming (INAR Northern Plains Regional Public Hearing, Twins, 1990, pp. 75-76).

For urban Native communities, the potential to overcome the enormous difficulties posed by drug and alcohol abuse, dysfunctional families, violence, FAS and FAE, is also strong, Again, however, I urge that this challenge be met through Native concepts of healing. These should be incorporated into the secular medical practices of the non-Native culture. By viewing those who are suffering as whole persons and as members of Native cultures, Natives living in urban America will be drawing on their strengths and their inner resources.

I also urge that urban universities with schools of medicine be encouraged to broaden their curricula to include the attributes of Native healing. This is especially appropriate in urban locations that also include Indian Health Service facilities and/or large Native urban populations.

The Indian Health Service, however, is severely limited as a medical resource for Native people. As the United States Senate Special Committee on Investigations pointed out in its 1989 *Final Report and Legislative Recommendations*, according to its Director, Dr. Everett R. Rhoades:

> At one billion dollars per year, the budget of the Indian Health Service has held constant in real terms for the last decade. As the Indian population has expanded, and medical costs have risen faster than the overall cost of living, fiscal restraint has turned IHS into a health care rationing agency.

In typical metropolitan areas, one doctor serves about 500 people; an IHS physician serves about 1,400 Natives. Moreover, Natives living in urban areas received even less care than those on reservations or in rural areas. The 1980 census figures indicated that just over 50 percent of all Native people lived in urban areas. The health status of these urban Natives is as low or lower than that of reservation Natives, according to Jerilyn DeCoteau. Nonetheless, as DeCoteau points out, in the mid-1980s the federal budget for urban Native health programs was only one percent of the total IHS budget. One percent of the budget, therefore, was expected to serve the needs of over 50 percent of the Native population. Inadequate funding, compounded by the general administrative mismanagement revealed by the Senate Special Committee on Investigations suggests the federal government is not carrying out its trust obligations in the area of health, and needs to provide adequate funding and accountability for the IHS.

Wherever there are committed Natives in urban areas, they should be encouraged to form centers or shelters for Native youth who suffer from some of the many dilemmas described in this section. A fine example of such an effort is the shelter for Native Youth founded in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1984. Currently directed by a Sisseton-Wahpeton woman, this center deals with crisis situations met by many Native youth in urban areas. The proposal for Native people to deal with these challenges through their own cultural values is summarized by a member of the Prairie Band Potawatomi-Kickapoo Tribe, who recently received her master's degree from Kansas University with a major in Social Welfare. Hoping to work for an agency that helps Native people, she said, "Native Americans need to start making a difference for themselves. I think Indian people have a lot of strengths that we don't realize." She added: "Sometimes my Elders tease me about what I've learned in school." "What did I learn?" she asked. "That everything they've been telling me is right: Think positive, not negative."

Positive thinking by individuals such as this recent M.A student, and positive "wellness" programs developed by Native communities, such as the Zuni Wellness Center, a program developed in 1987 "to curb the prevalence of diabetes in Zuni by changing lifestyles to include exercise [about one-third of Zuni adults develop diabetes]," and Native adaptations of Alcoholics Anonymous, both within reservation and rural communities and urban communities — all of these suggest that many Native communities are addressing these issues. They are reaching within, and finding resources.

Cultural Heritage in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

If Native children know who they are and where they come from, their schooling will take on a different cast. Moreover, if the school experience supports their unique cultural heritage, Native children will be able to find a secure place for themselves. Child abuse comes in many forms but one of the most severe is denial or neglect of children's cultural heritage. As a pervasive dimension of American history, this form of abuse has damaged generations of American Indian and Alaska Native youth. In the early 1980s Valda Black Bull, a Lakota, recalled a childhood dominated by her grandmother: "We were raised in a basically white community ... But this never bothered my grandma. We would sit outside and she would sing in Lakota to us and tell us stories that always had meaning to them. We never spoke English; it was always Lakota ... Life skills taught by my grandmother put me through the primary grades." Black Bull's grandmother also put the school experience into a Lakota perspective:

> We had a 3rd-grade teacher who was prejudiced and did she ever show it. She grouped the three of us Indians in a corner and worked with us after school ... She hit our hands if we spoke Lakota ... I was afraid to attend school and my mother always pushed me to go. My grandma referred to this teacher as a witch and this made it a lot easier for me to handle the situation. This was my first contact with the evils of the world. But I survived.

At the San Diego Special Issues Session on Dropout Prevention, a Native woman from Tacoma, Washington, reported that in the public school her children attended "teachers still make fun of children's Indian names" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Dropout Prevention, San Diego, p. 3). Ivan Star Comes Out reported in *The Lakota Times* (October 3, 1989) that he heard a white female teacher stand in a room full of Lakota students and say "'If it wasn't for our white technology, you wouldn't have this school and you would be nothing.'"

It is time to reverse this trend. A Chickasaw who teaches at the University of Alaska — Fairbanks put it more succinctly when he said: "we need to 'Indianize' Indian Education. We need to Indianize the philosophy, the texts, the approaches, the methods, the content, ... " (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hampton, 1990, p. 34) This theme has dominated the Task Force Hearings, from Juneau, Alaska to Cherokee, North Carolina. It represents the accumulated grievance of generations of Native children who have attended schools and moved in a society that gave no credence to their beliefs, their values, their cultures. Today, they speak for change. A Red Lake Ojibwe concluded: "Until the learning environment feels like a family or a clan, the Indian student will not be engaged" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Nerburn, 1990, p. 18).

Director of Education for the Fairbanks Native Association testified:

> The number one barrier to learning is a lack of self-esteem ... No matter what kind of problems a child has in his or her background, the solution begins with building self-esteem. In Alaska, this includes validating a child's culture, his roots and his heritage (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Armstrong, 1990, p. 29).

In 1988 the community of Chevak, a village in the Yukon Kuskowim Delta, responded to the absence of subsistence training for children in school with a creative program. Designed to overcome gaps in the current schooling, where the children were being trained "to be aliens in their own land," the community began to build two traditional subterranean sod houses which would be used to house small groups of students for five-day periods in January and February. During the sessions six Elders would teach stories and legends, survival, trapping and subsistence skills, and rules of the family. The youth would dress in traditional clothing and would not use any "modern equipment." (*Tundra Times*, September 1, 1988) Echoing this concept, several Ojibwe who spoke at the opening of the Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe School in September 1990, stressed the link between culture and self-worth. Rick St. Germain, well-known Ojibwe leader, urged that they "work on a student's identity and raising his self-esteem through traditional culture and values." "More to the point," the new administrator of the school added, "is 'walking into a classroom and in one corner you see a drum, and in another corner, a computer. Each of these is a very useful tool.'" In a similar vein, a teacher at the high school in Tuba City, in the Navajo Nation, told his students in 1989 that knowing who they were was as important as learning English and math and science. "'You do not have to make a choice between being Indian and being successful,' he said. 'You can be both. You can be of two minds. In fact, you must be both'" (*Los Angeles Times*, July 28, 1989).

In Native rural and reservation communities Tribally Controlled Colleges are contributing to the need for teaching youth about their cultural heritage. The oldest of these colleges, Navajo Community College (NCC) has developed an extensive program in Navajo culture. Sinte Gleska College, which was founded shortly after NCC, has also pioneered in this area. Like NCC, its publications have been widely dispersed for educational and community use. Its faculty have participated in creating an orthography of the Lakota language. Again, like NCC, Sinte Gleska has worked with traditional medicine men to incorporate their teachings into the curriculum and into western medical practices. These and other Tribally Controlled Colleges exemplify the importance of Native institutions based in rural and reservation communities. They play a crucial role in cultural reinforcement from within.

The Tribally Controlled Colleges cannot complete this task unaided: the ground work must be laid in the education of the very young. Teachers employed in reservation and rural schools with significant proportions of Native students must be trained to be culturally sensitive to the needs of the children they teach. Over fifty years after Willard Beatty introduced this concept in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, the need remains urgent. Beatty's program was a historical anachronism that now is coming into its own, at the urging of American Indians and Alaska Natives. This issue requires two changes. The first is to train non-Native teachers, the second is to encourage more Native youth to become teachers and return to their own communities.

In the first area, the training of non-Native teachers, no Native people are more adamant on this issue than Alaska Natives. The President of the Board of Lower Kuskowim School District in western Alaska testified that the Yupik (90 percent of the students in this school district are Yupik) are asking that schools begin to accommodate Native cultures, values, history, and language. "We want our teachers to learn to know our students and to respect their culture. We recommend that our teachers take Yupik language, and we provide inservice training to introduce them to our culture" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Vaska, 1990, p. 2). The message from Alaska is being repeated throughout Native communities from Lakota to Navajo. In areas such as Oklahoma, where language loss is far greater than Alaska, a particular concern is language retention. An Osage Tribal Historian said, "Today we are struggling to maintain our heritage, culture, and Indian way of life ... the language of our people is dying." Urging that there be "positive role models" for Native students, she asked for "teachers and administrators who are Native American and know the Indian way of life ... teachers who will counsel students and know their problems ... teachers who will place the Indian students ... [and] schools [that will] ask the community for advice, and respect the advice given by the tribal Elders" (INAR Plains Regional Public Hearings, Alred, 1990, p. 34). By contrast, in regions like Alaska, where villages are isolated, teachers receive high salaries and demonstrate little commitment. They "have no conception of what Alaska is about," and they do not remain long enough to find out.

For these reasons, Natives urge that more Native youth be encouraged to become teachers, and that the community be more fully involved in the schools' programs. The need for more Natives in teaching is urgent. A well-known Native educator in Washington State points out that the "teacher education institutions have lost the momentum that they had during the 1970s for educating and certifying Indian teachers" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Bill, 1990, p. 19). An exemplary program at this time included cooperation between the Navajo Nation and the Universities of New Mexico, Northern Arizona, and Arizona. A Navajo who teaches in the College of Education at the University of New Mexico reports that the University of New Mexico's participation in this program enabled 400 Navajo students to receive their bachelors degrees in elementary education. During the 1980s the funding for these programs dried up; nor has it been forthcoming in the present administration (INAR Southwest Regional Public Hearing, Bradley-Pfeiffer, p. 48). A decade without funding has led to a drastic shortage of Native teachers. The Yakima superintendent of a school district on the Yakima Nation reservation put it graphically when he wrote: "One way to deal with these barriers [relevant Indian eduction] is to look at the fact that we know our children need good role models. Yet we advertise a position and get up to 70 applicants only to find that none are from Indians." The Yakima superintendent added: "This suggests to me that the programs to support the training of Indian teachers [are] ineffective." He asked that the Task Force "look at programs to get more Indian teachers into the schools to work with our children" (INAR Northwest Regional Public Hearing, Hoptowit, 1990, p. 60).

The responsibility for this change lies with Native governments, with universities, with federal funding, and with states. Native governments need to provide further incentive for their college-educated students to return to the reservations and rural areas. Universities need to re-establish the types of programs that contributed so heavily to Native teacher training in the 1970s. The federal government needs to make a commitment to these programs through congressional appropriations. The states, in response to urgent requests by Native people from Alaska to North Carolina, need to permit Native communities and Native governments to establish their own criteria for teacher certification which will incorporate unique talents such as knowledge of Native culture and/or Native languages. The legal stumbling blocks that prevent Native schools from employing the talents of these skilled teachers should be removed. In support of this change, a member of the Alaska State Board of Education testified: "A way to increase Native teachers in the classroom is to relax the requirements for teacher certification. If one's life vocation is to clothe one's family with furs and properly care for Native food, isn't he or she an expert in that field?" She concluded, "Can you with your teaching degree do that?" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Sakeagak, 1990, p. 12).

In addition to encouraging more Native teachers, communities also are urging greater participation by Native Elders and other members of the community. Parent and Elder participation is seen as virtually a universal need by Native people. Many Native governments are already developing programs that incorporate these community members. The Yakima Nation is currently revising its curriculum for the Yakima Tribal School in order "to recognize the role of the Elders." The 1990 Ojibwe Elder honoree at the Honor the Earth Powwow (Wisconsin) is not only a grandmother of ten, she has also worked at an Ojibwe Day Care Center. Other Native communities report that Elders participate in their school programs as valuable assets for the children. They can teach language, as well as culture, bringing a sense of security for the grandchildren. It is possible, as a number of Natives have suggested, that eventually the Native languages may be universally recognized as "foreign languages," and that the requirements for language in high schools and universities can be satisfied by Native students perfecting the language of their own people. Already mandated in states such as Minnesota, this, in itself, would give credence to Native culture, reiterating the contributions of Native languages during both World War I and World War II, when several Native languages, and especially the Navajo used by the Navajo Code Talkers, enabled the United States Armed Forces to communicate effectively in both the South Pacific and Europe.

Participation of parents is also urged by Native people in both the rural and reservation communities and urban Native communities. A member of the Alaska State Legislature testified in Juneau that "parent support is the single, most important factor in a child's success at school" (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Ulmer, 1990, p. 8). This sentiment has been echoed across the country, but here, again, the challenges are greater because of the heritage of boarding schools and other non-Native dominated schooling, where today's parents were led to believe that their cultures should be abandoned, their languages, forgotten. As adults, it is difficult for these former boarding school students to overcome the pressures that they experienced as children. Even today, many non-Native school administrators and teachers are capable of exerting subtle psychological pressure against Native parents to discourage their participation. Native testimony in the San Diego Hearings recalled that the receptionist's position at a federal boarding school was raised about a foot higher in elevation than that of the students and parents who approached, and that this obvious psychological advantage was an effective deterrent, even to a parent who was a college graduate. These barriers add to the historical difficulties faced by Native parents, but they must be overcome (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Parental Involvement, San Diego, p. 29).

Urban Native communities are approaching the issue of strengthening Native cultural heritage in public schools in creative ways. In Buffalo, New York, and in Minnesota, urban magnet schools are underway. These schools provide an option for Native students and parents who reject schooling that does not acknowledge Native values and traditions. As the chairperson of the Indian Parent Committee in Minneapolis, a school district with almost 3,000 Native pupils, put it: "American Indians are tribal people. Our social system, cultural values, and interdependence have been essential to our survival in the face of systematic attempts to exterminate us. Successful Indian education programs affirm this tribal membership, and use group approaches and a culturally relevant curriculum to help Indian students survive the gauntlet of the majority educational system" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Beaulieu, J., 1990, p. 30). He concluded: "because of the tribal nature of Indian students, they need to be gathered together to survive in a non-Indian system." The Native school established under the American Indian Magnet Program of St. Paul, Minnesota, was modeled after the first of these schools, The Native American Magnet School in

Buffalo, founded in 1976. Scheduled to open in the fall of 1990, it could have profound impact on St. Paul's 900 Native pupils, who are about three percent of the school-age population. Anticipating success, the St. Paul Superintendent of Schools testified, "I believe that over the long haul, this magnet program will have a major impact on improving the performance of Indian students in our district and in lowering their dropout rate" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, Bennett, 1990, p. 66).

This dropout, or "pushout" rate of Native students in urban areas is a well-documented phenomenon. Attributed to a number of factors, including economic conditions and health, as mentioned earlier, it also is a reflection of a general ignorance of Native cultures by virtually all non-Native educators. Criticism of this phenomenon is growing among Native peoples throughout the United States. Coordinator of Indian Education for Guilford County (North Carolina) Schools reports conditions for Native students in these schools:

> The same problem that was here 400 years ago still remains: the lack of concern and the inability to understand the Native American and our needs, especially when it comes to education. Every day I hear the same things from Indian students, 'This teacher hates me. This school has nothing to offer me ...' Indian students feel that their schools have nothing to offer them.

In accordance with this conclusion, many Native educators and parents believe that all non-Native teachers should be trained to be culturally sensitive to Native students (INAR Eastern Regional Public Hearing, Lowry, 1990, p. 29). When I spoke with a Native educator from North Carolina at the San Diego conference, I asked her if she had one wish to improve Native education in her state, what would it be? She replied that it would be to require that all non-Native educators learn about Native cultures. This change must be incorporated by colleges of education across the United States, and should be mandated throughout school systems in the country. Teachers and other educators need to understand the strengths of American Indians and Alaska Natives.

In accordance with this change, schools must also incorporate Native culture and history into their curricula. There is virtually no knowledge of Native heritage and the contributions of Native people to the history of the United States and North America. Moreover, where this information is included, it is often inaccurate or demeaning to Native people. This is a national travesty, which is supported by all forms of contemporary media. At the San Diego Joint Issues Session on Middle Schools and High Schools, a Hupa testified on these inaccuracies:

> The worst example I have seen was where they had listed all of the foods Indians ever contributed — corn, avocados, strawberries, and so forth — but they didn't have acorns. Now, acorns are a staple and very important to my tribe and my kids asked me why acorns weren't on the list. I said, 'because they aren't important to white people.' The teacher said that 'only pigs and deer eat acorns.' I have two children so this means that one of them must be a pig and one must be a deer, because that is what we do. (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Middle and High School Issues, San Diego, p. 6)

Relationship between Native Communities and the Outside World

The schooling experience of Native children is often weakened by the gap that separates the school from Native families and communities. This gap is widened even further by the relationship between Native communities and the outside world. In these two areas of challenge, I would recommend that in rural and reservation communities there be much more extensive cooperation between the above-mentioned groups and the schools; and in the urban Native communities, there be a vast campaign to educate the non-Native public about Native cultures and history.

Native families in rural and reservation communities need to be drawn into the school system. The reliance on parents and Elders must increase in order for the children to view their schools as an extension of the cultural bonds that they are taught from early childhood. Natives across the country are lamenting the lack of participation by Elders. At the Joint Issues Special Session for Elders in San Diego, one Native testified, "We have to go back into our schools, bring these Elders to teach the children what the plants are, what the days mean, what the water is for. There is little respect anymore. We need to utilize our Elders" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Special Issue Session for Elders, San Diego, 1990, p. 9). Native youth have begun to echo this theme. At the 1990 Elder/Youth convention in Alaska, one Native 17-year-old described the role of Elders: "The Elders are like schools — they are learning centers. They want to pass on what they had learned to us, so in turn we pass it on to our children and youth ... it is wise to listen," he concluded, "for we are the future leaders of our great people" (*The Council*, March 13, 1990). Like the Elders, parents also have a role to play in the schools. By participating in school programs, they, too, extend the bonds of the family. As a Lummi testified to the United States Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs (April 9, 1987): "Our success will depend, ultimately on the well being of the individual and the family ... Lummi family bonds are the foundation of the tribal community."

In like manner, Native governments are reconsidering their roles as policy makers for their education systems. Faced with the responsibility of appropriate schooling for a group that is often over 50 percent of their total population, they need to address the issues that have been raised here. In a project sponsored by the College Entrance Examination Board and the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES), some 150 Natives met in regional gatherings held in 1987-1988 to discuss educational changes for Native youth. The final report, *Our Voices, Our Vision: American Indians Speak Out for Education Excellence*, called for Native community action to "spearhead drives for educational change." The report urged that "tribal members ... elect tribal officials willing to adopt education codes that mandate the incorporation of tribal language and culture into the curricula of local schools." The participants also concluded that "tribal governments have the power to become active partners with Indian parents and school districts in educational reform and community initiatives ... tribes must pass resolutions setting education as a priority." One means of expressing this commitment is shifting Native government funds, where possible, to allow for greater numbers of scholarships for their youth. The participants concurred: "Tribal councils must assist students by establishing scholarship and summer-work projects." Moreover, Native governments should offer incentives to encourage scholarship recipients to return to their reservation and rural communities after they receive their schooling. The participants noted: "they [tribal councils] should also encourage college students to return home after graduation.

Finally, Native governments bear a strong responsibility for ensuring cooperatioon among the three government entities that affect education for Native children: federal, State and Native. The final report of the Indian Education Project, *Indian Education. Involvement of Federal, State and Tribal Governments*, which was sponsored by the Education Commission of the States and appeared in 1980, made a number of strong recommendations for Native governments' role in education. While some of these concurred with the later report sponsored by the College Board and AISES, the Indian Education Project also called for an increased role by Native governments in educating local, State and federal governments with regards to Native community schooling needs. "Since it is possible that state policy makers do not always know what Indian tribes expect from the school system," the authors reasoned, "tribes should make a conscious effort through their own needs assessment instruments, through seminars and personal dialogue, through written tribal codes, philosophies and policy statements, legislative testimony ..., and through other methods, to make sure that state policy makers are fully informed about tribal concerns that affect the education of Indian children." This does not relieve the burden from other entities but it does suggest that "tribes need to become informed about the procedure and issues at the state legislative and policy level." As indicated in this study, as well as in the "Summary of Data Availability on American Indians and Alaska Natives in Ten States," an unpublished document submitted to the commissioned paper authors, progress in the States *vis-a-vis* Native schooling has been uneven but State awareness of native priorities is increasing.

Addressing the issues facing urban Native people, the dialogue participants in the College Board and AISES study recommended that urban Natives establish "culturally based programs for combating alcohol and substance abuse, health problems, teenage pregnancy, and other problems confronting their youth, relying on Native centers, churches, and organizations as collective strength" for developing these programs. Urban Natives also have a responsibility to publicize their cultures to the non-Native population. Many urban Natives are already actively engaged in lecturing and speaking to public schools and the general public, as well, but I would urge that this commitment be more widespread. The general public is so ignorant about Native people in the United States, a massive campaign will perhaps only make a dent in the dearth of knowledge and multitude of misconceptions. One of the most detrimental stereotypes of Native people has been created by the mass media: film, television, and print. Native children read about themselves in textbooks and elsewhere; they see themselves portrayed in film and television. The resulting negative image leads to long-term harmful psychological effects. Compounded with poverty and unemployment, all of these phenomena contribute to the high drop-out rate and drug abuse among these Native urban students. Even sports team mascots have been maintained by schools with blatant disregard as to how these caricatures affect Native children. In the Great Lakes area Natives have led a long-term fight against the use of Native images as mascots, but progress is slow.

Urban universities can and should strengthen the ties between Native and non-Native students in order to provide more self-esteem for Native students and to educate the non-Native students about the values and traditions of Native people. Universities can also reach out to Native students in both urban and rural and reservation communities. These institutions can expand programs that already exist at places such as Colorado State University, Northern Arizona University, and the University of Northern Iowa. These programs introduce Native students to the intricacies of academic life through summer sessions and other special seminars for prospective university students from Native communities. There is a wide gap separating urban post-secondary institutions and Native people living in rural and reservation communities and it should be the responsibility of these institutions to lessen this gap and to tap into the tremendous strength of potential American Indian and Alaska Native students. Where possible, universities should also encourage faculty who write textbooks that concern Native people, whether in history, literature, sociology, economics, or other disciplines, to incorporate accurate and sympathetic portrayals of those cultures and their role in the history of this country. As the participants in the College Board and AISES study concluded: "institutions of higher learning must become key partners in Indian education reform initiatives."

Conclusion

In the late 1980s one Native writer synthesized the thrust of this paper in a single sentence: "The ownership of this whole program has to be brought back to the Native people." The concept that it is time to "Indianize" Indian education can be expanded to incorporate the major issues discussed here: economic conditions, health, cultural heritage, and the relationships between families, communities, Native governments, and their schools, as well as the relationships between Native people and the outside entities, both governments and the population as a whole. Native governments bear a heavy responsibility in each of these areas, as do Native families and communities. But equal burden-bearers are state and federal government entities, as well as institutions of higher learning, businesses and private foundations. The historic role of the federal government has been an ambivalent one at best. Historians of the twenty-first century, both Native and non-Native, may well rank the 1980s and the Reagan administration as one of the weakest decades of the twentieth century, in terms of the federal government accepting its responsibilities toward Native people. But the American non-Native public, under the influence of the media, also has contributed heavily to the conditions described in this paper. Native people have survived these five centuries, but their children are at risk today, perhaps more than any earlier time in these five hundred years. Their survival will demand a strong commitment by Native governments, families and communities; by federal dollars and well-managed programs geared to Native needs; by other governments, including the States; and by the media. The recent film *Dances with Wolves* is a promising beginning for future changes in the media. Other solutions and signs of promise have been related in the foregoing narrative.

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Native American Education at a Turning Point: Current Demographics and Trends

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Preface

Counting the numbers of American Indians and Alaska Natives is difficult. Often the count is affected by such factors as who collects the data, the method of data collection, and the perceived objectives of the data collection effort. For example, the number of American Indians and Alaska Natives reported in the 1980 census represented a 72 percent increase over the 1970 census. The Census Bureau estimated that a significant proportion of the increase was attributable to factors other than natural population increase (births minus deaths). Some of the growth was attributed to use of self-identification for obtaining information pertaining to race (Johnson, Paisano, & Levin, 1988). In any event, different definitions, procedures and efforts tend to produce different counts. In this paper, we have used the available data, regardless of source (e.g., Bureau of the Census, U.S. Department of Education, Bureau of Indian Affairs) without confirming the validity of the count.

Despite the variety of sources, the data presented in this paper, especially when presented in the context of trends over many years, sometimes over decades, seems to have a surprising degree of consistency.

In this paper, we focus on the present situation and what we expect to see in the remainder of the decade, to the year 2000. In order to project to the future, we have examined trends over the past. We have often summarized such trends using linear regression. This approach determines the straight line that best fits the known data points and projecting the line to estimate future data points. For much of the data examined in this paper, we provide a forecast for the year 2000. It is important to note that these forecasts are often based on only a few years of data. Furthermore, data available for Native students are often derived from small and/or poor samples. Unfortunately, it is the best we have available on Native populations. We cannot over emphasize the need for better quality data for Native populations. Despite these limitations, it is important to make an attempt to describe current trends, and to project where they will be in 10 years in the year 2000.

One big problem with demographic and statistical analyses is that if you cannot assign a number to something, you cannot analyze it. Thus in this paper, we spend most of our time discussing changes in the quantity, rather than the quality of Native education. Quality issues are often much more important than the issues of quantity.

The statistically-inclined reader might like to know more about our data. For anyone wishing to use the data underlying the findings presented in this paper, we hope to make an automated file available (through ERIC), which contains a public domain regression program and all the databases used in this report, along with MS DOS files containing all the results. This information will be provided separately because the data and analyses exceed 50 pages. Too much technical detail can obscure the most important facts, which will be the focus of this paper.

At the time this paper was completed (early 1991), the 1990 census reports for American Indians and Alaska Natives were generally unavailable to the public. As a result, in most of our analyses based on census data, figures for 1990 are estimates based on linear regressions of data from earlier censuses. When the 1990 census data become available, they will be a good test of the accuracy of our estimates. It is noteworthy that the demographic, social, and economic characteristics of American Indian tribes from the 1980 census data were released in a Census Bureau Publication in February, 1990, a full decade after the census was completed.

Demographics of the Native Population

Overall Population Growth

The numbers of American Indians and Alaska Natives are growing, and growing fast. The 1980 census showed almost 1.4 million American Indians and over 64,000 Alaska Natives. Our projections show a population of over 1.6 million American Indians in 1990, and almost two million in the year 2000. Similarly, we project over 72,000 Alaska Natives in 1990 and over 82,000 in the year 2000. Despite the significant growth in the Native population, in 1980 it represented less than one percent of the total U.S. population, and, if our projections are correct, this percentage will not change much by the year 2000.

The Shift to Cities

A starting point for discussion of the demography of Native education might be to note the steady growth of the Native population in urban relative to rural areas, not in every state, but as a general trend. Table 1 shows the 10 states with the highest Native population in the 1980 census, and shows the trend of high urban population growth over the past 30 years. The figures in Table 1 are in thousands of persons.

Table 2 provides a summary for the 10 states compared in Table 1. We can see that while the Native population is growing in the rural areas at a rate of nearly 7,500 per year, growth in the urban areas is nearly double that rate. As recently as the 1970 census, rural areas accounted for more Natives in these states. In 1991, the urban areas lead in Native population, and even by the year 2000, the rural areas will not have as many Native inhabitants as currently dwell in the urban areas [39, 40]. [Note: Numbers in square brackets refer to the analysis file number in which these detailed results may be found].

A number of problems are raised by the increasing distribution of Native students in urban communities. For example, understanding the student's culture, learning style, and special needs may be more difficult when the number of Native students is small compared to the total student enrollment of a particular school or school district. Because Natives constitute less than one percent of the U.S. population, a Native student residing in an urban community is often the only Native student in a class. There may be less than a dozen Native students in the school or even the entire district. Furthermore, other Native students may be from very different, even traditionally hostile, tribes or groups. In such circumstances, it is easy for the Native student to feel out of place and for the system to fail to meet the student's special needs.

Age Distributions

Dramatic growth has occurred both in the Native population as a whole, and in the numbers of school-aged Native youth. Table 3, taken from U.S. census data from several decades, shows this growth. From 1950 to 1970, the number of Natives aged 0 to 20 years doubled. From 1970 to 1980, it almost doubled again. By 1990, we estimate there will be 344,225 Native children aged 0-9 years; by the year 2000, there will be and estimated 408,163 Native children aged 0-9 years. Similarly, by 1990, we estimate there will be 378,012 Natives aged 10-19 years; by 2000 there will be 456,500 Natives in this age group. While these projections must be treated with special caution because they are based on only the data from the 1950, 1970, and 1980 censuses, they certainly suggest that there will be large increases in the Native student population over the next decade. We will have a much better estimate of this growth when the 1990 census data becomes available. If educators do not plan for this substantial growth, it is unlikely that big improvements in the educational outcomes of Native students can be achieved.

At the same time, we must recognize that the Native population is aging. Those 0-20 years old constituted 51 percent of the population in 1950, 49 percent in 1970, and just 43 percent in 1980.

These two trends, a substantial increase in the number of school-age Natives, and an increase in the average age of the Native population should be included in plans for improving Native education.

Distribution of the Native Population

A synopsis of the general Native population demography was provided by the 1980 census: 25 percent of American Indians lived on reservations, 2 percent lived on tribal trust lands, 36 percent lived in other rural areas, and the remaining 37 percent lived in urban areas in the United States. Based on the trend for more rapid population growth in urban areas, we anticipate that the 1990 and year 2000 censuses will show higher percentages of Natives living in urban areas.

The analysis of current Native demography should include identification of the largest reservations in terms of population. The Special Report from the 1980 Census, *American Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts on identified Reservations and in the Historic Areas of Oklahoma* contains a listing of about 250 reservations nationwide, listing various social and economic factors associated with the reservations. Table 4 presents a list of the 10 most populous reservations in the United States, drawn from the 1980 special report. Arizona contains part or all of six out of the 10 largest reservations, with the states of South Dakota and New Mexico also containing more than one. The Navajo Nation with over 100,000 residents is clearly the largest reservation, over eight times more populous than Pine Ridge with over 11,000 Oglala Sioux residents.

The population trends of the 10 states with largest numbers of American Indians are shown in Table 5. In 1940, Oklahoma had the largest American Indian population, with Arizona leading in 1950 and 1960. Oklahoma regained the lead in 1970. And finally, California took first place in 1980. In fact, California has moved from sixth place in 1940, to fifth place in 1950, to fourth place in 1960, to third place in 1970, and to first place in 1980 where it will likely remain in the 1990 census, as shown in the projections for 1990 and 2000. These figures also reflect the greater Native population increase of urban relative to rural areas. For example, in California the majority of the Native population resides in urban areas.

While there are more than 500 American Indian tribes and Alaska Native Villages, 10 groups of tribes account for more than half the Native population. Enrollment in each tribe is determined by the tribe, and generally involves some degree of blood quantum and direct descendence from earlier tribal members. In 1980, only two tribes (Cherokee and Navajo) had more than 100,000 members. Note that the Census Bureau combined data from a number of distinct but culturally-related tribes for most of the categories in Table 6.

Tribal enrollment is not lost when members migrate to other locations. However, eligibility for certain services (e.g., many services from the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and the Indian Health Service (IHS)) may be unavailable to members living away from the designated service areas. For a few tribes, the right to vote in tribal elections may be denied to members while living away from the reservation or trust lands. The members of a tribe often reside in many states.

Social and Economic Characteristics of Native Americans

The social, economic, and health problems reflected in this section are critical to the success of efforts to improve Native education. Somehow, these efforts must overcome the effects of high levels of unemployment, poverty, and health problems described below.

Educational Attainment

Census data indicate that the educational attainment of American Indians improved significantly in the 1970s. In 1980, 56 percent of American Indians aged 25 and over had completed four years of high school, up from 33 percent in 1970. Nevertheless, the 56 percent of Natives with four years of high school was still significantly lower than the 67 percent for the total U.S. population. The educational attainment of Alaska Natives was even lower than that of American Indians: 46 percent of Alaska Natives 25 years or older had completed high school in 1980 (Johnson, et al, 1988).

Labor Force Participation

The labor force is defined as employed persons plus persons actively looking for work. The 1980 census showed that American Indians did not participate in the labor force to the same degree as the total population: 59 percent of American Indians 16 years old and over were in the labor force compared to the 62 percent for the total population. The situation was even worse for Alaska Natives: less than 50 percent of Alaska Natives were in the labor force in 1980 (Johnson, et al, 1988).

Poverty Rates

In 1979, the poverty line was defined by the federal government as an income of not more than $7,412 (excluding non-cash benefits such as housing, food, or medical assistance) for a family of four. In 1979, 28 percent of American Indians and 25 percent of Alaska Natives were below the poverty line. In contrast, 12 percent of the total population was below the poverty line (Johnson, et al, 1988). Table 7 presents a comparison of the Native and total populations on a variety of social and economic characteristics. Table 7 shows the Native population to be younger, and to have larger families, lower per capita income, more persons below the poverty line, lower proportion of high school graduates, and to have more unemployed than the total populations (IHS Trends in Indian Health, 1990).

Mortality Rates

Natives generally die younger than other Americans. Table 8 shows the top 10 causes of death for 1-14 year olds (1985-1987). Native children die at higher rates in every case except for cancer (malignant neoplasms) and birth defects (congenital abnormalities); the mortality rates are equivalent for meningitis. Similar patterns are found in the mortality rates of Natives aged 15-24 years.

Enrollment Trends

K-12 Enrollment

The Native student population is distributed among three major types of schools for the K-12 grades: public schools, private schools, and schools administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). There are several other types of school, including reservation schools administered locally, and a few experimental or specialty schools. However, the majority of Native students, 85 percent, currently attend public schools, with BIA and private schools still enrolling significant numbers of students.

In 1990, the BIA directly operated 102 schools and provided funds for 78 contract schools under the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act (Pub.L. 93-638). Since 1970, enrollment in BIA-operated schools has been decreasing while enrollment in Contract schools has been increasing. When these two sets of data are combined, the total enrollment for BIA-funded schools has been increasing slightly (see Figure 1). It is noteworthy that the data in Figure 2 (from BIA statistics concerning Indian Education, FY 1952-1979) are at variance with other BIA data presented in *Educating the American Indian/Alaska Native Family: 16th Annual Report of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE)*. The BIA data reported by NACIE indicate an average annual decrease of 715 students in BIA-funded schools.

Figure 2 shows the enrollment trends of Native students in public, private, and BIA-funded schools since 1970. It also shows the total enrollment of all students. Note that the total student data are in millions, and the rest of the data are in thousands.

Enrollment of Native students in U.S. public and private schools has been increasing at a rate of about 7,200 students per year (Table 9). By the year 2000, we project there will be nearly half a million Native students enrolled in these schools. [01]

The net effect of this large increase in the public and private schools and small loss in the BIA-funded schools is an overall increase in the number of Native students, grades K-12. [03] In contrast, total student enrollments in grades K-12 in the United States have been decreasing over the last 10 years. Each year, there is an average of 340,000 fewer students in our schools. [04]

Table 10 shows the enrollment of Native students (elementary through secondary levels) in relation to the total student population, for the 10 states with the largest Native populations. It is interesting to note that California, although having the highest Native population, is not even among the top 10 states in terms of the percentage of Native student enrollment. This means that although California has the largest total population of Natives, the density of Native student population in the schools is far less than in other states where large numbers of Natives live.

Higher Education

In institutions of higher education, Native student enrollment has been increasing at a rate of over 1,100 students per year, about 1.2 percent of their current enrollment [05]. The total U.S. enrollment is increasing at about the same rate: 1.5 percent per year (NCES, 1989). [06] Since 1976, there has been no change in Native enrollment as a percentage of all students enrolled in higher education. [07] By the year 2000, we project that over 100,000 Native students will be enrolled in higher education programs (see Table 11)..

Beginning in 1968, a new era in Native education commenced with the opening of Navajo Community College in Arizona, the first tribally-controlled college to grant a 2-year associate degree located on the reservation. Since then, a total of 24 tribally-controlled community colleges have been established (all located on reservations, except for two). These tribally-controlled colleges are helping Native students preserve their cultural identity while at the same time embarking on fields of study which allow them to attain professional goals (see Commissioned Paper 18 of the Supplemental Volume).

In 1989, the total enrollment of the tribally-controlled colleges was about 4,400 students (American Indian Higher Education Consortium, 1990). Figure 3 shows the enrollments in the tribal colleges from 1981 to 1989 with projections. We project that in 1990 enrollment will be 4,390, and in the year 2000 it will be over 7,500 students. The colleges are concentrated in a few states. Out of the total of 24 colleges, seven are in Montana and eight in the states of North Dakota and South Dakota. Many of the larger reservations do not have such a college. A state with one of the largest populations in the country, Oklahoma, is without a tribal college; California, Arizona, and New Mexico each have only one.

Two of the tribal colleges now grant 4-year degrees: Oglala Lakota and Sinte Gleska. In a list of the top 10 4-year colleges in terms of Native student enrollment, Oglala Lakota College is ranked third with 812 Native students, having the honor of being the only tribally-controlled college ranking in the top 10 (Chronicle of Higher Education, April 11, 1990).

A recent tabulation of Native students in the various higher education levels was published in the Chronicle of Higher Education, April 11, 1990. Table 12, adapted from this report, shows data over the 1978-1988 decade by student gender, type of institution, and type of program.

In the first professional programs, such as medicine and law, there has been no increase in Native student enrollment over the 10 year period. On the graduate level, there has been a significant increase, but not nearly enough to keep up with the increase in Native population shown in Table 1. Enrollment of women is consistently greater than that of men at all levels.

Table 13 shows that the majority of Native (and Hispanic) students are enrolled at 2-year colleges. In contrast, the percentages of Asian, Black, and White students enrolled in 4-year colleges is higher than that enrolled in 2-year colleges. Figure 4 shows the trend of Native student enrollment in 2-year and 4-year colleges for the period 1976-1986.

Major Fields of Study

Table 14 indicates the interest areas and the major fields of study of Native college students. In all fields, Native students earned 0.4 percent of all Bachelors Degrees, with Native women students earning slightly more such degrees than Native men students.

Of the major fields of study, the greatest number of degrees awarded (to all categories of students) were in business and management, with social science and education ranking second and third, respectively. In the field of education, Native female students outnumbered Native male students by almost three to one. In computer science, Native student enrollment is disproportionately low. Less than 0.2 percent of the total degrees for computer science were granted to Native students.

Adult Education

The Adult Education Act, (Public Law 100-297) was reauthorized in 1988. This Act is intended to improve educational opportunities by enabling adults to:

1. acquire basic educational skills necessary for literate functioning;
2. complete secondary school;
3. benefit from job training and retraining programs;
4. obtain productive employment; and
5. more fully enjoy the benefits and responsibilities of citizenship.

State educational agencies receive adult education grants based on the number of adults that have not completed secondary school. In turn, the states fund local adult education programs administered by local educational agencies, other public agencies and institutions, and private non-profit organizations. Adult education programs administered by tribes, Native groups and organizations are often ineligible to receive Adult Education Act funds granted by state education agencies because Natives are not included in the state education plan or Native organizations are not considered to be a local educational agency.

Figure 5 displays the enrollment of Native students in adult education programs funded under the Adult Education Act from 1985-1988 with projections. In 1991, we estimate that over 38,000 Native adults will participate in state-administered adult education programs, a number that is increasing at about 2,000 per year (see Table 15). However, little confidence should be placed in the forecast for the year 2000 because of the quality of the data. The growth rate in Native adult education is about five percent per year, as compared with a growth of about one percent per year for the U.S. population as a whole. [13,14] In terms of absolute numbers, about 2.2 percent of the Native population will participate in such programs in 1991, as compared with 1.2 percent of the total U.S. population.

Another source of funding for Native adult education is the Adult Education Program of the Office of Indian Education in the U.S. Department of Education. The number of students enrolled in adult education programs funded under this Office has varied from 1985-1989 (see Figure 5). Overall, participation is showing signs of decrease. The program appears to be losing about 500 students each year, and our estimate for 1991 of 6,038 participants will be dropping to around 1,500 by the year 2000 if trends continue (Table 16). Participation in this program has fluctuated since its inception in 1985, so the forecast is not particularly trustworthy. [16]

The BIA provides funds for tribal adult education programs. As with the Office of Indian Education, Adult Education Program, participation in the BIA program is decreasing by nearly 300 students a year (see Figure 5). Our estimate of 11,628 participants for 1991 will be dropping to around 9,000 in the year 2000, if the trend continues (Table 16). [19]

It appears that while overall Native adult education participation is growing, the BIA and ED Native Adult Education programs are shrinking.

Vocational Education

The Department of Education provides grants to states for vocational education programs as authorized by the Carl D. Perkins Vocational

Education Act. The objectives of this act include the following.

- Improve and modernize vocational education to meet the needs of the workforce;
- Promote economic growth; and
- Ensure disadvantaged and handicapped students have access to quality vocational education programs.

While tribes and Native organizations may be eligible to obtain grants administered by the states, most states do not award grants to them. The U.S. Department of Education Indian Vocational Education Program provides discretionary grants to eligible tribes, tribal organizations, and Alaska Native groups. The Act included a provision that sets aside 1.25 percent of the appropriated funds for Native programs.

Since its inception in 1977, the program has maintained data on appropriations, total projects, and applications for grants received. Table 17 shows that total appropriations are increasing at a rate of about $500,000 per year, with nearly $12 million to be spent in 1991. [20] The total number of projects funded is also increasing, at fewer than two per year. [21] With an estimated 47 projects to be funded in 1991, the average project value is $250,000. There appears to be only a slight and non-significant increase in the rate of grant applications — about one or two each year. [22] Roughly 64 applications are projected to be received in 1991 for an estimated 47 new and continuation projects.

The BIA administers an Adult Vocation Education Program. This program is available to members of federally recognized tribes, 18 to 35 years of age, residing on or near their reservation, trust land or Native village. The program enrolls approximately 3,000 students each year.

Vocational Rehabilitation

Vocational rehabilitation generally involves retraining for a new job skill or level to help disabled persons seek employment in a new field. The Rehabilitation Services Administration (RSA), of the U.S. Department of Education, has an Indian Vocational Rehabilitation Program. This program provides funds under the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, as amended by Public Law 99-506. In 1990, RSA funded 14 grants to tribal vocational rehabilitation programs. These grants totalled $3,815,500, and an estimated 4,000 Natives participated in the vocational rehabilitation programs.

Special Programs

Between 1978 and 1986, the number of Native students attending public elementary and secondary schools in the United States increased from 329,430 to 355,796 students, an increase of eight percent. Of these students, 36,973 were placed in various special education programs, and approximately 55 percent of this number were placed in classes for the learning disabled (Office of Civil Rights: Elementary and Secondary School Civil Rights Survey, 1987).

In BIA schools, the number of children receiving special education and related services increased by 35 percent since 1977, the principal increase coming from the categories of learning disabled and speech impaired children (Office for Civil Rights Survey, 1987). Table 18 presents a comparison of the percentage of Native and White students in special education in 1986. Native students are significantly underrepresented in gifted and talented programs and overrepresented in programs for students with learning disabilities.

For all school systems in any region and at any level, special education, consistently has the greatest need for qualified teachers and staff. High staff turnover and low student achievement are unfortunately common in these areas. The Native population has greater needs for special education professionals than other groups.

Standardized Measures of Scholastic Aptitude

There has been a long and continuing debate about the utility, validity and fairness of standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the American College Testing Program (ACT). Nevertheless, both the ACT and SAT are extensively used by American colleges as part of their selection process. We report the trends in Native scores below.

The ACT

Scores from the ACT examination, which covers English, math, social studies, and natural sciences, were analyzed for this paper.

Figure 6 shows the trends in the national scores by ethnic group during the period 1985-1989. With the exception of Whites, all groups showed improving scores during this period. Whites, who currently score the highest, are forecast to be surpassed by Puerto Rican/Other Hispanic by the year 2000 (Table 19). Looking at the rates of improvement in the scores, Native students showed the least improvement during this time period, except for Whites (ACT, 1989).[23, 24, 25, 26, 27]

Because ACT scores are available for a series of years for different ethnic groups by ACT component (English, math, social studies, and natural sciences), it is possible to learn a bit more about where Native students are doing the best, and where they are showing the most improvement. Our analyses, shown in Table 20, may be summarized by the following points. [28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35]

- Like all students, Native students receive their highest scores in the natural sciences, lowest scores in math and social studies.
- Native students are improving in all four areas. They are showing the greatest improvement in math scores, which are improving at a rate of over one quarter-test unit each year. The weakest area is social studies, which is improving at a rate of less than one-tenth test unit each year. In contrast, all students are losing ground in math and social studies, and showing growth only in English.
- Despite the gains being made by Native students in all areas, and the general deterioration of the scores of all students, Native students are still far behind. Given the current trends, even by the year 2000, Native students will still lag substantially behind the current and forecast scores for all students. On the average, the Native students score 15.1 on a test where all students score 18.6. Native performance is only 81 percent that of the performance of all students.

The SAT

The SAT is widely used for selection of students for post-secondary programs. Figures 7 and 8 show the great disparity between Native student test scores and those of the White and total student populations.

Table 21 summarizes the trends of the SAT data. It can be seen that Native students trail the general population substantially in both math and verbal SAT scores. Native student scores are improving, however, going up a small amount each year in verbal, and a greater amount in math, where they do best. [41, 42, 43, 44]

Native student math aptitude is higher than verbal aptitude on the SAT; in contrast, math aptitude is lower than verbal aptitude scores on the ACT as discussed previously.

Attrition and Dropout

A series of studies have analyzed the probability and risk factors of secondary minority students dropping out of school at certain intervals. The third in a series of longitudinal studies conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES), the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 (NCES, 1988) commenced with a large sample of eighth graders. The national sample of 1,000 schools, including 800 public and 200 private schools, yielded a group of 26,000 eighth grade students.

In subsequent years, a directed attempt will be made to follow all students classified as dropouts in the original sample. Beginning in 1990, various attribute-specific student subpopulations are being examined in two year intervals. Table 22 delineates factors identified by the study to correlate with the probability of a student becoming a dropout. Figure 9 shows the dropout rates for some racial-ethnic groups; Native students have the highest dropout rate, almost twice that of White students.

For these studies, a student dropout is defined as an individual enrolled in school at some time during the previous school year, was not enrolled at the beginning of the current school year, has not graduated from high school or completed an approved educational program, and is not absent from school due to illness, nor transferred to another public school district, private school, or other approved educational program. The overall dropout rates reported here (and used as the baselines for subsequent comparisons) are only the attrition rates between Spring of the sophomore year and Spring of the senior year. They should not be construed as estimates of the total dropout rate from the 1980 sophomore cohort.

Educational Attainment

We determined Native representation among graduates receiving Associate degrees, Bachelor's degrees, and Doctoral degrees. Figure 10 shows that the number of Master's degrees awarded to Native students has been increasing regularly. The other degree categories generally show a trend for increase over time, but with an occasional decrease in the number of degrees awarded. We project that, in the year 2000, 6,400 Associate, 5,200 Bachelor's, 1,500 Master's and 100 Doctoral degrees will be awarded to Native students.

We also examined the degrees awarded to Native students as a proportion of all degrees awarded for each type of degree. We estimate that in 1991-92, 0.66 percent of all U.S. graduates receiving Associates Degrees will be Native students, as compared with 0.41 percent of those receiving Bachelor's degrees and .51 percent of those receiving Doctoral degrees. We forecast little change by the year 2000, but the trend is for a decreasing proportion of Natives earning Associate degrees, and an increasing proportion of Native earning Bachelor's, and Doctoral degrees. [10,11,12] While some sources using the same raw numbers conclude that participation in every degree category decreases as higher levels of educational attainment are reached [NACIE, p. 23], we see a trend for Native students to earn Bachelor's rather than Associate degrees (Table 23).

Funding For Education

Over the years, there has been a variety of funding programs for Native education. Earlier in this century, the BIA controlled most reservation schools and was in charge of corresponding financial resources. More recently, there has been a trend for the Department of Education to provide greater support. Overall, Native education funding *appears* to have been growing since 1975. The annual expenditures for BIA education, for example, show an increase of $2.6 million per year or an increase per year of about one percent. However, rather than applying current dollars over this time period, it is certainly more accurate to take inflation into account. When this is done, it becomes evident that BIA education funding has actually fallen by $11.8 million per year from fiscal year 1975 through fiscal year 1991 (Figure 11). Figure 11 also shows that the same situation has been true of spending on Native education by the other major funding agency, the Department of Education (from Survey Report, National Center for Education Statistics, Federal Support for Education: Fiscal Years 1980 to 1989, August 1990). It is difficult to imagine how significant improvements can be made in Native education if the trend of decreasing federal expenditures continues.

Private foundations, such as the Bush Foundation in St. Paul, Minnesota, have been helpful in funding certain selective educational institutions. The Bush Foundation has concentrated some of its $400 million portfolio on the development and enhancement of tribal colleges. For example, beginning in April, 1977 the Bush Foundation made its first grant of $100,000 to construct a library at the Sinte Gleska College on the Rosebud Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Since that time, the Foundation has granted over $1.5 million to eight fully accredited tribal colleges in the states of Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota.

Since 1983, the majority of the Bush Foundation support for tribally-controlled colleges has been used for faculty development. Most of these colleges are geographically isolated, operating budgets are limited, and opportunities are scarce for faculty members to attend professional meetings, engage in graduate study, or improve curricula. Grants for this purpose have generally averaged $25,000 annually for each of the eight colleges served. During 1989, approximately $260,000 was appropriated for faculty development activities in these colleges (The Bush Foundation Annual Report for 1989, St. Paul, Minnesota).

Currently, there are 24 tribally-controlled community colleges with most receiving funding through the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, as amended, and other foundation or grant sources. Table 24 shows that these sources of funding have been drying up, when examined on a per-pupil basis. Each year means the loss of about $110 per student in funding. In 1991, the average per-student funding is estimated at only $1,771; by the year 2000 this will be down to $772 per student, if present trends continue. [09]

Paul Boyer's *Tribal Colleges* narrates the history and challenging issues which have confronted the development of the tribal college system (Boyer, 1989). The report, sponsored by the Carnegie Foundation, points out that in spite of a budget passed by Congress amounting to over $4,000 per student (Tribally Controlled Community College Act of 1978), only $3,000 per student had actually been appropriated in 1980. Worse yet, by 1989, after increasing the total budget considerably, the amount appropriated per student was a mere $1,900.

Under the Indian Education Act, the U.S. Department of Education awards competitive discretionary grants to Native tribes, villages, organizations, and institutions for adult education. These grants have been increasing at a rate of about $57 per student per year. In 1991, an estimated $640 will be spent per student, and if trends continue, over $1,100 in the year 2000. [17] In contrast to this slight growth is a nearly flat rate of expenditure per pupil in the BIA Adult Education Program. Here, per-pupil funding is shrinking at the rate of almost $2 per year (Table 24).[18]

For these three funding sources combined, total per-pupil funding is dropping at about $56 per year, an average decrease of two percent of the total funding available.

The BIA offers a Higher Education Grant Program which is another source of funds for Native students. Table 25 summarizes trends in the number served [36], average grant size [37], and number of graduates.[38] This program, we estimate, will serve over 18,000 students in 1991, and nearly 500 additional students each year. The average grant size is quite small relative to the costs of higher education: just under $1,500 a year per student, and rather than keeping pace with inflation, is shrinking each year.

Teachers, Administrative, and School Personnel

A critical attribute in creating a quality educational environment is the teacher. Regrettably, the training, recruitment, and retention of teachers, especially in minority schools, is a major problem. In reservation schools, and in other rural school areas, new teachers from urban areas often find it difficult to remain in a school located far from a city and all its resources.

Teacher turnover is especially high in science and mathematics and, with the Native students in particular, there seems to be a variety of obstacles to effective learning (Lawrenz, 1988). Typically in these situations, students have insufficient support (such as teaching assistants), and teachers become frustrated with inadequate supplies and equipment.

In *The Condition of Teaching*, a recent survey of teachers throughout the United States funded by the Carnegie Foundation, 96 percent of teachers surveyed spend some of their own money on supplies for the classroom, at an average per teacher cost of $250 for the first half of the 1989-1990 school year (Boyer, 1990). If such a lack of support exists throughout the country for classroom equipment, then it is no surprise that Native schools are in even more need of such supplies and support.

Kathleen Cotton, in a report from the Northwest Regional Educational Laboratory, entitled *Reducing Teacher Turnover in Reservation Schools*, states, for example, that on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, up to 41 percent of new teachers leave by the end of the school year (Cotton, 1987). Cotton suggests that teachers who leave tend to have the following attributes: young, inexperienced, single, and from urban areas. Lack of administrative support, low salaries, and inadequate curriculum development are all significant factors in this turnover. A selective teacher recruitment program, drawing on Native teachers (and others with experience in Native culture and traditions), is needed. Although figures are not available for salaries by teacher ethnicity, the average salary nationwide for public school teachers was $25,198 in 1986 and, for private school teachers for the same year, $14,400.

The general trend has been a slow increase in numbers of Native teachers and faculty, although not nearly approaching a percentage comparable to the Native population. The state of Oklahoma, for example, in order to begin to initiate tangible improvements in minority faculty hiring, enacted an incentive grant in 1985 paying up to $25,000 for a first time employed faculty member in a full-time teaching position, from a minority racial or ethnic group.

Approximately 471,000 people were employed as full-time faculty at college and university levels in 1983, Whites accounting for 425,691 (over 90 percent) of faculty positions, with Native full-time faculty increasing from 1,050 to 1,310 from 1975 to 1983, including about 27 percent Native women (Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, 1983).

A Final Note

We believe that good data and analyses are essential if we are

1. to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of the educational process within schools at all levels for the Native student,
2. to promote and maintain Native cultural and historical identity within educational systems,
3. to counsel Native students using current information
4. to keep government agencies and Congress aware of the financial and other needs for Native education.

It would be nice to think that by the year 2000, the Native student will attain a level equal to the general student population in terms of academic and social achievements. Our analyses suggest this is improbable without massive, and effective restructuring of Native education from pre-school to professional schools.

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Responsibilities and Roles of Governments and Native People in the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives

Kirke Kickingbird
and G. Mike Charleston

Abstract

The standards set forth five hundred years ago to guide the political relationship between the Native peoples of the Americas and the peoples of Europe are the standards that govern that relationship today. The political equality of American Indians and Alaska Natives is manifested in the government-to-government relationship and the recognition of inherent tribal sovereignty. The powers of Native governments are a vital living force utilized every day in Indian Country. The rest of American society may rarely hear or see these powers unless a litigated controversy is handed down from a federal court or the U.S. Supreme Court. It will catch a moment's notice because the idea of Native governmental powers may seem such an anomaly.

Many of the Native governmental powers remain intact; and, although there has been encroachment in some areas as a result of judicial decision or statutory enactment, the basic authority of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of Native governments remain ready to be exercised. These powers are defended by the Native governments themselves, by the Congress, and by the courts. Although at the present moment, Congress is the defender of Native governmental powers, the traditional supporter of such powers has been the Supreme Court. When the United States entered into the government-to-government relationship, it made a commitment to support the Native governments. Native leadership can be effective only when it is properly educated. Native peoples regard the provision of resources for proper education as part and parcel of the special legal relationship with the United States.

This paper is not so much about Native education as it is about Native government. The recommendations to be made are quite simple. Congress must continue to support the authority of Native governments to control and regulate Native education provided through federal, tribal, and public schools on reservations. In a setting outside Indian Country, control of Native education must remain in the hands of Native parents. And, Congress must provide the financial resources to achieve these goals. History has provided clear evidence that Native education can only be a success when Natives control Native education. And finally, Congress must provide Native governments with the legislative tools to achieve these goals. Of what do these tools consist? They consist of new agreements described by Congress in its New Federalism Report. A century ago these agreements were called treaties: "We must promise the word of our nation once again by entering into new agreements that both allow American Indians to run their own affairs and pledge permanent federal support for tribal governments. Only by enshrining in formal agreement "The federal government's most profound promise that we will finally bury the discredited policies of forced tribal termination and Indian assimilation deep in their deserved graves" (New Federalism, p. 17).

Introduction

The education of American Indians and Alaska Natives has been pursued according to standards set by non-Natives since the arrival of the Europeans upon the North and South American continents. As exploration gave way to colonization, Europeans began to compete with Natives for the political, territorial, and economic dominance of the Americas. Initial treaty agreements seemed to indicate that Native governments and the Europeans would operate on a level of political equality. Convinced that their culture was superior to that of Natives, the Europeans felt that it was their moral duty to convert Native people intellectually, economically, and religiously.

The Spanish were the first to institute schools for Natives. Mission schools and colleges were established by the Jesuits throughout North and South America with the primary purpose of teaching Natives the Spanish language in order to convert them to Christianity. The Spanish founded the first school for Natives in 1523 in Mexico where 1,000 Native boys learned reading, writing, arithmetic, vocational trades, and the catechism (Williams, Bartlett & Miller, 1958, pp. 210-211).

The British began permanent settlement of North America in 1607 with the establishment of Jamestown, Virginia. During British colonization, the churches and a few concerned individuals promoted the cause of education of the Natives sporadically during the 17th and 18th centuries. Few Native children availed themselves of the opportunity, however, because what was taught was not relevant to their needs (Fletcher, 1888, p. 34).

The United States government followed a similar pattern of controlling the content and administration of the type of education that Natives needed. The goals were largely the same as those established by the Spanish and the British which were assimilation and Christianization (United States Congress, American Indian Policy Review Commission, Task Force Five, Report on Indian Education, 1976, p. 28; hereinafter cited as AIPRC Education Report, 1976). The pattern of external government determination of Native people's educational needs remained the hallmark of Native education until the 1970s. The results of these formal efforts by European and American societies to educate and "civilize" American Indians have been devastating — so much so that a special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education proclaimed the state of Indian education to be a "national tragedy." (U.S. Senate, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, S. Report No. 91-501, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, hereinafter cited as National Tragedy, 1969).

As we look back over the history of the white society's conceptualization of "Indian education," it becomes clear how and why the efforts and the great amount of tribal funds and federal tax dollars that have been devoted to the purpose of Native education have had so little positive effect. Those who governed Native education never provided a role for the Natives to determine how they were to be educated. With the passage of the Indian Education Act in 1972 the U.S. Congress demonstrated that it could learn from the mistakes of the past and use this knowledge in building a foundation for the future. The most essential element in this foundation is the recognition of the necessity for Native participation in the control of Native education. The treaty guarantee of Native self-government means that it is the American Indian and Alaska Native conceptualization of education that must guide the future course of Native education, see *Harjo v. Kleppe*, 420 F. Supp. 1110 (D.D.C. 1976) and *EEOC v. Cherokee Nation*, 871 F. 2d 937 (10th Cir. 1989).

Historical Basis for the Government-to-Government Relationship

The government-to-government relationship is one of the common names for the fundamental concept which guides the relationship between the United States and Native governments. It is a simple term for the complex political and legal relationship that has evolved between Native governments and the federal government. Its origins begin over five hundred years ago (Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States, Ronald Reagan, Statement of Indian Policy, January 24, 1983, pp. 96-100).

Medieval Europe was beginning a trade with Asia. The rise of the Ottoman Empire, the defeat of a crusader army at the Battle of Varna in 1444 which confirmed Ottoman control in Europe, and the capture of Constantinople in 1453 and its establishment as the Ottoman capital of Istanbul set the stage for a European voyage to the West. Europe could still trade with Asia after 1453, but the merchants of Europe wanted to establish trade with China and Japan that did not have the extra cost of an Ottoman tariff (Ferguson, 1962, p. 407; Thompson, 1931, pp. 376-377).

The Portuguese had made a great success of their trading efforts along the west coast of Africa by 1460 and had reached the Cape of Good Hope at Africa's southern tip. They were ready to move on to India by 1488. It was shortly after this date that Columbus convinced Spain's monarchs to sponsor his voyage. When Europeans "discovered" the existence of America, it raised questions about how to deal with the new lands and new peoples.

The Aboriginal Rights of Native People

Out of the many by products of Columbus' voyage, we are concerned with the one specific question raised by the Europeans' discovery of the existence of a land mass between Europe and Asia: What is to be the relationship between the inhabitants of the Americas and the people of Europe?

The Emperor of Spain called on a lawyer to advise him about the rights of the "Indians" in 1532. Some of the Emperor's advisers had suggested that the Natives of the Americas had no rights at all since they were not Christians. Francisco de Vitoria, theologian and jurist, rendered his legal advice and told the Emperor of Spain that there could be no change in the ownership of land in the Americas or change in the independent political status of nations in the Americas unless the Natives gave their consent. The Doctrine of Discovery, Vitoria advised, applied only where land was ownerless. Vitoria's advice set the stage for treaties to be negotiated between the European and Native nations (Cohen, L., 1960, pp. 230-252).

Vitoria's advice favoring Native rights and the opinions of his opponents who opposed Native rights set the foundation for what we know in the United States as Federal Indian Law. Across five centuries, we can measure the effectiveness of Native legal rights by the four leading principles established by Vitoria which follow:

- Political equality of the races.
- Tribal self-government.
- Central government control of Native affairs.
- Governmental protection of Native rights. (Cohen, L., 1960, pp. 240-247)

Vitoria's announcement that the Doctrine of Discovery did not apply because the lands were inhabited resulted in the Europeans developing a twist to "Discovery" to regulate competition among themselves (Cohen, 1972, p. 46). The theory that finally evolved said that "Discovery" gave first right to the discovering power to extinguish the ownership rights or title of the native inhabitants if the Natives wished to sell. This right of preemption settled the question of rights between the European powers, but not between the Natives and the Europeans (*Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. 515, 543-544, [1832]).

Britain, Spain, and France competed for control of North America, and each sought its own set of Native allies. Trade grew up in North America with the primary commodities supplied by the Natives being furs, fish, tobacco, and other agricultural products. The Europeans supplied guns, powder, woolen cloth and blankets, iron implements, and tools. Land soon became a focus of trade as Britain and Spain sought to establish colonies. Land acquisition by Europeans soon became a source of conflict with the Native governments. Britain consolidated its power in North America in 1763 by defeating the French in Quebec. The Crown asserted its authority over all Native affairs and Native trade. To solve trade conflicts with the Native governments, including trade in land, the Crown issued its Royal Proclamation of 1763 establishing the boundaries of Indian Country and confirming its policy of acquiring Native land by purchase.

This pattern of resolution of conflict by direct negotiation between the Native governments and the non-Native governments and recognition of the governmental authority of Native governments is the government-to-government relationship. The treaty documents formalized the government-to-government relationship (see Kappler, *Laws and Treaties*, Vols. I-VII). In the present day, numerous statutes implement this relationship and assign the primary duties for its conduct to the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U. S. Department of the Interior.

The Constitutional and Legal Basis of the Trust Responsibility and Fiduciary Relationship of the United States with Native Governments

All of the colonial powers recognized the sovereignty of Native nations and had entered in numerous treaties with Native governments. As the American Revolutionary War came to a close, the newly formed United States government, operating under the Articles of Confederation, had to deal with the issues of land ownership. When the United States won the Revolution it was suggested that the land of tribes which had sided with the British be treated as subject to the Doctrine of Conquest. Secretary of War Knox pointed out the difficulties and options that faced Congress on May 22, 1778, when he provided the following information:

1. The tribes were disgusted with conquest.
2. The British practice had been to purchase the right of the soil from the Indians.
3. The pursuit of conquest would mean continuous warfare which the United State could not afford (the Treasury was empty).
4. The purchase of the land by treaty would be the least expensive course (Mohr, 1933, pp. 132, 219).

Congress decided to discard the fiction of "Conquest" and appropriated funds to proceed with the extinguishment of Native land claims by purchase. Although "Conquest" is a popular notion about the acquisition of Native land, it is not the primary process through which the United States acquired Native land (United States Indian Claims Commission, Final Report, 1979, p. 1).

One of the failings of the government of the United States under the Articles of Confederation was the lack of clarity about the powers of the central government. Under the U.S. Constitution, the conduct of Indian affairs was committed to the federal government (Kickingbird & Kickingbird, 1987, pp. 23-24). The Commerce Clause and Treaty-Making Clause of the U.S. Constitution coupled with the decisions in two important

Cherokee cases decided by the U.S. Supreme Court form the legal basis for the guardian-ward relationship between the U.S government and the sovereign Native governments (Cohen, 1972, p. 170).

The legal theory holds that when the tribes took the protection of the United States through treaty, the Native governments relinquished use of their *external sovereignty*. Many tribes ceded vast quantities of land to the United States and agreed to no longer conduct treaty negotiations with any nation other than the United States in exchange for rights to continue to exist in a peaceful state under the protection of the United States and in exchange for goods and services to be provided by the United States. The United States, on its part, committed itself to fulfill treaty terms and protect the property and rights of the Native governments. This protection of property rights carries with it trustee responsibilities. The tribes retained *internal sovereignty* as self-governing, independent Native nations that dealt with the United States through teaties as all other nations of the world. Many tribes negotiated multiple treaties with the United States as time passed and circumstances changed.

One of the clearest expressions of Vitoria's principles for the relationship between the Native governments and the United States was contained in the Ordinance of July 13, 1787, (1 Stat. 52) defining government for the territory of the United States Northwest of the River Ohio, Section III:

> The utmost good faith shall always be observed toward the Indians; their lands and property shall never be taken from them without their consent; and in their property, rights, and liberty they never shall be invaded or disturbed, unless in just and lawful wars authorized by Congress; but laws founded in justice and humanity, from time to time shall be made for preventing wrongs being done to them, and for preserving the peace and friendship with them. (Kappler, 1929, Vol. IV, p. 1153)

The Doctrine of the Law of Nations applied to the Native governments was first set forth in the U.S. Supreme Court decisions involving the Cherokee cases (*Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1 [1831] and *Worchester v. Georgia*). The state of Georgia was attempting to assert jurisdiction over the territory of the Cherokee and the Court determined that:

- States have no jurisdiction within the Indian Country.
- Native governments are "distinct, independent, political communities,"
- The relationship between the Native governments and the United States resembles that of a guardian to a ward.

Tribal Sovereignty

All of the colonial powers, and later, the United States recognized the sovereignty of Native nations by entering into over 800 treaties with the Natives. Under international law, treaties are a means for sovereign nations to relate to each other (Kickingbird, Kickingbird, Chibitty & Berkey, 1977, p. 6). In 1762 three Cherokee chiefs carried out a diplomatic mission to London which resulted in an English-Cherokee Treaty in 1763. One of them was Outicite, or Mankiller, who was often a guest of Thomas Jefferson's father (Kickingbird & Kickingbird, 1987, p. 19). (Wilma Mankiller, in 1987, was elected as the first woman chief of the Cherokees in Oklahoma.)

The fact that Europeans and the United States made treaties with Native goverments demonstrates that they recognized the sovereignty of Native governments. In *Worcester v. Georgia*, the United States Supreme Court said that "... the very fact of repeated treaties with them recognized (the Natives' right to self-government) and the settled doctrine of the law of nations is that a weaker power does not surrender its independence — its right to self government — by associating with a stronger, and taking its protection," 31 U.S. 515, 559-61 (1832).

The power of Native governments to wage war was pointed out by the Supreme Court on several occasions as evidence of their sovereign character. See for example, *Montoya v. U.S.*, 180 U.S. 269 (1901); *Marks v. U.S.*, 161 U.S. 297 (1896). And, when critics complained that Native governments were not "nations" in the European sense, the Court responded that:

> The words "treaty" and "nation" are words of our language, selected in our diplomatic and legislative proceedings, by ourselves, having each a definite and well understood meaning. We have applied them to Indians as we have applied them to other nations of the earth. They are applied to all in the same sense. (*Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. 515, 559 [1832])

While the exercise of sovereign powers by Native governments has been restricted to some extent by the terms of treaties and statutes passed by Congress to carry out those treaties, there can be no doubt that the United States and other nations have recognized the inherent sovereignty of Native governments and their right to self-government (Cohen, 1942, *Handbook of Federal Indian*

Law, p. 122; U.S. Department of Interior, Solicitors Opinion, 1934, *Powers of Indian Tribes*, p. 55 I.D. 14).

Consequently, we know Native governments are sovereign because:

- Native goverments tribes feel they are sovereign.
- Native governments have exercised sovereign powers.
- Other nations have recognized the sovereignty of Native governments.

The distribution of governmental powers between the federal government, on the one hand, and the original 13 states, on the other, was made in the United States Constitution. The states delegated certain powers to the federal government and retained others. Included in this delegation was the power of the central or federal government to control Native affairs and to make treaties and regulate commerce with Native governments.

The distribution of governmental powers between the United States government and each Native government was somewhat similar. Over the decades and for various reasons, each tribe granted certain of its sovereign powers to the United States government in exchange for certain benefits and rights. This was done by treaty, agreement, or statute.

Whatever powers the federal government may presently exercise over Native goverments, are delegated to the United States in an on-going trust relationship from the Native governments themselves. The point to remember is that all of the powers were once held by the Native governments, not the United States government (Kickingbird, et al., 1977, pp. 7-8).

Treaty Rights

Exercising their sovereign powers, the Native governments entered into numerous treaties with the United States. These early treaties usually dealt with military, political, or economic alliances. Treaty terms addressed a wide variety of subjects. The negotiation of treaties spoke to the issue of self-governance by the Native nations. All of these treaties have been supported by various pieces of federal legislation from the beginning of the United States government down to the present day.

Educational Provisions of Treaties

Under the British colonization, the churches and a few concerned individuals promoted the cause of education of Natives sporadically during the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1691, the bequest of the Honorable Robert Boyd announced that "the Christian faith be propagated amongst the Western Indians." The money went to William and Mary College to provide schooling for Native boys in the area of reading, writing, arithmetic, and the catechism and to supply them with "fittings and furnishings" while they attended school (Kickingbird & Kickingbird, August, 1979, pp. 14-15). However, only a few Natives were ever allowed admission to the college (see Commissioned Paper 17, Wright, 1991 of the Supplemental Volume).

Some fifty years later, during the signing of the Treaty of Lancaster between the Government of Virginia and the Six Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Virginia commissioners offered to educate six Seneca young men in the College of William and Mary. The attitude of the Natives toward the white men's education is well stated in the following response by one of the chiefs:

> We know that you highly esteem the kind of learning taught in those colleges ... But you, who are wise, must know that different nations have different conceptions of things; and you will, therefore, not take it amiss if our ideas of this kind of education happen not to be the same with yours. We have had some experience of it. Several of our young people were formerly brought up at the colleges of the northern provinces; they were instructed in all your sciences; but when they came back to us they were bad runners, ignorant of every means of living in the woods, unable to bear either cold or hunger, knew neither how to build a cabin, take a deer nor kill an enemy, spoke our language imperfectly; were therefore neither fit for hunters, warriors nor counselors; they were totally good for nothing. We are, however, not the less obliged by your kind offer, though we decline accepting it; and to show our grateful sense of it, if the gentlemen of Virginia will send us a dozen of their sons we will take great care of their education, instruct them in all we know, and make men of them.

Some of the northeastern tribes began to see a need for education, however. As a result of a Mohegan Chief's request to the Continental Congress for teachers and instructors in milling and tilling of the soil, the Congress, on July 12, 1775, appropriated $500 for the education of Indian youth at Dartmouth College in New Hampshire. Some years later, Cornplanter, a Seneca Chief, asked President Washington for instruction for his people in the area of ploughing, milling, and smithing and in the 3Rs. Washington, through his Secretary of War, responded warmly to Cornplanter's request by saying that either at the time of treaty negotiations or at another convenient time formal arrangements would be made to impart "the blessing of husbandry and the arts" to the Senecas. Although Cornplanter's request was never fulfilled, the concept of educational provisions in treaties aroused interest.

The first Indian treaty of the United States was between the Delawares and the Continental Congress of the United States, signed in September of 1778. It established the legal interaction between Native governments and the federal government that was followed for almost a century (AIPRC Education Report. 1976, p. 29). It was a treaty of alliance between the United States and the Delaware (Kappler, 1929, Vol. II, p. 3). Article II provided for a mutual military defense pact between the two parties.

An important aspect of this treaty was Congress' view of the status and stature of the Native governments. The treaty provided in Article IV that the Delaware and other tribes allied with the United States could form a state and send a delegate to Congress. Article V of the Delaware Treaty focused on the need for a "well-regulated trade." It was well-known that cheating traders had caused more than one Indian war on the frontier. Article VI guaranteed the "territorial rights" of the Delaware.

Thirteen treaties later, the first educational provisions were included in Article II of the Treaty of December 2, 1794, between the United States and the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians whereby the United States agreed to provide a person to "instruct some young men of the three nations in the arts of the miller and sawyer, and to provide teams and utensils for carrying on the work of the mills" (7 Stat. 47). Eventually, 95 other Indian treaties signed over a period of 80 years provided education-related services to tribes.

In 1803, additional educational provisions appeared in the Treaty with the Kaskaskia. Under the treaty, the United States agreed to pay $100 annually to support a Catholic priest "to perform for the said tribe the duties of his office and also to instruct as many of their children as possible in the rudiments of literature" (7 Stat. 78). One year and two treaties later, in the Treaty with the Delawares signed on August 18, 1804, a "civilization" program was funded providing $300 for ten years. Included in the civilization process was the teaching of fencemaking, cultivation and "such domestic arts as are adapted to their situation" (7 Stat. 81). These examples are obviously the foundation for the tradition that Native education must be conducted at bargain rates.

Although the heart of most of the treaties which followed dealt with cessions of land by Native governments to the U.S. federal government, education soon became an important adjunct to accomplish the task. Since Natives needed such large tracts of land to hunt, it soon became apparent that the only way they could be restricted to small land areas would be to turn them into farmers. Thus, working hand in hand, first with the Catholic Church and then with the many Protestant churches whose goals were to "Christianize the heathens," the U.S. Government began to develop and implement plans for the mass "civilization and Christianization" of Natives. The only separation in which the Church and State appeared to be concerned was that of Natives from their land.

Congress passed the Trade and Intercourse Act of 1802 which included the first formal statutory provision for federal responsibility for education. Although the treaties of the decade and a half between 1804 and 1818 did not contain educational or civilization provisions, the idea had become entrenched.

On March 3, 1819, the Congress passed an Act establishing the "Civilization Fund" (U.S. Statutes at Large, Vol. 4, 516) which appropriated an annual sum of $10,000 for the purpose of "providing against the further decline and final extinction of the Indian tribes adjoining the frontier settlements of the United States, and for introducing among them the habits and arts of civilization ..." This act became the chief legislative foundation for Indian education until it was repealed by the Act of February 14, 1873. Through this Act, the United States assumed general responsibility for the "civilization" of Natives without reference to treaties or treaty-related responsibilities with the intent of assimilating Natives into mainstream society (AIPRC Education Report, 1976, p. 34).

"Education" and "civilization" were early aspects of the federal government's Indian policy. In 1832, when Congress established the position of Commissioner of Indian Affairs under the Department of War, Indian education became a responsibility of the new Commissioner. The common attitude on the part of the early Indian Commissioners is shared by Commissioner Crawford T. Hartley in a statement written in his annual report in 1838: "The principal lever by which the Indians are to be lifted out of the mire of folly and vice in which they are sunk, is education."

Another justification for educating Natives was presented by Commissioner William Medill in his Annual Report of 1847. In it he says,

> While tribes remain in the aboriginal or hunter state there can be no just or adequate appreciation among them of the practical use of letters. Agriculture and the mechanic arts serve to awaken a new interest, by teaching them the true relations they bear to each other and to the civilized community around them.

But in 1850, again in support of manual labor training, Commissioner Luke Lea perhaps put the policy in a truer perspective when he said that Indians must "resort to agricultural labor or starve." Manual training schools were well-entrenched by the middle of the century. As early as 1848, 16 manual training schools serving 800 students and 87 boarding schools serving about 2,900 students were operating with support of the various churches and a little acknowledged group, the tribes themselves from their own treaty monies. In fact, the tribes and the churches were paying for a considerably larger portion of the total cost of Indian education than was the federal government. The statistics from as early as 1825 verify this fact.

The tribes continued to contribute large amounts to the building of schools and the hiring of teachers throughout most of the 19th century. The Commissioner of the Indian Office openly recognized this fact in 1849 when he said, "nearly the whole of the large amount required for the support and maintenance of the schools now in operation is furnished by the Indians themselves out of their national funds." He went on to recommend that the $10,000 appropriated by the Act of 1818 be increased to $50,000 in order to realistically accomplish the goals of education among the Natives. By 1855, the aggregate amounts spent on education were $102,107 by the U.S., $824,160 appropriated and accumulated from Indian funds, and over $400,000 paid out by the Native governments among themselves and from individuals and churches, for a total exceeding $2,150,000 (Kickingbird, K. & L., September, 1979, p. 16).

Authority of Congress

The authority of Congress over relations with Native nations on behalf of the United States is established by the Constitution. Congress was delegated authority by the states to regulate trade and enter into treaties with Native governments. Congress also has the authority to aborgate a treaty. "Unquestionably a treaty may be modified or abrogated by an Act of Congress, but the power to make and unmake is essentially political and not judicial" (*Old Settlers v. U.S.* 148 U.S. 427) (Kappler, 1929, p. 1153).

The Supreme Court described the authority of Congress over Native relations as "plenary authority," or near absolute authority in *Lone Wolf v. U.S* (187 U.S. 553).

> Plenary authority over the tribal relations of the Indians has been exercised by Congress from the beginning, and the power has always been deemed a political one and not subject to be controlled by the Judicial Department of the Government.... But, as with treaties made with foreign Nations the Legislative power might pass laws in conflict with treaties made with the Indians. (*Thomas v. Gay*, 169 U.S. 264-270; *Spaulding v. Chandler*, 160 U.S. 394.)
>
> The power exists to aboragate the provisions of an Indian treaty, through presumably such power will be exercised only when circumstances arise which will not only justify the Government in disregarding the stipulations of the treaty, but may demand, in the interest of the country and Indian themselves, that it should do so. (Also see *Conley v. Ballinger*, 216 U.S. 84; *Super v. Work*, 55 App. D.C. 149). (Kappler, 1929, p. 1153)

Congress may enter into a treaty that supersedes a prior Act of Congress; enact law to supersede a prior Act of Congress; or enact law to supersede a prior treaty (*Patterson v. Jenks*, 2 Pet. 216; Kappler, 1929, p. 1153).

Congress has plenary authority in relations with Native governments — on behalf of the United States. This simply means that Congressional authority in relation to Natives governments is superior to the authority of state and local governments since such authority was delegated by the states to Congress in the Constitution. But the plenary authority is limited to the United States side of the relationship with Native governments. On behalf of the Native governments, Congress can exercise only that authority which Natives governments themselves have delegated to it by treaty. And, of course, the ability to exercise plenary authority and aborgate treaties is available to both parties of the treaty. Plenary authority of Congress does not extend to matters involving the *internal soverignty* of Native governments. Authority delegated by the tribes to the United States in the trust relationship through treaty can be withdrawn by the tribes. Therefore, tribal governments also enjoy plenary authority in relations with the United States — on behalf of the tribes — to the extent that tribal members authorize the tribal governments to act on their behalf.

After the so-called "termination" of tribes by acts of Congress in the 1950s and early 1960s, some states attempted to exercise control over the Native lands of the terminated tribe. The state of Wisconsin argued that the treaty rights of the Menominee did not survive the Congressional termination of federal trust relationship with the Menominee Tribe. In the case of *Menominee Tribe v. United States*, 391 U.S. 404 (1968) the Supreme Court held that the 1953 Act only terminated federal responsibility to the tribe, but did not affect the tribe's hunting and fishing treaty rights. The tribe and the treaty rights survived the termination Act of Congress. Through termination of the trust relationship, Congress could politically decide not to be a trustee, but Congress could not revoke fishing and hunting rights retained by the tribe nor affect the status of the tribe as a sovereign nation.

In *Kimball v. Callahan*, 590 F2d 768 (9th Cir. 1979), the 9th Circuit Court of Appeals determined that Klamath Indians who were not enrolled or had withdrawn for the tribe as a result of the 1961 Klamath Termination Act nevertheless retained their treaty rights to hunt and fish within the former Klamath Indian Reservation free of state regulation based upon a treaty signed October 14, 1864 between their tribe and the United States (16 Stat. 707). The termination Act did not abrogate tribal treaty rights for hunting, fishing, and trapping, nor did it affect the sovereign authority of the tribe to regulate the exercise of those rights. The Supreme Court refused to review this opinion thereby making the decision of the 9th Circuit final (Cert. denied No. 78, 1538 48 U.S.L.W 3205). Congress cannot dissolve tribes, adversely effect the inherent rights and sovereignty of tribes, or overpower tribal rights to Native lands, property, and unrestricted enjoyment economic and tribal activities reserved by tribes in treaties with the United States. The notorious termination acts could only withhold from the tribes the services and obligations promised on the part of the United States in the treaties that established the trust relationship. Congress can break treaties but not tribes.

The Historical Role of Churches in Native Education

Since the missionaries of numerous protestant and Catholic sects took upon themselves the responsibility of bringing civilization and Christianity to Native people, the government did not play an active role in Native education until the 1870s. Following the pattern established in the 18th century and the early 1800s, the churches established schools and in many cases built school houses and dormitories. Grants were made by the government directly to missionaries on behalf of individual tribes and schools.

There was no clear distinction between the separation of Church and State with respect to Native education in the early days. In fact, the government negotiated with the various sects and divided the country into jurisdictions. Generally, the division was made along these lines: the Baptists and Methodists were assigned the South and Southern Plains, the Episcopals and the Catholics were assigned the Great Lakes Region and the Northern Plains, and the Presbyterians were assigned the Southwest where the Catholic Church had already made an impact during the Spanish invasions of Mexico and the Southwest.

Responding to the large outlay of funds and effort on the parts of the various Christian denominations, the Secretary of the Interior in his Report of 1865 recommended the following:

> That Congress provide a civilization and educational fund, to be disbursed in such a mode as to secure the cooperation and assistance of benevolent organizations ... It is believed that all the Christian Churches would gladly occupy this missionary field, supplying a large percent of the means necessary for their instruction, and thus bring into contact with the Indian tribes a class of men and women whose lives conform to a higher standard of morals than that which is recognized as obligatory by too many of the present employees of the government. (Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1865, p. iv)

It was not long, however, before it became clear that Christianization would not necessarily lead to the assimilation of Natives into the lifestyle of the mainstream society. As more and more Europeans immigrated to this new land, the need for new lands to settle on increased. The Americans became impatient. They wanted instantaneous conversions of Indians to an agrarian "civilized" life.

Federal Control of Native Education

So it was that during the last three decades of the 19th century, the federal government played a much more active role in Native education. This activity began in 1869 with a recommendation from the Board of Indian Commissioners that schools be established and "teachers be employed by the government to introduce the English language in every tribe." To accommodate the activities arising from the increase in concern and the expansion of Native education programs, the Act of July 15, 1870, provided for the appropriation of $100,000 to support "industrial and other schools among the Indian tribes not otherwise provided for" (16 Stat. 359).

The federal Indian school system grew rapidly. In 1877, the Indian Commissioner proposed "the establishment of the common school system (including industrial schools) among the Indians, with provision for their compulsory education in such schools" (Report of the Indian Commissioner, 1877, p. 1). This emphasis on compulsory attendance would mean that much more money would have to be appropriated to meet needs or that the existing schools would soon become extremely overcrowded. Overcrowding was the solution that the government chose. In the same year, the Indian department was established at Hampton Institute, Hampton, Virginia. In 1878, the training facility for Indians at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was founded. After the beginning of World War I, the Carlisle school was moved to Lawrence, Kansas, where it became Haskell Institute in 1917. Haskell Institute maintained a military discipline and a climate of deculturation of Native youth to non-Native life (Lynch & Charleston, 1990, p. 2). Today, Haskell is operated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs as Haskell Indian Junior College.

The government was slowly but surely reducing its support of the missionary schools. While not discouraging their existence or expansion, government officials set out to chart a different course for Native education through the federal school system. The position of Superintendent for Indian Education was established by an Act of Congress, May 17, 1882. And, within five years, a full-fledged department of education was developed. According to the Regulations of the Indian Department, the general educational policy was to teach Native students reading and writing in the English language, fundamental arithmetic, geography and United States history, and to instruct them in farming, livestock, and domestic chores.

By 1885, there were 7,433 Indian youngsters being educated in 177 government boarding, day, and training schools. The personnel in the schools consisted of 7 superintendents, 1 superintendent-general instructor, 111 teachers, 26 teaching assistants, 25 teacher-principals, 22 teacher-superintendent-principals, and 5 Native teachers.

The federal schools soon became very overcrowded and lacked instructional materials and books. The lack of materials and supplies was not made up until the middle of the 20th century. Most of the existing buildings were poorly constructed and designed and did not accommodate the large increase in school populations.

The passage of the Act of July 31, 1882, was meant to ameliorate the overcrowded and inadequate building conditions (22 Stat. 1811). This Act authorized the Secretary of War to set aside unused military installations, forts, and stockades for the purpose of Native education and to detail one or two Army officers for duty in connection with Native education. With the setting up of the fortress-like schools the attitude of the government toward Native education became sterner. These were the times of the Indian wars of the late 1800s — and some very successful victories for the Indians.

Towards the last half of the 1880s, the general public began to question the large expenditure and low results of the Office of Indian Affairs' education programs. For the first time, part of the blame was placed on the teachers and administrators of the Indian schools, many of whom were political appointments. In 1888, Commissioner John H. Oberly, who had formerly been Commissioner of the Civil Service Commission, made a major policy change in the hiring practices of teachers for the Indian service. Having come fresh from the Civil Service Commission, Commissioner Oberly was anxious to bring some of his experience with him to the Indian Office. He hypothesized that if teachers were civil servants, they would not have other loyalties and, therefore, would be more effective teachers.

Commissioner Oberly's good intentions were not as successful as he had hoped for two reasons. First, the appropriations were never increased significantly to attract higher caliber teachers and administrators. Second, many of the existing teachers took the civil service test and passed. Moreover, no one questioned whether scoring highly on the standard civil service test meant that a person was a good teacher of Native children. Frequently, the result of the new policy was that the teachers had no loyalties at all.

Another major policy which was discussed during the period when the federal school system was being fully developed was the eventual turnover to the States of the responsibility for all of Native education. **It was thought that true assimilation would be achieved when Native children could learn as well in public schools as white children. It would also be cheaper for the government if it were not required to maintain the federal school system for Indians** (Kickingbird, K. & L., September, 1979, p. 19).

Congress Ends Treaty-Making

In 1871, many tribes were engaged in active war with the United States over land, natural resources, and the right of tribal independence and self-government. It was five years before "Custer's Last Stand" and 19 years before the massacre at Wounded Knee. Under the Constitution, treaties are ratified by the Senate. The House of Representatives rebelled their exclusion from the ratification process for important treaties with the tribes by refusing to pass appropriations bills. With a rider to an appropriations bill, the Act of March 3, 1871 (16 Stat. 566, 25 U.S.C. § 71 (1976), ended treaty-making with Native nations. The Act is important today because its intent was to legalize assimilation of tribal people and allow the annexation of their lands. The Act specifies that:

> No Indian nation or tribe within the territory of the United States shall be acknowledged or recognized as an independent nation, tribe or power with whom the United States may contract by treaty; but no obligation of any treaty lawfully made and ratified with any such Indian nation or tribe prior to March third, eighteen hundred and seventy-one, shall be hereby invalidated or impaired. (Act of March 3, 1871)

Indeed the issues involved between the tribes and the United States were similar to the ones between Kuwait and Iraq; but, there was no United Nations to protect the tribes in 1871. During the debate on the bill, Senator Eugene Casserly of California said:

> ...[Tribes] hold great bodies of rich lands, which have aroused the cupidity of powerful corporations and of powerful individuals....I greatly fear that the adoption of this provision to discontinue treaty-making is the beginning of the end in respect to Indian Lands. It is the first step in a great scheme of spoliation, in which the Indians will be plundered, corporations and individuals enriched, and the American name dishonored in history.

The result of the Act was a shift from treaty-making to that of Congress making "Agreements" with the Native goverments which were ratified by both the Senate and the House. The Supreme Court held that these agreements were equivalent to the earlier ones known formally as treaties. The Act had little practical effect on Native-United States relations. But, in the mind of American citizens, it clouded the status of Native nations by asserting that Congress would no longer acknowledge or recognize Native governments as independent nations. The effect of this Act still clouds the understanding of the relationship between Native nations and the United States. It should be repealled.

Tribal Self-Determination, Self-Governance and Self-Sufficiency

The very process of treaty-making confirmed that Native people had governments by which to govern themselves. The young United States viewed these governments as so effective that Congress went so far as to offer Native governments representation in Congress: Article VI, Delaware Treaty of 1778; Article XII, Cherokee Treaty of Hopewell, 1785; Article XXII, Choctaw Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek, 1830.

Farmer, ranchers, railroads, and politicians coveting Native land and natural resources found it easy to portray Native peoples and their governments as ignorant, inferior, and ineffective. The federal policies of the latter half of the 19th century found little recognition of the right of Native self-governance. Through the federal Indian schools, the assimilation policies, and the General Allotment Act, the United States government set out to suppress or dismantle the tribal governments (Cong. Rec. 59th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 3122, 5041).

In its efforts to terminate the Five Civilized Tribes, the U.S. government found itself negotiating agreements with these tribes about their future, thus, recognizing their right to self-government. In 1906, as legislation was about to terminate the Five Civilized Tribes, Congress became aware of what it was doing and passed legislation to continue to recognize the governments of the Five Civilized Tribes (*Harjo* case, p. 1129).

The Bureau of Indian Affairs proceeded to operate as though the governments had been terminated and controlled all aspects of the lives, property, schools, and government of these tribes. Seventy years later a federal judge characterized the Bureau of Indian Affairs conduct, which was without any statutory authorization, as "bureaucratic imperialism." In this 1976 decision, the federal courts stopped the interference of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the control of the Creek government in part because of an 1867 treaty between the Creeks and the United States which guaranteed them self-government (*Harjo* case, p. 1130).

A 1907 Supreme Court case, *Quick Bear v. Leupp*, 210 U.S. 50 (1907), acknowledged the rights of Natives parents and tribes to choose between religious and secular schools. Chief Justice Fuller proclaimed the right of an Indian nation to use its treaty funds for schools of its choosing. The exercise of educational choice by tribes would require parents and Native nations to participate in making policy which provides a range of options. It required informed professionals who could elaborate the choices and provide rationale for them. The opportunity for Native nations to exercise choice lay dormant for over 60 years until federal control of Native education was relaxed by self-determination legislation (Lynch & Charleston, 1990, p. 3).

Jurisdictional Conflicts between State and Tribal Governments

When the federal government was delegated the authority to control relationships with the Native governments under the Commerce Clause of the U.S. Constitution there was no role for the states. The special political relationship between the United States government and Native governments established by treaties has been emphasized and de-emphasized over two hundred years of policy-making. At one time, Indian affairs was as important to the United States as foreign affairs because a sound political relationship with the Native governments was the vital link to the continued existence of the United States government. That vital political link received less emphasis once the independence of the United States was achieved after the War of 1812 (Morison, 1965, p. 333).

By 1830, the concern of the states and their citizens was that tribal governments possessed choice farm lands and resources within what the states contended was their boundaries or within the boundaries of lands the state wished to acquire. The consequence was an ongoing political rivalry between the states and the Native governments that continues down to the present day (*Oklahoma Tax Commission v. Citizen Band Potawatomie Indian Tribe of Oklahoma*, No. 89-1322 [February 26, 1991] 59 LW 4137).

One of the byproducts of that rivalry was adverse social conditions for the tribes as they were pushed out of original homelands or as they were pressed to reduce the size of their land holdings. The constant assault on the power of Native governments and their land holdings which culminated in the General Allotment Act of 1887 prevented the tribes from establishing or maintaining a sound economic base (AIPRC Final Report, 1977, pp. 64-69).

The tribes' constant fight for survival through the nineteenth century and through much of the twentieth century diminished the economic resources the Native governments might have devoted to social programs including education. In those instances when tribes were able to maintain educational systems which they operated and controlled, they achieved admirable results. The Cherokee achieved 90 percent literacy through tribal schools, the Cherokee syllabary, and Cherokee operated printing press (*National Tragedy,* 1969, p. 19).

Throughout these times of trial, one factor remained in place which dominated the early relationships with the United States government and proved to be a dominant factor as the twentieth century closed. This factor was the government-to-government relationship between the United States government and Native governments and the legal foundation on which it rests (U.S. Senate Special Committee on Investigations of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, *A New Federalism for American Indians*, S. Rept. 101-216, 101st Cong., 1st Sess., Nov. 20, 1989, pp. 16-17).

The classic example of conflict between state and tribal governments is manifested in the 1830 Cherokee cases and the ruling that the states had no jurisdiction in Indian Country. The rule from *Worcester v. Georgia* (1832) that states had no jurisdiction in Indian Country remained in effect for the first hundred years.

Periodically the Supreme Court would remind the nation of the volatile relationship between the states and the Indian nations with remarks such those found in *United States v. Kagama* 118 U.S. 375 (1886), "Because of the local ill feeling, the people of the States where they are found are often their deadliest enemies." As the 20th century opened, the states began to take a role in Indian affairs as the result of policies by the BIA to push Native children into public schools (Washburn, 1973, Vol. II, p. 868) and through special legislative grants of authority. The primary areas where states were granted a role was in education. Statutory authority was provided by Congress to enforce state school attendance laws, 25 U.S.C. § 231, and later other legislative authority was provided to induce state schools to accept Native students into the state school systems by providing special funding through the Johnson O'Mally (JOM) Act of 1934 25 U.S.C. § 452 et seq. (1934) and Public Laws 81-815 and 81-874, Impact Aid for Federally-Connected Children, 25 U.S.C. § 236 et seq. States were willing to accept the funding provided but resorted to all manner of excuses to avoid providing the services. Between 1970 and 1972, one federal audit of JOM funds found 80 percent of the questioned costs arising out of ineligible student participation (Office of Survey and Review, Interior Dept., 1973, p. 5).

Education was just one area in which Native governments and state governments found themselves in conflict. Arguments about jurisdiction, land ownership, taxation, voting rights, water rights, and economic development all contributed to a climate of conflict between the governments. In recent decades, attempts to find common ground have been promoted through the idea of "tribal-state compacts," for example, the proposed Tribal State Compact Act of 1978 and the Indian Gaming Regulatory Act, 25 U.S.C. § 2710 (d).

The relationship of tribal members and the federal government arise in the political context of the government-to-government relationship. It is the Native governments with whom the United States has a trust relationship and citizens of the Native governments derive rights which flow through the Native governments. Native education legislation in the last three decades targeting services to Native students usually provides for participation of Native parents and Native community representatives as a surragote for participation of tribal governments in Native education, 25 U.S.C.§§ 2604 (b)(2)(B).

Even this Native parent representation has not been received cordially by the states or by the Bureau of Indian Affairs. But, through these measures, the federal government has provided a means to support Native parent participation and, hopefully, the means to overcome the failures of past Native education policy.

Issues of civil and criminal jurisdiction have remained sources of conflict between the states and Indian nations down to the present day. In the civil area, taxing authority has been a prominent topic of conflict through three decades, *Warren Trading Post (1965)*, *McClanahan* (1973), *Bryan v. Itasca County* (1976), and *Cotton Petroleum Corp. v. New Mexico*, 490 U.S., 109 S.Ct. 1698 (1989). The cigarette tax cases have been particularly aggravating for tribes as seen in *Moe* (1976), *Colville* (1980), *Chemuevi* (   ), and *Oklahoma Tax Commission v. Citizens Band of Pottawatomie* (1991). The limitations on tribal regulatory authority in *U.S. v. Montana* (1981) and *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation* (1989) were disappointing to tribal governments. The limitation on tribal government criminal misdemeanor authority in *Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe*, 98 S.Ct. 1079 (1978) and *Duro v. Reina* (1990) have been distressing for tribes even though Congress limited the impact of *Duro* with legislative action and apparently intends to make the suspension of *Duro* permanent (137, Cong. Rec, April 9, 1991, p. 5 S136).

All of the relationships between tribes and the states have been affected by the long history of conflict and prejudice. Those conflicts have transpired between the states and the Native governments in both the criminal and civil arena of jurisdiction. Although the focus of the conflict is most prominently seen in the civil arena in the taxation and regulatory disputes, education can be affected by the taxation of materials used in the construction of a school run by a Native community in Indian Country, see *Ramah Navajo School Board, Inc. v. Bureau of Revenue*, 458 U.S. 832 (1982). Consequently, the adversarial attitudes will color almost all relationships between the state governments and Native governments.

Education Policies in the Twentieth Century

The first thirty years of the twentieth century saw the passage of such landmark legislation as the Snyder Act in 1921 ___ U.S.C. __, that directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs to provide services to Natives throughout the United States without regard to specific treaty provisions, and the Indian Citizenship Act in 1924 ___ U.S.C. __.

During this time, there was not much change in the effectiveness of the school systems serving Natives. In some areas, the federal school system tried to improve quality of new teachers and administrators. The qualifications criteria were raised for all school personnel, including the dormitory advisors, to include a four-year college education in addition to practical experience. The success of civil service criteria for Indian service personnel, however, became debatable. It was difficult to fire ineffective and insensitive teachers. Frequently, teachers who could not get jobs in state school systems found refuge in the Indian Service, and many had little experience in dealing with children of another culture.

In the beginning of the 1920s, there was a tremendous increase in the Native public school population. Appropriations were made by Congress to provide subsidies for the public schools which enrolled Native children, but the money was quickly expended each year, and many children were forced to attend local federal day and boarding schools. Perhaps one of the most encouraging realizations coming from this period in the history of Native education was that the attempts to educate Native youngsters met with more success when they went to schools (public or federal) near their home communities (Kickingbird, K. & L., September, 1979, p. 19).

Another enlightened concession soon came with the candid admission by Commissioner Charles H. Burke in his 1928 Report: "Experience has demonstrated that it is futile to try to make all Indians farmers and stock raisers. Many will not interest themselves in those occupations." He went on to say, "It seems clear that the traditional school system of the whites is not immediately applicable in its entirety to the needs of Indian children" (Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1928, pp. 5, 7). Strangely enough, the Indian military schools, those that were established at abandoned forts, were more successful than the regular schools ostensibly fashioned after the white educational systems. The reason for their success was their emphasis on individual responsibility. In these schools, Native students were given a rank and responsibility so that the absolute authoritarian figure of the teacher was minimized. The feeling of responsibility gained by their commissions and rank helped to build a positive self-image. When the need for discipline arose, the accused came before a court martial and was judged by a jury of peers, rather than a white overlord masquerading as a teacher who possessed neither knowledge nor mercy. Since warriors were given a place of prominence in many Native societies, training to be military leaders was an endeavor that seemed a worthy educational pursuit.

One of the most comprehensive reports on the status of Indian services was completed in 1928 by the Institute for Government Research (now the Brookings Institution). The report entitled, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, and popularly known as the Meriam Report, pointed up the inadequacies of the present educational system and made many suggestions for improvement. The following are findings of the staff of the study in regard to Indian boarding schools.

- The provisions for the care of the Indian children were grossly inadequate.
- The diet is deficient in quality, quantity and variety, and the great protective foods are lacking.
- The boarding schools are overcrowded materially beyond their capacities.
- The medical services for the children are below standard (true also for day schools).
- The boarding schools are supported in part by the labor of students.
- The Indian service personnel are poorly trained and inexperienced in educational work with families and communities.

The Meriam Report called on teachers and administrators of Native school children to change their point of view from that of trying to fit the Native student into the white educational mold to that of recognizing the individual needs of the student and adapting the curriculum to suit these needs. To achieve this, the following recommendations were made:

1. The Indian service should set up a unique set of educational goals, unlike those from the public schools.
2. The main educational objective (of the course of study) during elementary school should be changed from learning English to giving Indian children a reason and desire to learn.
3. To enhance the education of their children, a general adult education program should be established comprised of adults and children within the community.

The Commissioners of the next decade gallantly tried to implement the above recommendations, but the Second World War interrupted their progress.

Education in the New Deal Era

The rapid increase in the federal Indian bureaucracy through the expansion of its school system resulted in a substantial shift of power from the tribes to the career employees of the Department of the Interior. The bureaucrats' decisions and values prevailed against the tribal powers of self-government and decision-making responsibilities of the Indian communities. Congress made an effort to restore some balance to the power equation in passing the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of 1934. Indian tribes organized under the provisions of the IRA were recognized has having the powers of self-government. At the same time, Congress provided a means to shift responsibility for Native education to the states through the Johnson O'Malley Act (JOM) of 1934.

Indian Reorganization Act of 1934

Most tribal governments operating today were influenced and shaped by the Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) of June 18, 1934, (48 Stat. 984) (25 U.S.C. § 476). This Act, which is also known as the Wheeler-Howard Act, did not "give" a government to the tribe. They had been governing themselves for thousands of years. Rather, it reaffirmed that tribal governments had inherent powers which were officially recognized by the United States Government (Powers of Indian Tribes, 55 I.D. 14, 65 [1934]).

The IRA was enacted by Congress to correct the many destructive Indian laws enacted previously, and to provide for the "formalization" of tribal government through a written constitution and charter. The objectives of the legislation were summed up in the committee report, Senate Report

No. 1080, 73d Cong., 2d session, presented by Senator Wheeler, one of the co-sponsors of the measure:

1. To stop the alienation, through action by the government or the Indian, of such lands, belonging to ward Indians, as are needed for the present and future support of these Indians.
2. To provide for the acquisition, through purchase, of land for the Indians, now landless, who are anxious and fitted to make a living on such land.
3. To stabilize the tribal organization of Indian tribes by vesting such tribal organizations with real, though limited, authority, and by prescribing conditions which must be met by such tribal organizations.
4. To permit Indian Tribes to equip themselves with the devices of modern business organization, through forming themselves into business corporations.

The inherent powers of the tribe were supplemented with those conferred by Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act. It specifically states that these powers listed below are "[i]n addition to all powers vested in any Indian tribe or tribal Council by existing law ..." The power:

> To employ legal counsel, the choice of counsel and the fixing of fees...;
>
> to prevent the sale, disposition, lease or encumbrance of tribal lands, interests in lands or other tribal assets without the consent of the tribe;
>
> to negotiate with the federal, State and Local government.

Section 16 also spells out certain obligations on the part of the Secretary of the Interior:

> The Secretary of the Interior shall advise such tribe or its tribal Council of all appropriation estimates or federal Projects for the benefit of the tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.

There are two other aspects of the Indian Reorganization Act that tribes thought important. The IRA contained provisions for loans for Native students to pursue their education at vocational and trade schools and in high school and college. The provisions for these loans appeared in the original legislative proposals and remained in the final statute.

During regional hearings to explain the proposed legislation which would become the Indian Reorganization Act, the Native government representatives were interested in the educational provisions. A representative of White Mountain Apache noted the importance of a university education when he asked, "Would that give these Indians the right to go to law schools and still hold their Indian rights, the right to take up tribal matters?" (Report of Southern Arizona Indian Conference, 1934, p. 15).

The Indian Reorganization Act contained provisions for Native preference in employment and, like the many other treaty and statutory provisions for Native employment preference, it was ignored by federal officials until the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of the concept in *Morton v. Mancari*, 417 U.S. 535 (1974). Such employment preference and the role model Native teachers and administrator could have provided would have been a dynamic force in Native education.

The passage of the IRA and the leadership of John Collier as Indian Affairs Commissioner (1933-1945) affected Native education. Under the leadership of John Collier such innovative programs as bilingual education, adult basic education, higher education, student loans, and in-service teacher training for Native teachers in the federal school system in Native culture and life were begun. The number of boarding schools was reduced by 16, and 84 new day schools were added. The day school (both federal and public) population increased substantially.

The IRA provided Native people and tribes with an orientation to the type of political system and govenment structure of mainstream America. The new structure was considered carefully by most tribes; it was rejected by more traditional Native groups (Lynch & Charleston, 1990, p. 5).

Johnson O'Malley Act of 1934

For most of the first seventy years of the twentieth century views about the conduct of Native education did not deviate from the views that had prevailed for the previous five hundred years. The central government — Spain, Britain, the United States — controlled the conduct and set the standards of Native education. Reports from various studies after the turn of the century recommended a move away from the federal boarding school model. Such recommendations resulted in the passage of the Johnson O'Malley Act, 25 U.S.C. § 452 et seq. (1934), which was designed to provide financial inducement to the states to take Native students into the public school system.

It was a departure from past procedures in the realm of jurisdiction. The general rule from the Cherokee cases *Cherokee Nation v. Georgia*, 30 U.S. 1 (1831) and *Worcester v. Georgia*, 31 U.S. 515 (1832), in the 1830s was and is that the states have no jurisdiction and no role or responsibilities on Indian reservations or in Indian affairs including Native education. Because the states had no jurisdiction in Indian Country, they could not tax property in Indian Country for the purposes of generating revenues to pay for services such as education that they might provide to Native people, see *Ramah Navajo School Board, Inc. v. Bureau of Revenue*, 458 U.S. 832 (1982). The Johnson-O'Malley Act authorized the Secretary of the Interior to enter into contracts with states and territories (amended in 1936 to include "colleges, universities, and educational agencies") for the "education, medical attention, relief of distress, and social welfare of Indians and for other purposes." This Act enabled the government to reimburse state and local school districts for the education of Indian children. In other words, the Act succeeded in fulfilling the government's policy goal of turning over the responsibility for Native education to the states by providing funds as an inducement (Kickingbird, K. & L., September, 1979, p. 20).

The Johnson O'Malley Act provided contract authority and financial inducement for state school systems to assimilate Native children into the mainstream public schools. It merely shifted the locus of control from federal administrators to state administrators. It marked no change in the basic presumption that non-Natives should control the course of Native education. The Federally Impacted Areas Act in the 1950s and Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of the 1960s maintain the same standards of non-Native control of Native education through the present day.

It was clear that the federal government would continue to play a primary role in the funding of Native education because of the federal-Indian trust relationship, the statutes passed by Congress to carry out that relationship, and the federal funding required to execute the trust responsibilities in Native education. Native communities were concerned with the degree of control that the federal government would have in the educational arena to maintain their trust responsibilities (AIPRC Education Report, 1976, pp. 167-170).

The states were concerned about Native educational issues for their own reasons. The states first concern was about the loss of control over the federal dollars coming to them if there was a greater role in education for Native parents and Native communities. The states feared Native control of funding would lead to a greater political power for Native people and tribal governments.

The Termination Era

Historical Background of Termination

Beginning in 1928 with the publication of the Meriam Report, Institute for Government Research, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, and extending through the 1930s, federal policy and legislation (25 U.S.C. § 461 et seq.), strongly affirmed tribal sovereignty, and supported mechanisms which would assist tribes in strengthening their governments and institutions and consolidating their landbases which had been severely fragmented by allotment. After decades of broken promises, moral disillusionment, the ravages of disease, and abrupt changes in lifestyle, Native governments and their people were beginning to pick up the pieces and forge new self-determined futures. World War II put an end to the United States' spirit of commitment to Native self-determination and the reforms made during the 1930s.

While the war years marked a dormant period in Native-United States relations, the post-war years (late 1940s through the early 1960s) saw the development and implementation of a "new" policy which brought a halt to the development of tribal government for nearly two decades.

After World War II, in which many Natives fought valiantly for their country, the "era of enlightenment" ended with a crash. All the policies of the Collier administration were refuted and the idea that the only way Native children can learn was from totally non-Native oriented schools gained momentum.

Termination: An Old Policy with a New Twist

According to the 1944 House of Representatives Select Committee on Indian Affairs, "The goal of Indian Education should be to make the Indian child a better American rather than to equip him simply to be a better Indian (U.S. Senate, 1969, p. 14)." This reactionary idea developed and matured during the war years, and in the mid 1940s a new concept began to stir in Congress. It culminated in 1953 when the 83rd Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 108 declaring U.S. policy for Indian tribes to be that of "termination." The real effect of the Concurrent Resolution was to make Native lands subject to property taxes and to eliminate the provision of services provided for in treaty agreements by the federal government, including health and educational services (Hoover Commission, *Report on Indian Affairs*, 1949). Natives had been guaranteed exemption from property taxes principally by treaty or the General Allotment Act of 1887.

Termination was presented as a method of making Natives "first-class" citizens, even though they had been made United States citizens in 1924 (Act of June 2, 1924, 43 Stat. 253). By terminating the special trust relationship and a recognition of the sovereign status of Native governments, the United States government would be promoting the "assimilation" of Natives — socially, culturally, and economically — into the mainstream of American society. Through termination, Natives would be "given" the same rights and responsibilities of all other citizens, thereby making them "first-class" and "fully taxpaying citizens," (The Hoover Commission, Report on Indian Affairs, 1949).

Americans have always held close to their hearts the idea that this society is a "melting pot" where peoples from all over the world have come to make their fortunes and live happily ever after with each other. One does not have to visit many ghettos of large cities or the many rural enclaves of distinct ethnic groups which dot the land to know that the melting pot is more theory than fact. Nevertheless, the ultimate passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108 in 1953 affirming the terminationist policy towards Natives had as a basis this out-dated and uniquely American myth.

The report of the Hoover Commission, published in 1949, advocated complete integration into the mainstream society. With Native advocacy in the federal sector at a low point, this outlook quickly gained momentum. The Indian Commissioners appointed by both presidents Truman and Eisenhower were openly pro-termination. President Truman appointed Dillon Myer as Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1950. He was the former director of the resettlement camps for the Japanese during World War II. Myer ended the progressive era of Collier and replaced it with a program that provided a low level of general academic preparation and relocation of Native people from Native communitites and reservations to the urban labor pool under the Relocation Act ___ U.S.C. ___. President Eisenhower appointed Glen Emmons as Commissioner of Indian Affairs to continue the termination and relocation work of Commissioner Myer (Lynch & Charleston, 1990, p. 5).

Certainly, some legislators sincerely believed that integration was both equitable and a desirable solution for the endemic problems encountered by the rural and isolated nature of Indian reservations. This concern, combined with the political realities of a newly elected and popular Republican president, Republican and conservative majorities in both Houses of Congress, and nationalistic postwar "Americanism" led to an easy passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83rd Cong., 1st Sess. (1953).

Although a statement of policy only, HCR 108 was quickly followed by perhaps the most widely known and widely denounced federal Indian legislation in recent memory, the notorious Public Law 83-280 (Act of Aug. 15, 1953, 67 Stat. 388) that ushered in the "termination" phase of federal Indian affairs. Public Law 83-280, and subsequently many other pieces of legislation, terminated the special relationship between specifically named Indian tribes and the United States. It gave Wisconsin, Oregon, California, Minnesota, and Nebraska criminal and civil jurisdiction in Indian country and provided a mechanism whereby states could assume permanent jurisdiction over Native governments.

The statute also authorized other states to assume civil and criminal jurisdiction over Indian territory by making appropriate changes in their state constitutions or laws. In 1968, the law was amended to require the consent of Native governments before states could assume jurisdiction (25 U.S.C. § 1301 et seq.).

The termination era policies were in direct conflict with the existing body of Federal Indian Law that had been consolidated in 1942 by Felix S. Cohen in the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, a highly regarded legal reference. So, the BIA simply revised Chohen's book to delete or revise the objectionable sections and include new opinions to support their policies; they issued a new edition of Cohen's book without mentioning the changes. The original version was republished in 1972 (Cohen, *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, 1972, University of New Mexico Reprint of 1942 edition).

The effect on Indian country can only be described as extreme psychic trauma and paralysis. The Menominees and the Klamath, two of the most economically advanced tribes, were among those selected for termination. The reward for their success was the penalty of destruction.

Over 70 Indian tribes and rancherias fell victim to the termination policy (AIPRC Final Report, 1977, p. 451). Again, there was short-sightedness on the parts of the federal government and states. Neither took into consideration the effect that the cessation of federal dollars to Natives would have on states nor the debilitating social burden which would become the states' responsibility.

The termination legislation that passed during this time grew out of the decentralization policy of the federal government and the shift of responsibility to the states. In much the same way as the

Johnson-O'Malley program came to be used, Public Laws 81-815 and 81-874, "Impact Aid for Federally-Connected Children," provided funds to public school districts to encourage enrollment of Native children who lived on or near a reservation (Kickingbird, K. & L., September, 1979, p. 21).

In 1951, Congress passed the Federally Impacted Aid Areas Act, 20 U.S.C. § 236 et seq., designed to assist school districts in which federal ownership of property reduced the tax base. Administration of the programs required the state school officials to choose either JOM or Impact Aid. In 1958, the Impact Aid law was amended to allow the state schools systems to collect both with Impact Aid directed toward basic support of the schools and JOM directed toward special educational needs of the Indian students.

The parents of Native children would have the opportunity to influence the operation of schools serving their children on the reservation as tribal citizens electing their tribal officials. Outside of Indian Country, the parents of Native children would have little influence about the educational programs serving their children because the non-Native population would be so large that Native parents would not even exist as a serious swing vote in school board elections.

Congress was able to appreciate the problem of Native parents' lack of political influence, the effects of the long history of conflict, and the desire of Native parents to participate in the processes affecting their children's education. Congress' response was to amend the Federally Impacted Areas Act to require the involvement of Native parents and tribes in planning, development, and operation of programs funded in the Education Amendments Act of 1978. In practice, these requirements have been largely ignored. The bureaucratic procedure for filing a grievance against a public school district with the Department of Education is so complex that as of 1990, the Office of Impact Aid has acknowledged that no "acceptable formal grievances" had been filed. However, the Office of Impact Aid acknowledged that grievances which did not comply fully with the formal process were not considered.

Today, many tribes have had their "federally recognized" status reinstated through Congressional legislation, see for example, 25 U.S.C. § 566 (Klamath), § 713 (Grand Ronde), § 731 (Alabama-Coushatta), and § 1300g (Ysleta del Sur). The termination era ended for all practical purposes in the 1960s (Tyler, 1973, pp. 172-183, 197-201) and was formally put to rest by Congressional action as part of the 1988 Indian Education Amendments (P.L. 100-297; Cong. Rec, 1988, p. S17392).

Post-Termination Policies

One of the most significant pieces of legislation to pass during the 1960s was the Economic Opportunity Act of 1965. For the first time in many years, Indians were given the opportunity to plan, develop, and implement their own programs outside of the framework of the BIA and the states. Out of these programs grew such projects as Head Start for the pre-school children, Upward Bound and Job Corps for teenagers, and the opportunity to train tribal people for management and administrative positions. Although the concept of community control of education had been suggested intermittently for over a century, the mechanism and the funds to develop such programs were finally provided in this Act. Increased community participation in the programs gave Native people a reason for learning, and this fostered the development of community-controlled schools.

Presidents Kennedy and Johnson were in favor of bringing educational and other support to the Native community programs under this Act. Neither of them recognized, however, that without a significant reorganization of the bureaucracy which had succeeded in paralyzing Native achievements for over a century, could the educational goals that many of the tribes had set for themselves be accomplished. The monies received from OEO were enough to begin the development of worthwhile projects, but funds from other sources, such as BIA or the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), were needed to expand and continue initial efforts.

Also in 1965, Congress passed the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), which provided supplementary funds for innovative educational programs for disadvantaged youngsters including Natives. Some of the monies under Title I went to school systems where Native children were enrolled, other went directly to the BIA for use in the federal school system. Despite the tremendous potential of the program, the inefficiency of the BIA delivery systems and lack of monitoring on the parts of both the BIA and U.S. Office of Education, led to a misuse of monies, which is detailed in the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's publication, *An Even Chance*.

In 1974, Congress amended Title I to require local school districts to establish a Parent Advisory Committee (PAC) for each school receiving funding, 20 U.S.C. § 2734(j). The purpose of the PAC was to assist with planning, implementation, and evaluation of the Title I program in each school. While the advisory role of the PACs does not allow them veto power over programs established by the school, they do provide the vehicle to formulate priorities for those programs which serve Native children.

Despite the inadequacy of the legislation, the lack of a clear-cut national policy, and the inefficiency of the BIA organization, the late 1960s did see educational programs flourish. The Demonstration School at Rough Rock, Arizona, was begun in 1966 by a group of concerned teachers, administrators, and parents. The Native community chose to run their school and elect an all-Native school board. Program development involved the adults in the community in designing the curriculum. Instruction was in both Navajo and English. The tribe supported the efforts of this community and eventually, so did the BIA.

In October of 1969, the BIA rejected the idea that Native administrators were needed and would not fund proposed graduate programs to develop Native leadership in education. The official in charge of professional training maintained that all adminsitrative positions were filled already, albeit mainly with non-Natives, and no new ones were needed. But, the OEO Indian office director was interested in helping to develop Native leadership. With funding from OEO, graduate fellowship programs were developed at four universities: The Pennsylvania State University (Penn State), Harvard University, Arizona State University, and The University of Minnesota. These programs were strongly opposed by some of the BIA area office officials, especially the BIA area offices in Juneau, Alaska, and Window Rock on the Navajo Reservation. Other BIA offices, including the Anadarko Area Office in Oklahoma, cooperated by nominating Native BIA employees to attend the leadership programs. Seventeen Native graudate students, all BIA employees in about GS 5 level positions, were enrolled in the first wave in the Penn State program. The programs graduated well educated Natives with doctorates who were prepared to compete successfully against non-Native professionals for top positions in Native education programs operated by federal, state, and tribal agencies. The graudates of these four original graduate programs and Native graduate programs in other institutions that developed in the early 1970s provided the Native leadership needed to cause a change in the status quo of the Native education policy and implement Native control of Native education (Lynch & Charleston, 1990, pp. 7-8).

The confirmation of greater authority in a variety of areas, including Native education, were the goals of Native governments. These goals were being confirmed by federal legislation during the 1970s and 1980s which was directed at the elementary, secondary, and vocational schools and community colleges serving Native communities.

Self-Determination Era

In 1969, a comprehensive report by the special Senate Subcommittee on Indian Education, popularly known as the "Kennedy Report," proclaimed the state of Native education to be a "national tragedy" (U.S. Senate, Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, S. Report No. 91-501, Committee on Labor and Public Welfare). The self-determination era was ushered in with the 1970 Message of the President of the United States Transmitting Recommendations for Indian Policy.

In that statement Richard Nixon called for:

1. Self-determination.
2. Repeal of HCR 108 setting termination as policy.
3. Tribal control and operation of federal programs.
4. Restoration of sacred lands of Taos Pueblo at Blue Lake.
5. Economic Development through Indian Financing Act.
6. Increase in financial support for Indian Health Service.
7. Assistance for Urban Indians.
8. Establishment of Indian Trust Counsel Authority.
9. Establishment of an Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs.

Congress responded with the Indian Education Act in 1972 before it responded with the broader Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975. The promotion and passage of this legislation fueled the arguments that were taking place regarding the role of federal, state, and Native governments with respect to education issues. It took 18 years before Congress was willing to formally end the infamous termination policy by repudiating HCR 108 with the passage of Public Law 100-297 of April 28, 1988 (25 USC 2001, Title V, Part B, § 5203 (f)).

The authority of tribal government was defined further in the 1970s and 1980s. These decades have not necessarily clarified the authority of Native governments, because Congress and the Supreme Court seem to be proceeding along divergent paths with respect to their views about the power and authority of tribal governments. However, the two branches of the governments both seem to be supportive of Native education.

The political authority of tribes to provide effectively for the economic and social well-being of their tribal members has been enhanced by various legislative acts since the Nixon Indian Policy Statement. Moreover, Congress acknowledged that the assimilation/termination policy was a failure and rejected the termination policy by passing the Menominee Restoration Act in 1973.

The Indian Education Act

An important piece of legislation for Indian education was signed into law in 1972. It was entitled the Indian Education Act of 1972 (Public Law 92-318) and provided monies for supplementary innovative programs for Native students. The chief administering office was the U.S. Office of Education. The monies from the Act provided to public schools cannot be used for operational expenses, except in the case of Native-controlled schools. The Act provides for local parent committees to be involved in all aspects of the administration of special Native education grant projects to public schools. In other words, the Act made possible funding of the programs that Native tribal and community members want for their children and which could never find an authorization under any other legislation. The Act was developed to address the special educational needs of Native children. To be eligible for funding, a school district must show that projects were developed with the participation and approval of a parent advisory committee composed of parents of the Native children whom the program is to serve. Congress has established a legislative framework which requires Native participation for programs that operate outside Indian Country which are designed to serve the education needs of Native children. The Act is designed to overcome past attitudes of hostility that permeate the relationships of Native governments with the surrounding state governments (U.S. Senate, 1969, pp. 52-54).

The initial appropriation under this Act was $18 million. It also established a Bureau of Indian Education within the Office of Education and a National Indian Education Advisory Council. It is important to note that the program under the Indian Education Act would not have been implemented without the untiring efforts of Native people throughout the country because this was one of the programs which was caught in the impoundment squeeze of 1973. Rescued by lawsuits litigated by Native attorneys, the Indian Education Act had the potential of building strong Native community-controlled educational programs on State and federal reservations, in rural communities and in cities across the country.

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act

The Congress took a major step to support Native governments in the mid-1970s. On January 4, 1975, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act was enacted (Public Law 93-638). The Act provides that:

> "a. The Congress, after careful review of the federal government's historical and special legal relationships with, and resulting responsibilities to, American Indian people, finds that:
>
> 1. The prolonged federal domination of Indian service programs has served to retard rather than enhance the progress of Indian people and their communities by depriving Indians of the full opportunity to develop leadership skills crucial to the realization of self-government, and has denied to the Indian people an effective voice in the planning and implementation of programs for the benefit of Indians which are responsive to the true needs of Indian communities; and
> 2. The Indian people will never surrender their desire to control their relationships both among themselves and with non-Indian governments, organizations, and persons."

In addition to reiterating the federal government's recognition of tribal sovereignty, the Indian Self-Determination Act was intended to strengthen tribal governments by directing the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service to contract out to Native governments most of the services administered by these agencies. The Act also authorized grants to help strengthen tribal management of Native community services. Of singular importance is the Act's explicit disclaimer that the law is in no way a termination of the federal government's trust responsibility to Native governments.

Indian Preference in Employment

Another concept which finds support in treaties is the concept of Indian preference in employment. Although it can be argued that the Delaware Treaty of 1778 manifested a preference in employing the "best and most expert warriors" in the Revolution, the first clear expression of Indian preference in employment is the Act of March 5, 1792, where the United States provides for the employment of Indians in the defense of its frontiers. Indian preference in employment then appears in mid-century treaties such as the Chippewa Treaty of 1863. Indian preference could have been used to employ Natives in Bureau of Indian Affairs operated educational institutions.

Indian preference is applicable to federal Native education programs. It is applied in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Indian Health Service. In the Education Ammendments Act of 1988 (Public Law 100-297), Indian preference was extended to the Office of Indian Education in the U.S. Department of Education, but not to any of the other Department of Education programs targeting Native students. Implementation of Indian preference, in the Office of Indian Education in the Department of Education has been very slow and with considerable opposition from the union and the bureaucracy of the Department of Education. Unfortunately, the federal Indian employment preference statutes have had a very limited impact (*Morton v. Mancari*, 417 U.S. 535 [1974]).

American Indian Policy Review Commission

The American Indian Policy Review Commission was established by Congress in 1975 to conduct a comprehensive review of the historical and legal developments underlying the Indians' relationship with the federal government, and to determine the nature and scope of necessary revisions in the foundation of policy and programs for the benefit of American Indians (Public Law 93-580, 25 U.S.C. § 174).

In its Final Report, the Commission advocated continued respect for the inherent sovereignty of Indian tribes and set forth these principles to guide the United States government:

The fundamental concepts which must guide future policy determinations are:

> "a. That Indian tribes are sovereign political bodies having the power to determine their own membership and power to enact laws and enforce them within the boundaries of their reservations, and
>
> b. That the relationship which exists between the tribes and the United States is premised on a special trust that must govern the conduct of the stronger toward the weaker."

The concept of sovereignty and the concept of trust are imperative to the continuation of the federal-Indian relationship. These form the foundation upon which the United States entire legal relationship with the Indian tribes stands. These are not new precepts — they are old, dating from the origins of this Nation.

Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978

The Congress continued further recognition and promotion of tribal sovereignty in the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978, 25 U.S.C. § 1901 et seq. This law was enacted in response to the increasing number of Native children being adopted or placed into non-Native families. The Act restricts non-Native social agencies from placing Native children in non-Native homes, absent tribal or parental consent. It acknowledges the jurisdiction of tribal courts over child custody in related cases on the reservation and requires that full faith and credit be accorded tribal court orders in these matters. It also provides for the transfer of jurisdiction from state to tribal courts under certain conditions, such as parental or tribal request to recover off-reservation Native children. By the provisions of this Act, tribal law can reach beyond the reservation and can affect court proceedings anywhere in the United States.

Title XI of the Education Ammendments Act of 1978

Public Law 95-561, Title XI of the Education Ammendments Act of 1978, promoted Native self-determination by stating "...it shall be the policy of the Bureau [of Indian Affairs], in carrying out the functions of the Bureau, to facilitate Indian control of Indian affairs in all matters relating to education." The Act directed the Bureau to fund Native schools according to an "Indian school equalization formula" designed to achieve an equitable distribution of funds among the schools. The result was the ISEP formula (Indian School Equalization Program formula) that is a weighted per capita distribution of funds. The Act mandated a set of uniform education standards to be established for all BIA and contract schools. Teachers and other education personnel were placed on direct contract basis with each school to remove BIA education personnel from the federal civil service system. The Act provided for local control of Native education through local school boards with expanded roles and authority and created local BIA agency superintendents for education reporting directly to the Office of Indian Education in the central office in Washington. This reorganization removed education from the direct authority of the local BIA agency superintendents and the area offices.

The BIA responded to Public Law 95-561 with task force studies and the creation of the mandated positions and documents. However, the intent of the Act to promote Native self-determination in education has not been implemented. Federally funded Native education remains firmly controlled by the BIA. The bureaucratic administration of the ISEP formula funding has created uncertainity, instability, and a general lack of adequate funding for federal Indian schools. Some tribes have responded to the inadequate funding and lack of local control by abandoning the federal system and developing community-controlled public schools, such as on the Rocky Boys Reservation in Montana and Zuni Reservation in New Mexico.

The Indian Tax Status Act of 1982

This law, originally passed in 1982, and amended in 1984 and 1987 was intended to place tribal governments on the same footing as state government with respect to treatment under federal tax provisions. The Committee report stated:

> Many Indian tribal governments exercise sovereign powers; often this fact has been recognized by the United States by treaty. With the power to tax, the power of eminent domain, and police powers, many Indian tribal governments have responsibilities and needs quite similar to those of State and local governments.
>
> Increasingly, Indian tribal governments have sought funds with which they could assist their people by stimulating their tribal economics and by providing governmental services.
>
> The committee has concluded that, in order to facilitate these efforts of the Indian tribal governments that exercise such sovereign powers, it is appropriate to provide these governments with a status under the Internal Revenue Code similar to what is now provided for the governments of the states of the United States. The committee understands this would be of greatest significance at this time in the area of gifts or contributions to Indian tribal governments, exemptions with respect to excise taxes, the deductibility of income taxes paid to these governments, and the ability of these governments to issue tax-exempt bonds. A number of other points have been presented as to which the committee also agrees that Indian tribal governments should be treated essentially the same as State governments. (S. Rep. No. 97-646, 97th Cong., 2d Sess. p. 2)

Pacific Salmon Treaty Act of 1985

Treaties are an issue of prime concern to American Indian tribal governments. United States treaties with American Indian tribes presently protect rights of many tribes. In 1985, the U.S. Congress passed the Pacific Salmon Treaty Act of 1985 (United States-Canada), Public Law 99-5, Act of March 15, 1985, 99 Stat. 7, which provided that one of the four United States treaty commissioners should be nominated by the treaty Indian tribes of the states of Idaho, Oregon, and Washington. Similar nominations were to be made by the tribes for two of six commissioners serving on the Southern Panel and one of four commissioners on the Fraser River Panel. The tribes involved were signatories to treaties with the United States in or about 1855. The object of the law was to implement the January 28, 1985, treaty with Canada and protect the tribal treaty fishing interests secured a century earlier. Time and circumstances required new legislation and the Congress took appropriate action.

Indian Self-Determination Act Amendments of 1988

The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 had shown itself in need of revision. In the fall of 1988, the U.S. Congress passed laws to bring this act up to date. The new law is entitled the "Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1988." The law adds this new language:

> (b) The Congress declares its commitment to the maintenance of the federal government's unique and continuing relationship with, and responsibility to, individual Indian tribes and the Indian people as a whole through the establishment of a meaningful Indian self-determination policy which will permit an orderly transition from the federal domination of programs for, and services to, Indians to effective and meaningful participation by the Indian people in the planning, conduct, and administration of those programs and services. In accordance with this policy, the United States is committed to supporting and assisting Indian tribes in the development of strong and stable tribal governments, capable of administering quality programs and developing the economies of their respective communities. (Public Law 100-472, Act of October 5, 1988, 102 Stat. 2285)

The amendments to the law went on to provide under Title III, for the support of demonstration tribal self-governance projects.

Indian Fishing Rights and Taxation

The U.S. Congress also passed legislation to confirm Native fishing rights. Public Law 100-647 provided for Native Fishing Rights in subtitle E, 102 Stat. 3640, and stated that there would be no federal or state income tax on the exercise of treaty related fishing rights. The tribes have contended for years that because their treaties were silent on the matter that they had not given any authority to tax to the United States. The U.S. Internal Revenue Service took the opposite view that the treaties had not granted any exemption and therefore the income was subject to taxation. Congress took legislative action to side with the treaty tribes.

Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988

The Tribally Controlled Schools Act of 1988 reemphasizes tribal control by stating the following:

> ...The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act, which was a product of the legitimate aspirations and a recognition of the inherent authority of Indian nations, was and is a crucial positive step towards tribal and community control ...

Congress took the opportunity to make a declaration of policy in this law in which it "declares its commitment to the maintenance of the federal government's unique and continuing trust relationship with and responsibility to the Indian people...."

Congress defined a national goal towards Native people in these words:

> The Congress declares that a major national goal of the United States is to provide the resources, processes, and structures which will enable tribes and local communities to effect the quantity and quality of educational services and opportunities which will permit Indian children to compete and excel in the life areas of their choice, and to achieve the measure of self-determination essential to their social and economic well-being.

The Act specified that "Congress affirms the reality of the special and unique educational needs of Indian peoples, including the need for programs to meet the linguistic and cultural aspirations of Indian tribes and communities."

The Act also reaffirmed federal relations by stating that "Congress declares its commitment to these policies and its support, to the full extent of its responsibility, for federal relations with the Indian Nations."

Death Penalty Act

During debate of the proposed federal Death Penalty Act in June of 1990, Senator Inouye, Chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, offered an amendment to allow Indian governments to determine whether or not the death penalty should apply on their reservations. Before the Senate voted to keep the amendment in the bill, Senator Inouye reminded the Senate of the status of Indian tribes:

> I believe that all of us should recall that Indian tribes are sovereign. They [have] been sovereign from the days of our Founding Fathers. As proof of that, there are 370 treaties in effect at this moment, treaties that have been ratified by the U.S. Senate. As sovereign people ... they should be given the right to determine whether their people should be subjected to the death penalty .... This is nondiscriminatory, fair legislation, recognizing the sovereignty of Indian people. It is that simple. (June 28, 1990, 136 Cong. Rec. 9045)

Contemporary Responsibilities and Relationships in the Education of American Indians and Alaska Natives

The United States Congress has established a legislative framework to address the needs of Native students that is spread across several executive branch departments and agencies of the federal government. The most prominent federal agency involved in Native education is the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose traditional role has been to address the nation's "Indian problem" including those in education. The second agency is the U.S. Department of Education whose purpose is to serve the educational needs of all the nation's children including those who are Native.

The roles of the tribes in education has been the subject of much legislation and debate over the past two hundred years. Except for a brief period in the mid 1970s and early 1980s, the tribal role has been very small during the twentieth century. With the present renewed federal trend of shifting responsibility for educating Native students from the federally-funded BIA and tribal schools to the public schools, the role of the states is increasing while the role of tribes is decreasing.

Federal Role

Bureau of Indian Affairs

The Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) of the Department of the Interior serves the educational needs of Natives through an array of programs. The most obvious mechanism is through the 182 schools that BIA operated in 1990. The Bureau of Indian Affairs contracts with tribes and administers grants to tribes for the operation of schools. In 1990, a total of 76 schools were operated by tribes.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs administers the Johnson O'Malley program which is directed at funding special education needs of Natives in public schools.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs also operates Postsecondary Education Programs established for Natives. One program provides special higher education scholarships and another program provides Adult/Vocational Education Programs.

Department of Education

The U.S. Department of Education has an Office of Indian Education which has the responsibility for Native Education. The statutory authority is provided through the Indian Education Act which funds 1,100 public schools. It also has an Indian Fellowship Program to address needs for financial support in postsecondary studies.

The Department of Education also serves Natives through the Compensatory Education Program under Chapter I and Migrant Programs. The Impact Aid Program, Bilingual Education, and the Drug Free Schools and Communities Act are also administered by the Department of Education.

Department of Health and Human Services

The Department of Health and Human Services also has programs serving the educational needs of Natives. These consist of the Head Start Program and the Indian Health Professions Scholarships Program.

Department of Labor

The Department of Labor operates programs for vocational, technical, and employment training for Native youth and adults. These programs include Job Corps, Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA) programs of Public Law 97-300, and Job Opportunities and Skills Program (JOBS) of Public Law 100-485. The programs provide funding for Native communitites and organizations to serve the employment training needs of Natives students.

Tribal Role

Native Controlled Schools

Federal agencies are not the only parties concerned with the education of Native children. Native parents have concerns about the adequacy of education for their children in terms of content and value and have demonstrated their motivation by providing access to education by establishing schools in urban environments, rural areas, and reservation areas. The tribal role in education has been limited by inadequate funding of tribal schools and continuing conflicts with federal agencies over local control and decision-making authority. In 1990, tribes operated 58 elementary and secondary day schools, 12 boarding schools, and 6 peripheral dormitories providing residential services to Native children attending public schools.

There has been increasing criticism of the operation of tribal governments over the last few years. The U.S. Civil Rights Commission is expected to issue a report critical of tribal courts (134 Congressional Record, Nov. 10, 1988, S-17391, 17393). The Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs issued a report critical of tribal government operations in 1989 (A New Federalism, 1989, p. 13). The recent conviction of Navajo Tribal Chairman Peter MacDonald on corruption charges in 1990 have cast tribal government in the same light as the Oklahoma County Commissioners scandal cast a shadow on local county government.

Tribes are cognizant of the problems and are moving to improve their government operations by revising their constitutions, instituting improved courts systems, and overhauling their administrative operations. The purpose of a revitalized and strengthened government is to serve the needs of Native communities. High on their list of priorities is the improvement of the education available to Native students and an increase in the financial resources needed to provide that education.

Tribally Controlled Community Colleges

Reservations are generally remote from urban areas and community colleges. This translates into limited access to postsecondary education for Natives. As a consequence, tribes formed the American Indian Higher Education Consortium in 1972 to overcome this lack of access to higher education. Recognizing that accreditation and financing were linked, the Consortium moved to shortcut some of the problems. The Consortium successfully achieved the financing goals by lobbying through Congress the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges Act of 1978 and secured reauthorization. The Native governments now operate 24 community colleges; two are four-year institutions. Nurtured in a Native social and cultural environment, the college students who attend these institutions now have a foundation for success in Indian Country.

Native Community Control

Although Native community control offers the hope for the future of Native education today, it is not by any means a new concept. In the early 1800s the Cherokees, Creeks, and Choctaws had established educational systems. Under the leadership of Sequoyah, the Cherokees developed their own syllabary, curricular materials, and even published a bilingual newspaper. Among the three tribes there were over 200 schools and academies. The success of the system was so great that 90 percent of the tribal people were literate (U.S. Senate, 1969, p. 19), a percentage extraordinary for the U.S. population then and today. When the federal government stepped in and took over the schools at the turn of the century, the progress made under community control began to reverse itself.

With programs geared to Native community-control, such as those funded by the Economic Opportunity Act, came a renewed interest in community control. Approximately a half dozen Native communities facing severe educational problems decided that the time for community-control had come. But the process did not happen over night. Assistance from foundations and government agencies and lawyers was needed to successfully fight all the battles that confronted the Native communities.

Native Community-control of education is directly in line with President Nixon's 1970 address on Indian Affairs, where he said that Indian tribes and communities should have self-determination especially in the area of education. The government, however, has not facilitated the transfer to Native community-control. Instead, it has turned up stumbling blocks wherever possible. The BIA is not committed to self-determination and fights hard to keep from entering into contracts with local Native communities. As a result, the Native communities have solicited the services of lawyers or technical assistance resource groups to help negotiate the problems.

Organizations have been formed by concerned Native people for the very purpose of assisting Native parents and Native communities improve the educational opportunities for their children. They also help Native community members negotiate the necessary political arenas which refuse to turn the local schools over to the community. Examples of such organizations are the National Indian Education Association and the Coalition of Indian Controlled School Boards. The Coalition serves some 90 communities, parent groups, and school districts who either have already achieved control of their school or who are in the process of negotiating with local, state and federal officials for such a takeover.

State Role

State efforts to address the educational needs of Native students are largely confined to providing Native students access to standard curricula in off-reservation public schools largely through federal financing incentives attached to Indian education programs. Minnesota has made substantial efforts in this area (Beaulieu, Commissioned Paper 20 of the Supplemental Volume, 1991). The public schools are supported with funding through the Johnson O'Malley program of the BIA and the Indian Education Act programs and Impact Aid programs of the Department of Education. All of these programs compensate public schools for assuming the responsibility for educating Native students. Impact Aid funds for public schools have increased steadily as the BIA budgets have declined in the 1970s and 1980s. The result of the shift in funds to public education has been a parallel shift in Native student enrollment from the poorly funded federal and tribal schools to the more financially stable and secure public schools.

Native community and tribal involvement in public education is very limited. The Native parent advisory committees required by some of the federal programs in the Department of Education have very limited impact on pubic school decision-making and administrative practices. In many cases, the requirements are ignored by both the public schools and the federal agencies as being impractical to implement. Where they exist, the parent advisory committees are acceptable to the state and federal agencies as surrogates for the role of tribes and Native governments. Their purpose is to legitimize that the programs operated under state control meet the needs of Native students.

There are a few exceptions to the non-Native control of public schools. A few on-reservation public schools operated under the control of Native school boards, such as the Rocky Boys Elementary School on the Rocky Boys Reservation in Montana and the Zuni Public School District on the Zuni Reservation in New Mexico. These Native communities schools elected to shift from federal control for state control to obtain greater and more stable funding for the schools.

Recent Supreme Court Decisions

Confirmation of the governmental powers of Indian tribes is found in the decisions of the

Supreme Court on several cases argued before the Court in recent years.

Tribal Jurisdiction in Criminal Cases

Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe

Oliphant v. Suquamish Indian Tribe, 98 S.Ct. 1079 (1978), a 1978 decision of major importance, restrains the exercise of tribal sovereignty in the area of criminal jurisdiction. In this case, the Supreme Court held that Indian tribes have no inherent power to try and punish non-Indians who commit crimes on Indian reservations unless the tribe has been granted such power in a treaty of agreement or by act of Congress. The case involved two non-Indians who had violated tribal laws on the Port Madison Reservation and who had been convicted and sentenced by the tribal court. Although stating that "Indian tribes do retain elements of 'quasi-sovereign' authority after ceding their lands to the United States and announcing their dependence on the federal government," the Court maintained that "by submitting to the overriding sovereignty of the United States, Indian tribes therefore necessarily give up their power to try non-Indian citizens of the United States except in a manner acceptable to Congress."

The Supreme Court could find no law which specifically removed the tribal power to assert criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians, yet it ruled that the exercise of this power is "inconsistent with the status" of Indian tribes. The Court found that the tribe's criminal jurisdiction over non-Indians had implicitly been curtailed by the entire history of Indian-United States relations. For the first time, the Supreme Court declared that a fundamental tribal power could be extinguished by implication. Limiting tribal power on this basis directly contradicts the long-standing principle of Indian law that Indian tribes retain all inherent sovereign powers unless specifically restrained by Congress or given up in a treaty or agreement.

United States v. Wheeler

The Supreme Court's statement in *Worcester v. Georgia*, that Native governments are "distinct, independent political communities" is still relied on today in support of the inherent sovereignty of Native governments. One of the recent cases to rely on concepts developed by Chief Justice Marshall in *Worcester*, and consistently relied upon by the courts in their decisions since 1832, is the 1978 decision of the Supreme Court in a case known as *United States v. Wheeler*, 435 U.S. 313 (1978), wherein the sovereign nature of tribes was once again reaffirmed. This case held that because Indian tribal courts and federal courts derive their authority from separate sovereigns, the double jeopardy clause of the United States Constitution does not prohibit prosecution in federal court of an Indian defendant already tried and sentenced for the same acts in tribal court. A member of the Navajo Tribe had been convicted of a crime by the Navajo Tribal Court. Federal authorities, believing that the Navajo had not been punished sufficiently, prosecuted him for the same actions in federal court. The Navajo appealed, claiming that the double jeopardy clause, which prohibits a defendant from being prosecuted twice by the same sovereign for offenses arising out of the same acts, made the federal prosecution illegal. The defendant argued that since he had already been tried in a tribal court which was actually "an arm of the federal government," forcing him to stand trial in a federal court for the same acts would in essence be a second prosecution brought by the same sovereign power.

The Supreme Court held that the Indian defendant could be prosecuted again by the United States, since Indian tribes remain separate political communities with inherent powers to enact laws and to prosecute tribal members for violations of those laws. Because prosecution was brought by two different sovereigns, the federal government and the tribal government, the double jeopardy clause did not apply in this case. The Supreme Court stated:

> It is evident that the sovereign power to punish tribal offenders has never been given up by the Navajo Tribe and the tribal exercise of that power today is therefore the continued exercise to retained tribal sovereignty.

The Court emphasized the fact that the authority of tribes to prosecute criminal acts arises from the inherent power of a sovereign, rather than from any federal delegation of power.

Duro v. Reina

On May 29, 1990, in *Duro v. Reina* (1990) the Supreme Court held that the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Tribe did not have criminal misdemeanor jurisdiction over a non-member Indian working and residing on the reservation. The tribe prosecuted Duro on a misdemeanor charge of discharging a firearm when the federal district attorney dropped charges against Duro for the murder of a 14 year old Indian boy. The Supreme Court reasoned that the legislative, executive, and judicial branches of the federal government had always presumed the tribes lacked criminal jurisdiction over non-member Indians.

On October 24, 1990, Congress took action on what it regarded as an "emergency situation" created by the Supreme Court in *Duro*. Congress saw the decision as "Reversing two hundred years of the exercise by tribes of criminal misdemeanor jurisdiction over all Indians residing on their reservations." "Throughout the history of this country, the Congress has never questioned the power of tribal courts to exercise misdemeanor jurisdiction over non-tribal member Indians in the same manner that such courts exercise misdemeanor jurisdiction over tribal members." Congress then proceeded to amend the Defense Appropriation Act to suspend the effect of *Duro* until after September 1, 1991, while Congress considers comprehensive legislation to deal with the problem created by the *Duro* decision (136 Congressional Record, October 24, 1990, H13596).

To tribes the decisions limiting their authority and allowing state jurisdiction within Indian Country indicate that the Supreme Court has embarked on the same policy of termination that Congress embraced during the 1950s.

In *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation* __U.S. __ (1989) and *Duro* decisions the Supreme Court indicated that if the Congress disagreed with their decisions, Congress could take action. After *Duro*, Congress did so with what can be regarded in comparison with budget issues as lightening speed. Tribal governments may have found common ground with Congress. The Congress may feel that its power to regulate commerce with the Indian tribes is being infringed upon by Court decisions which go contrary to its legislation promoting economic development and tribal government. Congress is taking an active role through measures like the proposed, "New Federalism for American Indians Act," S.2512, 101st Cong., 2d Sess. (April 25, 1990). Because Indian affairs is not a major policy area like defense or the budget or health or education, Congress may feel that it can take substantial action and gain a positive image by acting favorably towards America's oldest governments and smallest minority.

Most certainly, the tribes will act to convince Congress to take decisive action to stop the Supreme Courts incursions. They will most certainly look to alternative opportunities and forums to vindicate their rights if Congress and the tribes cannot reach agreements. From the tribal point of view, the Supreme Court tried to do to the Native governments what Iraq is tried to do with Kuwait. A major concern of the Native governments is that the jurisdictional erosion will spill over into other areas such as education. The goal of the Native governments, of course, will be the application of the original principles espoused by Vitoria for treatment of the Native governments.

Treaty Rights and Tribal Sovereignty

United States v. Washington

On July 2, 1979, the Supreme Court issued an important decision on three consolidated cases on review of district court orders implementing the famous Judge Boldt decisions in *United States v. Washington*. The three cases consolidated were: *Washington v. Washington State Fishing Vessel Assn., State of Washington v. United States, Puget Sound Gillnetters Assn. v. United States District Court*, 99 S. Ct. 3055 (1979). In a 6-3 decision, the Court upheld the decisions of the lower federal courts.

At issue in the case was the interpretation of various treaties signed in 1854 and 1855 between the United states and a number of Native governments living in the coastal regions of Washington State. In these treaties, the tribes relinquished their interests in a vast amount of land in exchange for monetary compensation, relatively small parcels of land, and other guarantees such as protection of their "right of taking fish at usual and accustomed grounds ... in common with all citizens of the territory."

The major issue was the interpretation of this phrase. The Supreme Court held that the term "in common with" meant the Indians had a right to take a certain amount of the harvestable fish, 45 to 50 percent, rather than merely an opportunity to try to catch some fish.

The Court reasoned that the treaties were signed between sovereign nations which reserved to themselves an approximately equal percentage of a harvestable natural resource. Thus, the Court stated:

> ... a treaty, including one between the United States and an Indian tribe, is essentially a contract between two sovereign nations. When the signatory nations have not been at war, and neither is vanquished, it is reasonable to assume that they negotiated as equals at arms length. There is no reason to doubt that this assumption applies to the treaty at issue here. Accordingly, it is the intention of parties, and not solely that of the

> superior side that must control any attempt to interpret the treaties.

Pointing out that the treaties should be interpreted according to what the Indians thought they meant, the Court also stated:

> It is absolutely clear, as Governor Stevens himself said, that neither he nor the Indians intended that the latter 'should be excluded from their ancient fisheries,' and it's accordingly inconceivable that either party deliberately agreed to authorize future settlers to crowd the Indians out of any meaningful use of their accustomed places to fish. That each individual Indian would share an 'equal opportunity' with thousands of newly arrived individual settlers is totally foreign to the spirit of the negotiations. Such a 'right,' along with the $207,500 paid the Indians, would hardly have been sufficient to compensate them for the millions of acres they ceded to the territory.
>
> Because the Indians had always exercised the right to meet their subsistence and commercial needs by taking fish from treaty area waters, they would be unlikely to perceive 'reservation' of that right at merely the chance, shared with millions of other citizens, occasionally to dip their nets into the territorial waters.

In reaching this decision, the Court affirmed that the Indians had granted certain rights or property interests to the United States in these treaty transactions and that those matters not mentioned in the grant were reserved or retained by the Indian grantors. Further, this decision reaffirmed the sovereign status of Indian tribes in contracting parties in treaty negotiations.

Indians Reservations in Oklahoma

In 1978, the *Littlechief* (1978) case and the *Chilocco* (1978) case confirmed that Indian Country still existed on tribal and allotted lands in western Oklahoma. Despite the popular saying that there are no reservations in Oklahoma, except the Osage Reservation, no one can show the legal basis for this assertion. In fact, federal cases have reached a contrary conclusion. With the courts renewed recognition of Indian Country in Oklahoma in 1978, tribes in western Oklahoma moved to establish courts and law enforcement systems. A 1980 case, *Cheyenne-Arapaho Tribes v. Oklahoma* (1980), held that land of that tribe is an Indian reservation. Tribes in eastern Oklahoma are currently engaged in the same effort since the decisions in *Creek Nation v. Hodel* ( ).

The recognition of Oklahoma as Indian Country may help lay a foundation for the argument that a tribal community college or colleges should be established in Oklahoma. The existing colleges and universities will react with opposition because they would perceive such a move as threatening their income from Native students. At the same time, the tribes would probably have to achieve some satisfactory political arrangement to govern one or more such tribal community colleges.

In 1991, the outgoing and the incoming governors of Oklahoma have expressed their belief that the tribes and the state have mutual economic interest and that they can and should work together. These agreements are to be approved by the Joint Committee on State-Tribal Relations of the Oklahoma legislature and the U.S. Secretary of the Interior. There may be an opportunity to convince the legislators that the creation of tribal community colleges would be an economic opportunity for Oklahoma which should be pursued.

Taxation and Zoning

Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe

In a case known as *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe*, 455 U.S. 130 (1982) the U.S. Supreme Court in 1982 rejected a legal challenge against a severance tax imposed by the Jicarilla Apache Tribe on oil and gas producers on its reservation. Justice Thurgood Marshall, writing for the majority, construed the sovereignty of Indian tribes to include the power to tax business and commercial activities of outsiders on tribal lands. The tribal power to impose the severance tax was upheld as an incident of the inherent sovereignty of the tribe. The Court concluded that, "the tribes' authority to tax non-Indians who conduct business on the reservation does not simply derive from the tribes' power to exclude such persons, but is an inherent power necessary to tribal self-government and management."

The Court acknowledged that the taxing power was subject to congressional regulation, and in this case subject to approval by the Secretary of the Interior as well. These factors, said the Court, "minimize potential concern that Indian tribes will exercise the power to tax in an unfair or unprincipled manner, and ensure that any exercise of tribal power to tax will be consistent with national policies."

Ramah Navajo School Board, Inc. v. Bureau of Revenue

The role of the state in Native education in Indian Country was summarized in the *Ramah Navajo School Board, Inc. v. Bureau of Revenue*, 458 U.S. 832 (1982) case in which the Supreme Court refused to let New Mexico impose a tax:

> In this case, the State does not seek to assess its tax in return for the governmental functions it provides to those who must bear the burden of paying the tax. Having declined to take any responsibility for the education of these Indian children, the State is precluded from imposing an additional burden on the comprehensive federal scheme intended to provide this education — a scheme which has "left the State with no duties or responsibilities."

Generally the federal government and Native governments continue to have the primary responsibility for educating Indian children within Indian Country.

Kerr-McGee v. Navajo Tribe

While Jicarilla provided a positive result in a challenge to tribal authority the Kerr-McGee case raised a new question. Would "secretarial approval" be essential to the validity of a tribal tax? Tribal taxing authority was consistent with the national policies of self-determination and self-sufficiency. There was great fear that tribal taxing power would flounder on the rock of "secretarial approval." This potential obstacle was laid to rest in *Kerr-McGee v. Navajo Tribe*, 471 U.S. 195 (1985). The Supreme Court approved tribal leasehold property and gross receipts taxes on mineral extraction activities despite the absence of secretarial approval for the Navajo as a non-Indian Reorganization Act (IRA) tribe. Taxes have been historically recognized as flowing from tribal sovereignty, but "secretarial approval" provisions which appeared in virtually all IRA constitutions. The "secretarial approval" provisions were found inapplicable to non-IRA tribes like the Navajo. If IRA tribes want to remove the "secretarial approval" provisions in their constitutions, the Court found that "such tribes are free, with the backing of the Interior Department, to amend their constitutions to remove the requirement of secretarial approval."

The general premise sustaining tribal taxes was provided by Merrion:

> The petitioners avail themselves of the "substantial privilege of carrying on business" on the reservation. They benefit from the provision of police protection and other governmental services, as well as from "the advantages of a civilized society" that are assured by tribal government. Numerous other governmental entities levy a general revenue tax similar to that imposed ... [for] comparable service.

This premise, applicable equally in Indian and non-Indian contexts, has controlled the Court's tribal taxation approach in recent years. Provided that some tribal government services are enjoyed by the entity subjected to the tax, both Merrion and Kerr-McGee reflect the Court's continued willingness to sustain taxes on nonmembers, despite the absence of such taxes for a long period of time, and, where appropriate, despite the absence of secretarial approval.

Washington v. Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation

Tribal taxing authority was also upheld in the case of *Washington v. Confederated Tribes of the Colville Reservation*. There the court examined the authority of the state of Washington to impose a state cigarette tax and other taxes at the same time that there were tribal taxes on the same products. The state of Washington had argued that the tribes had no power to impose their cigarette taxes on non-tribal purchasers. The court rejected the argument and held that the power to tax transactions occurring on trust lands and significantly involving a tribe or its members is a fundamental attribute of sovereignty which the tribes retain unless divested of it by federal law or necessary implication of their dependent status. What is clear from *Jicarilla*, *Kerr-McGee*, and *Colville* is that tribes, like states, can use taxes to raise revenues to help pay for schools, roads, tribal government and other governmental services.

Cotton Petroleum Corp. v. New Mexico

On April 25, 1989, in *Cotton Petroleum Corp. v. New Mexico*, 490 U.S., 109 S.Ct. 1698 (1989), the Supreme Court held that the state of New Mexico could validly impose severance taxes on a company doing business within the reservation even though the tribe also imposed such a tax. It poses a problem for the development of tribal economies and industry and seems contrary to the direction Congress has set through legislation.

The court noted that "significant" services were provided by the state. The decision sets the tribal government and the state government in conflict about raising revenues to fund tribal services like education.

Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation

On June 29, 1989, in *Brendale v. Confederated Tribes and Bands of the Yakima Indian Nation* the Supreme Court allowed a county of the state of

Washington the authority to zone within that part of a reservation in which there was a substantial non-Native population. It raises the possibility for tribal-state conflict over school issues at some future date, although in all probability the federal preemption of Native education will exclude state authority.

Tribal Courts

National Farmers & LaPlante

Two recent Supreme Court cases involve the jurisdiction of tribal courts, *National Farmers Union Life Insurance Cos. v. Crow Tribe of Indians*, 471 U.S. 845 (1985), and *Iowa Mutual Insurance Co. v. LaPlante*, 107 S. Ct. 971 (1987). In *National Farmers*, the Court reviewed the assertion of tribal court jurisdiction over a state-owned, on-reservation school and its non-Indian insurer, regarding a personal injury to a tribal member student which occurred at the school. The plaintiff prevailed because of a default judgment against the school district in tribal court. The schools insurance company, National Farmers, sought federal relief, involving general federal question of jurisdiction pursuant to 28 U.S.C. § 1331.

The Court said these elements will have to be examined to determine the extent of tribal civil jurisdiction: the extent to which tribal sovereignty has been altered, diverted, or diminished, and a detailed study of relevant statutes, Executive Branch policy as embodied in treaties and elsewhere, and administrative or judicial decisions. Finally the Court applied an "abstention" rationale, "concluding that examination of the case should be conducted in the first instance in the tribal court itself."

> Our cases have often recognized that Congress is committed to a policy of supporting tribal self-government and self-determination. That policy favors a rule that will provide a forum whose jurisdiction is being challenged the first opportunity to evaluate the faculty and legal basis of the challenge. Moreover, the orderly administration of justice in the federal court will be served by allowing a full record to be developed in the tribal court before either the merits or any question concerning the appropriate relief is addressed. The risks of the kind of "procedural nightmare" that has allegedly developed in this case will be minimized if the federal court stays its hand until after the tribal court has had a full opportunity to determine its own jurisdiction and to rectify any errors it may have made. Exhaustion of tribal court remedies, moreover, will encourage tribal courts to explain to the parties the precise basis for accepting jurisdiction, and will also provide other courts with the benefit of their expertise in such matters in the event of further judicial review.

National Farmers followed an "exhaustion of tribal remedies" approach. ***LaPlante***, a case decided in early 1987, was even more supportive of tribal court authority. An Indian employee of a member-owned ranch on the Blackfeet Reservation sued the ranch in tribal court for personal injuries (sustained while at work) and sued the ranch's insurer for bad faith refusal to settle the claim. After the tribal court found that it had valid civil jurisdiction, the insurer unsuccessfully sought relief in federal court. The insurer had argued that the federal court had jurisdiction because plaintiff and defendant were citizens of different states. The Supreme Court held that the *National Farmers* "exhaustion" rationale applied in diversity as well as federal question cases. The Court emphasized that the federal policy of promoting tribal self-government encompasses the development of the entire tribal court system, including appellate courts. At a minimum, exhaustion of tribal remedies means that tribal appellate courts must have the opportunity to review the determinations of the lower tribal courts. The Court then went beyond a simple "exhaustion" requirement, applying a principle analogous to comity or full faith and credit to substantive decisions of tribal courts as well.

> Although petitioner must exhaust available tribal remedies before instituting suit in federal court, the Blackfeet Tribal Courts' determination of tribal jurisdiction is ultimately subject to review. If the Tribal Appeals Court upholds the lower court's determination that the tribal courts have jurisdiction, petitioner may challenge that ruling in the District Court. Unless a federal court determines that the tribal court lacked jurisdiction, however, proper deference to the tribal court system precludes relitigation of issues raised by the LaPlantes' bad faith claim and resolved in the tribal courts (Arrow, 1987, pp. 487-492).

In both *National Farmers* and *LaPlante*, the Court reserved the issues concerning tribal civil jurisdiction for post-abstention adjudication. In *LaPlante*, however, the Court provided gratuitous dictum concerning how the ultimate jurisdictional issues are likely to be resolved:

> We have repeatedly recognized the federal government's longstanding policy of encouraging tribal self-government. This policy reflects the fact that Indian tribes retain

> 'attributes of sovereignty over both their members and their territory.
>
> Tribal courts play a vital role in tribal self-government, and the federal government has constantly encouraged their development. Although the criminal jurisdiction of the tribal courts is subject to substantial federal limitation, their civil jurisdiction is not similarly restricted ... .
>
> Tribal authority over the activities of non-Indians on reservation lands is an important part of tribal sovereignty. Civil jurisdiction over such activities presumptively lies in the tribal courts unless affirmatively limited by a specific treaty provision or federal statutes.

LaPlante's sweeping conclusion of non-jurisdictional non-reviewability grants potentially enormous authority to tribal courts acting within their jurisdiction in civil cases. With this authority, of course, goes enormous responsibility as well. While tribal courts, in most cases, are of relatively recent vintage, and vary widely in terms of structure, authority, and resources, their effective and judicious use of the authority extended by *LaPlante* will be critical to ensure continued judicial deference and forestall Congressional intervention.

The Bill of Rights, of course, is inapplicable to tribal judicial proceedings, and the Indian Civil Rights Act is enforceable only by habeas corpus in criminal cases. Nevertheless, tribal authorities should be cognizant that skeptics concerning tribal autonomy undoubtedly remain, and that proposals for federal intervention — should tribal court remedies be perceived to be unjust — have ranged from a "converse application of *National Farmers* ... wherein the question would not be whether the tribal court had proper subject matter jurisdiction, but whether the tribal court had applied the [Indian Civil Rights Act] as mandated by *Santa Clara Pueblo v. Martinez* to guarantee a right with a remedy and a forum," to a national Indian Court of Appeals, to the outright abolition of tribal courts.

Models for Conflict Resolution

In formulating programs directed at serving the educational needs of Native children Congress has consistently required a role for Native parents and Native communities. The United States government has provided an example of considering the views of Native governments by use of the treaty process in which federal government officials negotiated agreements with tribal officials. Thus, the process of negotiations between Native and non-Native is well entrenched in United States law. In the 1942 edition of the *Handbook of Federal Indian Law*, Cohen pointed out that:

> Legislation based upon Indian consent does not come to an end with the close of the period of Indian land cessions and the stoppage of Indian land losses in 1934. For in that very year the underlying assumption of the treaty period that the Federal Government's relations with the Indian tribes should rest upon a basis of mutual consent was given new life in the mechanism of federally approved tribal constitutions and tribally approved federal charters established by the [Indian Reorganization Act]. Thus, while the form of treaty-making no longer obtains, the fact that Indian tribes are governed primarily on a basis established by common agreement remains, and is likely to remain so long as the Indian tribes maintain their existence and the Federal Government maintains the traditional democratic faith that all Government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Cohen, 1972, p. 69

This "consent of the governed" has been mandated by Congress in its requirements for Native parent participation in the various educational statutes. Congress has encouraged the states to follow these principles in a number of contexts outside of education. This encouragement for tribal-state negotiations can be considered as a model for conflict resolution with respect to educational issues which Congress has not specifically addressed. Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act vested power with the tribal governments to "negotiate with the Federal, State, and local Governments." Other areas in which negotiations have been conducted are modern land settlements including the Alaskan Native Claims Settlement Act (__U.S.C.__), various ancient Indian land claims (Maine, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Rhode Island), the Indian Civil Rights Act (__U.S.C. __)requirement for tribal permission for any extension of state jurisdiction in Indian Country after 1968, Indian Gaming Regulatory Act (__ U.S.C.__) requirements for tribal-state compacts for Class III gaming and Cross Deputization agreements for law enforcement between tribes and states.

All of these areas show the need for continued dialogue and agreement between state and Native governments if problems, including those in educational services for Native communities, are to be effectively addressed.

It took a time span of 480 years since Columbus' contact in 1492 until 1972 when Congress established parent advisory committees to provide elements of Native parent control in Native education. Since 1972, Congress has continued to provide increasing legal authority for American Indians and Alaska Natives to control educational programs for their people.

Congress intended to provide meaningful measures of financial control for Native governments when it included in Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act provisions for Native governments' views on budget development within the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

> The Secretary of the Interior shall advise such tribe or its tribal council of all appropriation estimates or Federal projects for the benefit of the tribe prior to the submission of such estimates to the Bureau of the Budget and the Congress.

A recent United States General Accounting Office report entitled, *Indian Programs: Tribal Influence in Formulating Budget Priorities is Limited*, noted that "in the early 1970s BIA implemented a budget formulation process designed to give Indian tribes a substantial role in setting priorities among programs and their levels of funding." It took a generation for the BIA to involve Natives in the budget development process. This emphasizes the necessity for increased legal authority for Native people to control their educational programs and facilities. This means that working together the Native governments and Congress must reform Native education to meet Native education goals. All the reports of recent decades emphasize the necessity for Native control in their recommendations. Native people themselves emphasize involvement as the key to success (Beaulieu, 1991; Charleston, 1988a; Charleston, 1988b; Charleston, 1990). The recommendations of the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force reached the same conclusions.

Tribal Control Over Public Schools on Reservations

Melody L. McCoy, Attorney for the Native American Rights Fund (NARF), submitted a NARF position paper dated October 26, 1990, to the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force addressing tribal authority over public schools on reservations. This section presents excerpts of the position paper and summarizes its recommendations for new federal policy and legislation regarding public schools on reservations.

> Currently no federal policy or legislation expressly supports Indian control over public schools on reservations or in other Indian country by means of direct tribal governmental regulation. Essential to the success of tribal efforts in this area is a federal policy or legislation that does so. The policy or legislation should include provisions for direct federal funding of tribes in the area of education, notwithstanding the fact that education is provided in whole or in part by states. This paper exhorts the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force to urge the adoption of such a federal policy, including any legislation necessary to implement that policy. (McCoy, 1990, p. 4)

McCoy notes that "to date neither the Supreme Court nor any federal authority has ruled on the existence or scope of inherent tribal sovereign authority over the education of its members by state public schools on reservations. Under existing law, it is reasonable to expect that the existence of such authority would be upheld, but that its scope would be subject to some limitations" (p. 6). However, federal common law clearly recognizes inherent tribal soverenigty in the area of tribal Native education (*Ramah Navajo School Bd. v. Bureau of Revenue*, 458 U.S. 832 [1982]; *Merrion v. Jicarilla Apache Tribe*, 455 U.S. 140). The education provisions of many treaties which establish federal obligations to provide education services do not expressly affect tribal authority over education. McCoy states that it is unlikely that treaty provisions and federal education obligations would be found to restrict tribal authority over education since "...treaties are construed as reserving to tribes all rights not expressly ceded. *United States v. Winans*, 198 U.S. 371 (1905)" (pp. 6-7).

The "school selection" or "land grant" provisions of some treaties and some allotment and homesteading acts reserve sections of land within reservations to the "common" or public schools. McCoy states:

> ...while such provisions arguably confirm some state authority, the provisions also arguably do not impact tribal authority. Rather, they merely transferred to states the authority the federal government would have had, but that transfer leaves tribal authority unaffected. Compare Public Law 280, codified at 18 U.S.C. § 1162; 28 U.S.C. § 1360. Like the federal obligation provisions, the school selection or land grant provisions are not an express relinquishment of tribal authority by treaty. Tribal authority over education therefore could exist concurrently with state authority notwithstanding the school selection and land grant provisions. (p. 7)

> ...Like the treaties, the statues [encouraging and funding state education of Natives] do not expressly divest tribal authority over the state public schools. Nor should they be construed to do so. The statutes generally authorize expenditures and contracts for

> state education of Indian children. In exchange for educating Indians, the states demanded federal subsidies to compensate for the tax-exempt Indian lands that they serve. Increasingly vocal Indian people also insisted that money for special Indian programs in state schools be available. Thus, the statutes are essentially funding mechanisms; they are not grants or divestments of governmental authority. The statues are generally conspicuously absent of provisions regarding the existence of state authority or the lack of tribal authority over Indian education.
>
> Indeed, several of the recent statutes expressly confirm tribal authority over tribal and Indian schools, and some even sanction a measure of tribal and Indian parental control over and input into the state public schools. For example, Title I of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, 25 U.S.C. §§ 455-458a, provides for and encourages tribal and Indian controlled schools. The 1978 amendments to the Impact Aid laws, 20 U.S.C. §§ 240 (b) (3), provide for tribal and Indian parental input into and control over public school district funding applications and programs under Impact Aid. The ammendments also establish a complaint procedure whereby Indian parents and tribes may file complaints against the public school district which ultimately may be reviewed by the federal Department of Education. Such procedures and sanctions are expressly based on the government-to-government relationship between tribes and the federal government. 20 U.S.C. §§ 240 (b) (3) (F). (p. 9)

McCoy noted that:

> ...state entities and officials are increasingly being found to be subject to tribal authority for their activities on Indian reservations. See, e.g. *Sage v. Lodge Grass School Dist.*, 13 Ind. L. Rep 6035 (Crow Ct. App., July 30, 1986) (No. 82-287). Clearly with respect to on-reservation schools, the states are operating within the exterior boundaries of tribal territorial authority. Nevertheless, unlimited tribal regulatory authority over a state entity would likely be viewed as simply inconsistent with federalist principles and inter-sovereign relations, and therefore impermissible.
>
> Instead, tribal and state authority over Indian education in state public schools would probably be found to be concurrent. This is apparent from federal statutes such as the Johnson O'Malley Act, the Impact Aid laws, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, the Indian Education Act of 1972, the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975, and the Indian Education Act of 1988. ...The stautues, along with the federal policy encouraging tribal self-government, imply that both state and tribal governments have authority over the state schools that serve Indian children.
>
> Likewise, both states and tribes have strong interests in regulating the public school education of Indian children. States have built and maintained the schools, funded in part by state revenues. They also have extensive existing education regulatory schemes. States have an interest in exercising their sovereign rights to operate public schools systems, and in maintaining their regulatory function regarding public education.
>
> However, tribal interests are legitimate as well. The state schools are operating within the boundaries of tribal territorial authority and are serving tribal members. Tribes have interests in protecting their fundamental rights to exercise their sovereignty, to provide for their people, and to protect their resources, particularly their human resources.
>
> On balance, the state's role in Indian education in state schools may be primary. Most states agreed to maintain public schools as a condition of their statehood. Providing public education in this country is a traditional state function, and with federal approval and assistance in the form of significant funding, that function has been extended to reservation Indians.
>
> Nevertheless, a reasonable amount of direct tribal regulation of state public schools seems justified. It would exist concurrently with the authority of the states and its exercise would be limited so as not to interfere with the states' role. It would be geared specifically towards addressing specific tribal interests which do not inhibit the states from fulfilling their roles. (pp. 12-14)

A tribal education code has been developed for some reservations to define the relationships between tribal and state roles in regulating public school education on reservations. For example, the Rosebud Sioux Reservation Code addresses the following areas:

- Tribal curriculum and education standards, including instruction in Rosebud Lakota lanuguage, history, modern federal-tribal-state relations.
- Tribal alcohol and substance abuse prevention programs.
- The hiring and retention of more Native teachers and administrators.

- Increased and effective parental and community involvement.
- Unique tribal education goals such as the preservation of tribal culture and the promotion of a better understanding of modern tribal government.

The tribal Code supplements rather than supplanting the regulatory role of the state (p. 16).

McCoy urges the development of new federal policy and enactment of implementing legislation to support direct tribal regulatory authority over the public schools. Public Law 100-472, part of the 1988 Amendments to the Indian Self-Determination Act, codified at 25 U.S.C. § 450f, established Tribal Self-Governance Demonstration Projects, or "Direct Funding Project." The Act lends great support to a new federal policy and new legislation that confirms the right of tribes to directly regulate state schools on reservations. The self-governance projects treat tribes in the same manner as states in direct funding of their governmental operations (pp. 17-18). New policies and legislation must include provisions for direct funding to tribes to ensure tribal regulatory control is effective (p. 19).

New Congressional legislation confirming tribal regulatory authority over public schools on reservations is important because of the recent reluctance of the Supreme Court to confirm tribal rights to extend their sovereignty into new areas, or to rely solely on general principles such as tribal sovereignty (McCoy, 1990, p. 20). The impact of legislation on the Court's decisions is evident in *Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians v. Holyfield*, 490 U.S., 109 S.Ct. 1597. This case involved tribal rights under the Indian Child Welfare Act when children were born off reservation but domiciled on the reservation. The Court upheld wide-reaching tribal rights which were supported with legislation confirming those rights (McCoy, 1990, p. 20).

Effective Educational Performance of Native Students

The 1988 *Report on BIA Education: Excellence in Indian Education* summarized the performance of BIA students on nationally standardized tests as "well below the national averages" (p. 91). The report proposed to replicate the programs at schools which had better test results. This raises the question of accountability with respect to school performance of Native students. On the one hand, this means the development and implementation of standards and instruments for accountability such as those administered at the BIA schools described in the report. On the other hand, this means that Native governmental leadership must understand that just as a trust relationship and fiduciary duties exist between Native governments and the United States, a similar trust relationship and fiduciary relationship exists between Native governmental leaders and the Native people that they represent. The challenge in the educational arena is selecting the choices which represent the best interests of the tribal members.

The options include addressing some immediate goals such as economic development and employment. Clearly, educational success can be measured to some extent by employment. But, Native people who are educated and have the proper credentials, whether as auto mechanics or college professors, may not have the opportunities to work within their home communities.

Self-sufficiency within each Native community will have to be built family by family. At the same time that effective educational systems are developed, business enterprises will have to be developed. In the short run, economic needs can be addressed by having the business enterprises assist in the educational development of Native people. Programs of this nature, which provide on-the-job training, are familiar to Native communities through the CETA and JTPA programs.

The long-term responsibilities of Native governments will be to select the self-sufficiency goals of their particular Native community. In the educational arena, this will mean selecting the academic and vocational/technical programs that suit the needs of their community. This will mean selecting the standards of success through such measures as matriculation, student retention, graduation, and the placement of vocational students in meaningful full-time employment. The development of tribal colleges are an example of this process (Wright & Tierney, 1991, p. 17).

One future for Native education was suggested in the 1988 BIA Report:

> If tribes were to be freed to fend for themselves without BIA oversight, what would be their future relationship to the states? Is it conceivable that, as some Indian groups are proposing, reservations collectively could resemble a 51st state, and that an Indian Department of Education analogous to a State Department of Education would then be formed? (p. 145)

Yet, it is difficult to imagine the achievement of a state of true Native self-determination without much greater economic development than now exists on most reservations. Such development would involve the acquisition of skills and the production of goods and services that mainstream America demands. Reservations would find it very difficult to exist in the modern age as isolated and autonomous social and economic units. Hence, even if many Natives continue to move back and forth between two distinct cultures, they will need to understand and be able to function effectively within the mainstream American culture. Given this hard reality, the BIA report asks, might Natives be served best by receiving their education in public schools, although knowing that these schools, unlike their BIA counterparts, rarely provide courses on Native history and culture? (p. 145).

After raising this question the report discusses the idea of Tribal Systems of Education:

> A tribal system would include a tribal educational staff with personnel, curriculum, bilingual, computer and other specialists. The tribal system would be responsible for the hiring of school principals and would review the hiring of individual teachers. The Federal contract with the tribe might specify the standards of basic knowledge and skill to which the tribal system would then be held accountable. However, assuming that tribal education met these standards, the tribal system would have wide freedom and independence in choice of curriculum, teaching methods, textbooks, and other basic educational decisions. The Choctaw in Mississippi and the Tohono O'odham (Papago) in Arizona are currently considering how to best begin the contracting of their total education system now operated by the BIA. (p. 146)

Most Native leaders considering these opportunities would find it difficult to find the negative side of the issue. Some Native governments have made progress in economic development (Hill, 1991, p. 25). The American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) recruits Native students into science and engineering fields. AISES feels that it is successful because it emphasizes American Indian culture, high expectations in student performance, and consideration of tribal needs and college achievement (Hill, 1991, p. 26).

What programs like AISES achieve are examples for Native governments and communities to consider in developing their own educational and economic goals. Programs like AISES can be adapted to fit a particular environment in Indian Country and melded with existing tribal college programs.

As the array of possibilities is examined, adapted, or discarded an essential element in the evaluation will be how the particular possibility will effect Native culture. If a particular set of standards, goals, and programs in education can build upon and strengthen tribal culture, a Native community will be willing to support and embrace it. If it fails with respect to the cultural criteria, it is likely to fail altogether.

Summary and Recommendations

The standards set forth five hundred years ago by Francisco de Vitoria to guide the political relationship between the Native peoples of the Americas and the peoples of Europe are the standards that govern that relationship today. The political equality of American Indians and Alaska Natives is manifested in the government-to-government relationship and the recognition of inherent tribal sovereignty. The powers of Native governments are a vital living force utilized every day in Indian Country. The rest of American society may rarely hear or see these powers unless a litigated controversy is handed down from a federal court or the U.S. Supreme Court. It will catch a moment's notice because the idea of Native governmental powers may seem such an anomaly.

Many of the Native governmental powers remain intact; and, although there has been encroachment in some areas as a result of judicial decision or statutory enactment, the basic authority of the legislative, executive, and judicial departments of Native governments remain ready to be exercised. These powers are defended by the Native governments themselves, by the Congress, and by the Courts. Although at the present moment, Congress is the defender of Native governmental powers, the traditional supporter of such powers has been the Court.

When the United States entered into the government-to-government relationship, it made a commitment to support the Native governments. Native leadership can be effective only when it is properly educated. Native peoples regard the provision of resources for proper education as part and parcel of the special legal relationship with the United States.

This paper is not so much about Native education as it is about Native government. The recommendations to be made are quite simple. Congress must continue to support the authority of Native governments to control Native education. In a setting outside Indian Country, control of Native education must remain in the hands of Native parents. And, Congress must provide the financial resources to achieve these goals. History has provided clear evidence that Native education can only be a success when Natives control Native education. And finally, Congress must provide Native governments with the legislative tools to achieve these goals. Of what do these tools consist? They consist of agreements described by Congress in its New Federalism Report. A century ago these agreements were called treaties:

> We must promise the word of our nation once again by entering into new agreements that both allow American Indians to run their own affairs and pledge permanent federal support for tribal governments. Only by enshrining in formal agreement the federal government's most profound promise will we finally bury the discredited policies of forced tribal termination and Indian assimilation deep in their deserved graves. (New Federalism, p. 17)

The report set forth the circumstances in which the agreements would take place stating:

> The empowerment of tribal self-governance through formal, voluntary agreements must rest on mutual acceptance of four indispensable conditions:
>
> "1. The federal government must relinquish its current paternalistic controls over tribal affairs; in turn, the tribes must assume the full responsibilities of self-government;
> 2. Federal assets and annual appropriations must be transferred in toto to the tribes;
> 3. Formal agreements must be negotiated by tribal governments with written constitutions that have been democratically approved by each tribe; and
> 4. Tribal governmental officials must be held fully accountable and subject to fundamental federal laws against corruption."

The roles and responsibilities of Native government were examined and addressed in this report as well:

> The history of the Indian people convinces us that where federal control has failed, real Indian self-government will succeed. By acknowledging the dignity of our first countrymen, renewing the commitment made to them by the Founding Fathers, and pledging a fresh and full partnership, American Indians can finally inherit the birthright promised them two centuries ago.

Differences in point of view, and indifference to advice from the Native community for a period of over two centuries have prevented the federal government's policy in the area of Native education from being a success. Only now, with the hope of Native control through participation on school boards, parent-teacher interaction, and control of the budget from educational appropriations does success loom on the horizon.

The enduring strength of American Indian and Alaska Native cultures has furnished the foundation to enable the Native people on this continent to endure unbelievable hardships at the hands of the European settlers, and to emerge on the American scene in the 20th century as dynamic cultures whose attitudes toward life, education, and nature can teach all Americans a great deal.

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Funding and Resources for American Indian and Alaska Native Education

William Brescia

The Need for This Paper

High-quality education requires adequate funding. Native children are not receiving adequate educational support. It is not reasonable to expect that they will succeed in their education under current conditions. This is not an effort in which simply throwing more money at the problem will work. Native community members need to participate in the decisions about how that money is used. This means more than setting up parent advisory committees. Native parents, community leaders, educators, and officials need to be on governing boards with fiduciary responsibility. Without board control of the funds, there will once again be no guarantee that the monies will be spent for Native students. The education agenda "must be set and controlled by Indian people" (INAR Third Business Meeting, Hill, 1990, p. 12).

Improvement of Native schools should be considered part of the national school restructuring strategy and should conform to the goals jointly agreed upon by the president and the governors. The following goals should be met by the year 2000:

1. Every child will start school ready to learn.
2. The graduation rate will increase to 90 percent nationally.
3. All students will master the basic subject areas at all grade levels.
4. Our country will be preeminent in math and science.
5. All adults will be literate.
6. All schools will be free of drugs and provide an environment that is safe for learning. (INAR, Cavazos, 1990, p. 3)

Because of the small numbers of Native students, the sums of money necessary to do an excellent job will not strain the budget. There are, after all, fewer than 200 schools and dormitories funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). Many of these buildings are in need of a complete overhaul or new construction; but even with a total rebuilding campaign, the entire amount required would be small compared to the national budget for education. The BIA should consider turning away from *minimum* standards for instruction and fund *excellence*. Native students in public schools, who are served by Johnson-O'Malley and the Office of Indian Education in the Education Department, constitute a small percentage of the total student population nation wide (see Chart 1 for a view of the number of Native students in school K-12). They could be served in excellent programs that the federal government could point to as an example of how education can work. With a meaningful investment in Native education, conditions could be completely reversed, so that many would succeed rather than a few.

Education data from table 10 show that Indian education spending appears to have been growing from FY-1975 to FY-1991. The annual change for BIA education, for instance, shows an increase of $2.6 million (change ratio of 1.00 percent) per year. These figures, however, are in current-dollars. Inflation has not been taken into account. The constant-dollar figures in table 11 do take inflation into account. These data show that BIA education has actually fallen by $11.8 million (-4.21 percent) a year during the period FY1975-1991. This pattern--an apparent current-dollar increase belied by a constant-dollars decline--is repeated in most Indian-related budget areas.

Table 11 shows that the Department of Education budget has averaged $15.2 billion in constant 1982 dollars during FY1975-1991 and has grown at a rate of $1932.2 million (1.27 percent) a year, but with substantial annual variation (r^2 of .332). In contrast, Office of Indian Education programs in the Department of Education have averaged $70.4 million a year in constant dollars in the same time period and have fallen $2.4 million (-3.44 percent) a year. The r^2 figures for BIA education (.898) and Indian education programs (.713) show that both have fallen consistently over the time period.

Table 12 compares budget trends in constant dollars during the years of the Reagan--Bush administrations (FY1982-1991). The Department of Education has averaged $15.5 billion with an increase of $345.7 million (2.23 percent) a year. BIA education, on the other hand, has declined $6.5 million (-2.75 percent) a year, and Indian education in the Education Department has fallen $2 million

(3.36 percent) a year. All these trends are about equally consistent. (Walke, 1990, pp. 3-4)

Looking at School Finance with New Eyes

I hope that this paper will become part of a new generation of educational finance research that will redesign and reorient the field. Educational finance can no longer look only at where the money is coming from. In the future it needs to consider:

- studying student learning outcomes and how finance systems, structures, and fiscal management strategies can support more powerful interventions for improving program quality and student learning;
- emphasizing college/university attainment and completion for Native students, beyond simple access to postsecondary education;
- refocusing K-12 analyses on student outcomes and educational processes, and comparisons to what works rather than comparisons of just more or less (Picus, 1990, p. 2);
- using qualitative methods rather than relying predominantly on number crunching and quantitative methods.

Diverse Cultural Context and Construction of Meaning

Cognitive scientists have shown us that each student constructs his or her own meaning from the learning experience. Each student, regardless of race or cultural background, comes to the learning experience with a unique set of experiences and must use that background as the basis for any new understandings. No standardized curriculum can reasonably be expected to meet the needs of even a small group of students (Duffy & Knuth, 1989, p. 16; Brown 1989 pp. 3-6). Native culture, is diverse encompassing numerous languages, customs, and ways of life, Native students cannot be expected to perform well in a curriculum that reflects little or none of their culture.

An additional concern with regard to the construction of meaning involves written languages versus oral languages. Many Native students come from cultures in which oral language is preeminent. The telling of stories and the construction of reality are based on oral tradition. Mainstream culture, in contrast, is based on written language. I believe that this difference alone has a profound effect on how Native students construct meaning in the world and at school. How can we expect Native students to learn effectively if they are constructing knowledge differently than their teachers, their text books, and any media they come in contact with in schools? Native students are literally looking at a different world than most of the people they interact with at school. Until we recognize this difference and devise school finance schemes that account for it, any improvements in outcomes will be insignificant.

All of this does not even deal with the public schools' attempts to channel Native students into the mainstream culture. These coercive efforts to subvert Native culture result in:

- the classroom becoming a battleground;
- schools denying or denigrating cultural differences;
- schools blaming their own failures on the Native students and reinforcing the students' defensiveness in what should be a learning environment;
- Native communities treating schools as alien institutions;
- records of absenteeism, dropouts, negative self-image, and low achievement; and, most important,
- perpetuation of the cycle of poverty which undermines the success of all federal programs (Price & Clinton, 1983, pp. 256-257).

Diverse Social and Economic Realities

To be developed.

Why Fund Native Education?

Treaty Making and Native Education

Since the arrival of Europeans, Natives have been pressured to acculturate to Western civilization. From its beginning, the United States government has promised to protect, care for, and educate the members of the various tribes within its borders. Treaties were the official method of negotiation with Native governments, treaties representing the United States' verbal and written promises (Deloria, n.d., p. 13). The first Native treaty signed by the United States was with the Delawares in 1778 (Costo and Henry, 1977, p. 7). In 1871, however, Congress decided that Natives were wards of the government; it ended the practice of treaty making with an amendment to the

Indian Appropriations Act in that year (ibid., p. 11).

During the treaty-making period, many treaties contained an education clause. Public pressure demanded that Natives should be either civilized or destroyed. The inclusion of educational requirements in treaties fulfilled the humanitarians' obligation to civilize the Natives and establish a friendly relationship with them. To nineteenth--century humanitarians, education and civilization were synonymous (Deloria, n.d., p. 122). In the treaties, education fell into several areas, including agricultural, mechanical, and academic skills. Today these education clauses are interpreted differently both by the various tribes and by the judicial system. Because treaties and specifically the education clauses are open to various interpretations, each must be treated as a unique case (ibid., p. 41).

Treaties have played an important part in the history of Native education. The first treaty to deal specifically with education was concluded with the Oneida, Tuscarora, and Stockbridge Indians on December 2, 1794. It stipulated the training of Natives in the skills necessary to work in sawmills and gristmills (Fischbacher, 1967, p. 50). In 1873, a dispute between the Ottawa tribe and a private religious agency over fulfilling the education requirements of the treaty underscored Congress' ability to legally enforce the provisions stipulated (Deloria, n.d., p. 23).

Many of the treaties prior to 1800 promised Natives a general form of education. After 1800, the form of education, the amount of funding, and the time specifications were set forth. Many of the treaties were never fulfilled completely or satisfactorily. In other cases, treaties with definite time limits were never acted upon and "cannot be said to have lapsed without further investigation into the nature and extent of the services rendered" (ibid., pp. 40-41).

Through the years, treaties have directly and indirectly affected the legislation of education. The Civilization Act of 1819, Johnson-O'Malley Act (JOM), Wheeler-Howard Act, P.L. 81-815, and P.L. 81-874 are some of the educational products of Native treaties. Today, the difference between gratuitous services on the part of the government and fulfillment of the treaty stipulations has disappeared. "In reality all programs became part of a larger effort to fulfill legal obligations" (ibid., p. 26). [For a list of some of the treaties concerning Native education see Table A.]

Treaties were tailored to particular tribes; therefore, the education promises were also bound to individual tribes (Fischbacher, 1967, p. 51). For example, while the United States was engaged in military activities on the Plains, education provisions were made to those "nomadic tribes" eligible under treaty. As the government tried to define its responsibilities to Natives, it opened its education policy to "all children of school age without reference to race" (Deloria, n.d., p. 26). In the act of March 3, 1819, "all tribes whether they held any treaty relations with the United States or not" were able to reap the benefits of education as stipulated in treaties (ibid.,p. 12).

In addition to tribes, treaties specified the principal agents who were to carry out the educational provisions. These included federal, state, and private organizations. Within the federal government, a variety of committees and departments were involved with Native legislation. In the early nineteenth century, the War Department was given major responsibility for Native matters (Deloria, n.d., p. 77). Eventually, in 1849, this power was transferred to the BIA in the newly created Department of the Interior. Even though most of the influence and decision-making power were held by these two departments, other departments or agencies were allocated service functions toward educating Natives (ibid., p. 78). These included the State Department, which managed the records of Native treaties (ibid., p. 80), and the Treasury Department, which controlled the financial means and matters connected with Native affairs (ibid., p. 82).

In some cases, treaties have designated state or private agents to manage services. The first Native treaty to stipulate the presence of a private (missionary) organization to educate Natives was completed on August 13, 1803, with the Kaskaskias of Indiana (Deloria, n.d., p. 91; Fischbacher, 1967, p. 50). It was not uncommon for the government to fund religious organizations whose role was to educate Native children. This practice came to an end, however, with the act of March 2, 1917 (Deloria, n.d., p. 94). The state's role in Native affairs increased as the federal government's ability to fulfill its promises made in the treaties slipped. The act of March 2, 1901, federally recognized the state's right to school lands on reservations without enjoining the tribe (ibid., p. 96).

Native treaties have played a pivotal role in establishing the contemporary system of Native education. The United States government has a responsibility to fulfill treaty promises to educate Natives "in the context of preceding legal theories and the historical context in which they understand the development of the legal obligations of the United States" (Deloria n.d., p. 103).

Title_-_Treaties Mentioned in Deloria's Manuscript

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Support for Schools on Reservation
1819 Treaty with the Chippewas (7 Stat. 203)
Verbal Promise for Education of Children
1820 Treaty with the Choctaws (7 Stat. 210)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1825 Treaty with the Choctaws (7 Stat. 234)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1825 Treaty with the Creeks (7 Stat. 237)
Technical Education in Agriculture of the Mechanical Arts
1825 Treaty with the Osage (7 Stat. 240)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1831 Treaty with the Menominees (7 Stat. 342)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1832 Treaty with the Florida Indians (7 Stat. 224)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1833 Treaty with the Pawnees (7 Stat. 448)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1845 Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles (9 Stat. 821)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1846 Treaty with the Potawatomies, Chippewas, and Ottawas
(9 Stat. 853)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1854 Treaty with the Rogue River Indians (10 Stat. 1119)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1854 Treaty with the Nisqually, Puyallup and Other Indians
(10 Stat. 1132)
Technical Education in Agriculture of the Mechanical Arts
1855 Treaty with the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winibigoshish Chippewas (10 Stat. 1165)
Technical Education in Agriculture of the Mechanical Arts
1855 Treaty with the Yakimas (12 Stat. 951)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1863 Treaty with the Mississippi, Pillager, and Lake Winibigoshish Chippewas (12 Stat. 1249)
Support for Schools on Reservation
1863 Treaty with the Nez Perce (14 Stat. 647)
Support for Boarding Schools (Deloria, n.d., pp. 42-69)

IST OF TREATIES WITH INDIAN TRIBES WHICH INCLUDED EDUCATIONAL PROVISIONS

Providing for Technical Education in Agriculture of the Mechanical Arts

1804 Treaty with the Delaware Tribe (7 Stat. 81)
1821 Treaty with the Ottawa, Chippewa and Pottawatamie (7 Stat. 218)
1825 Treaty with the Creek Nation (7 Stat. 237)
1831 Treaty with the Menomonee Indians (7 Stat. 342)
1833 Treaty with the Otocs and Missourias (7 Stat. 429)
1836 Treaty with the Ottawa and Chippewa (7 Stat. 491)
1836 Treaty with the Sacs, Foxes and other Indians (7 Stat. 511)
1836 Treaty with the Otocs and other Indians (7 Stat. 524)
1845 Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles (9 Stat. 821, 822)
1846 Treaty with the Winnebago Indians (9 Stat. 878)
1847 Treaty with the Chippewas (9 Stat. 904)
1848 Treaty with the Menomonee Tribe (9 Stat. 952)
1851 Treaty with the Sioux (10 Stat. 949)
1851 Treaty with the Sioux Indians (10 Stat. 954)
1854 Treaty with the Menomonee (10 Stat. 1064)
1854 Treaty with the Nisqually and other Indians (10 Stat. 1132)
1855 Treaty with the Blackfoot Indians (11 Stat. 657)
1855 Treaty with the Dwamish and other Indians (12 Stat. 927)
1855 Treaty with the S'Klallams (12 Stat. 933)
1855 Treaty with the Makah Tribe (12 Stat. 939)
1855 Treaty with the Quinaielt, etc., Indians (12 Stat. 971)
1855 Treaty with the Flathead, etc., Indians (12 Stat. 975)
1855 Treaty with the Molels (12 Stat. 981)
1857 Treaty with the Pawnees (11 Stat. 729)
1864 Treaty with the Chippewa Indians (14 Stat. 657)
1866 Treaty with the Creek Nation (14 Stat. 785)
1867 Treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians (15 Stat. 495)
1867 Treaty with the Sissiton, etc., Sioux (15 Stat. 505)

Providing Support for Schools on Reservations

1828 Treaty with the Cherokee Nation (7 Stat. 311)
1835 Treaty with the Cherokee (7 Stat. 478)
1846 Treaty with the Pottowantomie Nation (9 Stat. 853)
1854 Treaty with the Chippewa Indians (10 Stat. 1109)
1854 Treaty with the Chastas, etc., Indians (10 Stat. 1122)
1855 Treaty with the Walla-Wallas, etc. (12 Stat. 945)
1855 Treaty with the Nez Perces (12 Stat. 957)
1858 Treaty with the Mancton Sioux (11 Stat. 743)
1858 Treaty with the Poncas (12 Stat. 997)
1865 Treaty with the Crower Brule Sioux (14 Stat. 699)
1867 Treaty with the Senecas, etc. (15 Stat. 513)
1867 Treaty with the Kiowa and Comanche Indians (15 Stat. 581)
1867 Treaty with the Kiowa, Comanche and Apache Indians (15 Stat. 589)
1867 Treaty with the Cheyenne and Arapahoe Indians (15 Stat. 593)
1868 Treaty with the Ute Indians (15 Stat. 619)
1868 Treaty with the Sioux Nation (15 Stat. 635)
1868 Treaty with the Crow Indians (15 Stat. 649)
1868 Treaty with the Northern Cheyenne and Northern Arapahoe Indians (15 Stat. 655)
1868 Treaty with the Navajo Tribe (15 Stat. 667)
1868 Treaty with the Eastern Band of Shoshones and Bannock Tribe of Indians (15 Stat. 673)

Providing for the Support of Boarding Schools

1827 Treaty with the Creek Nation (7 Stat. 307)
1832 Treaty with the Winnebago Nation (7 Stat. 370)
1834 Treaty with the Chickasaw Indians (7 Stat. 450)
1863 Treaty with the Nez Perce Tribe (14 Stat. 647)
1867 Treaty with the Chippewa of Mississippi (16 Stat. 719)

Providing for Schools and/or Teachers in General Terms

1820 Treaty with the Choctaw Nation (7 Stat. 210)
1825 Treaty with the Kansas Nation (7 Stat. 244)
1826 Treaty with the Chippewa Tribe (7 Stat. 290)
1837 Treaty with the Sac and Fox Indians (7 Stat. 543)
1842 Treaty with the Wyandott Nation (7 Stat. 581)
1846 Treaty with the Comanche, etc., Indians (9 Stat. 844)
1854 Treaty with the Miami Indians (10 Stat. 1093)
1854 Treaty with the Rogue River Indians (10 Stat. 1119)
1854 Treaty with the Umpqua, etc., Indians (10 Stat. 1125)
1855 Treaty with the Ottowas and Chippewas (11 Stat. 621)
1856 Treaty with the Stockbridge and Munsee Tribes (11 Stat. 663)
1855 Treaty with the Yakama Indians (12 Stat. 951)
1855 Treaty with the Oregon Indians (12 Stat. 963)
1858 Treaty with the Sioux bands (12 Stat. 1031)
1859 Treaty with the Chippewa bands (12 Stat. 1105)
1861 Treaty with the Arapahses and Cheyenne Indians (12 Stat. 1163)
1861 Treaty with the Sacs, Foxes and Iowas (12 Stat. 1171)
1862 Treaty with the Ottawa Indians (12 Stat. 1237)
1864 Treaty with the Chippewas (13 Stat. 693)
1865 Treaty with the Snake Indians (14 Stat. 683)
1866 Treaty with the Seminole Indians (14 Stat. 755)
1866 Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Nation (14 Stat. 769)
1868 Treaty with the Nez Perce Tribe (15 Stat. 693)

Providing Contributions for Educational Puroses

1826 Treaty with the Potawatamie Tribe (7 Stat. 295)
1828 Treaty with the Potowatamie Indians (7 Stat. 317)
1830 Treaty with the Sacs and Foxes, etc. (7 Stat. 328)
1830 Treaty with the Choctaw Nation (7 Stat. 333)
1832 Treaty with the Creek Tribe (7 Stat. 366)
1833 Treaty with the Creek Nation (7 Stat. 417)
1846 Treaty with the Kansas Indians (9 Stat. 842)
1850 Treaty with the Wyandot Tribe (9 Stat. 987)
1854 Treaty with the Ottoe and Missouria Indians (10 Stat. 1038)

1854	Treaty with the Delaware Tribe (10 Stat. 1048)
1854	Treaty with the Shawnees (10 Stat. 1053)
1854	Treaty with the Ioway Tribe (10 Stat. 1069)
1854	Treaty with the Kaskaskia, etc., Indians (10 Stat. 1082)
1855	Treaty with the Willamette Bands (10 Stat. 1143)
1855	Treaty with the Chippewa Indians of Mississippi (10 Stat. 1165)
1855	Treaty with the Choctaw and Chickasaw Indians (11 Stat. 611)
1855	Treaty with the Chippewa Indians of Saginaw (11 Stat. 633)
1856	Treaty with the Creeks and Seminoles (11 Stat. 699)
1862	Treaty with the Kickapoo Tribe (13 Stat. 623)
1863	Treaty with the Chippewa Indians (13 Stat. 667)
1865	Treaty with the Osage Indians (14 Stat. 687)

Note: The spelling of some tribal names varies considerably in the different treaties.
(Fischbacher 1967, pp. 249-251)

A Matter of Adequacy

On March 9, 1990, the World Conference on Education for All made the following statement in support of the establishment of educational equity for all:

> Recalling that education is a fundamental right for all people, women and men, of all ages, throughout our world:
>
> Understanding that education can help ensure a safer, healthier, more prosperous and environmentally sound world, while simultaneously contributing to social, economic, and cultural progress, tolerance, and international cooperation;
>
> Knowing that education is an indispensable key to, though not a sufficient condition for, personal and social improvement;
>
> Recognizing that traditional knowledge and indigenous cultural heritage have a value and validity in their own right and a capacity to both define and promote development;
>
> Acknowledging that, overall, the current provision of education is seriously deficient and that it must be made more relevant and qualitatively improved, and made universally available;
>
> Recognizing that sound basic education is fundamental to the strengthening of higher levels of education and of scientific and technological literacy and capacity and thus to self-reliant development; and
>
> Recognizing the necessity to give to present and coming generations an expanded vision of, and a renewed commitment to, basic education to address the scale and complexity of the challenge. (Haddad, 1990, pp. 3-4)

The conference went on to outline goals and methods for achieving education for all and emphasized that undeserved groups need to be targeted if progress is ever to be made. Without this focus it is not possible to expect progress toward educating all "ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities" (ibid., p. 5). Native education in this country must be an example to the world.

In order for any educational effort to be successful those who are going to be educated must take a leadership role in the process. Native communities must be involved in the mechanics of determining needs and goals and developing materials, delivery systems, and assessment tools. Tribes must determine what constitutes an adequate education for Native students.

Federal programs officers often encounter a conflict of interest in determining funding levels required for Native education because they also face an obligation to reduce federal budgets. As we will see, in many programs, the funds are not allocated to meet the need; rather, total funds are divided between Native groups according to formulas or grant procedures. This practice must stop.

Current Funding Sources and Where the Money Goes

Without question, the BIA and The Office of Indian Education are leaders in the funding of Native education. They are not, however, the only funders of Native education. Details of specific funding sources will be discussed later in this paper.

The BIA operates 92 elementary and secondary schools and eight accompanying dormitories. The BIA also funds 74 elementary and secondary schools, with six dormitories, through tribally contracted schools. In addition, the BIA funds specific programs that operate in the BIA schools and in public schools. Again, more details will follow elsewhere in this paper.

The BIA also funds two post-secondary schools and 22 tribally controlled community colleges. Additional higher education funds are provided in the form of scholarships.

The Office of Indian Education funds programs through its various subparts. Subpart 1 provides funding to 1,152 Local Education Agencies: 115 are public schools, 57 are contract schools, and 80 are BIA-operated schools. Subpart 1 serves

279,000 students at a per-pupil cost of $142. Subpart 1-ICS provides discretionary grants. In FY 1990 18 programs were funded, 12 of which were new grants. 4,600 participants were served at a per pupil cost of $750. (See Commissioned Paper 2 of the Supplemental Volume for a discussion of the growth of enrollment of Native students in public schools.)

Subpart 2 funding is as follows:
Planning, Pilot and Demonstration
11 new awards
5 continuation
3,900 students served
$472 per pupil cost
Education Services
16 new awards
10 continuation
4,500 students served
$920 per pupil costs
Education Personnel Development
1 new award
6 continuation
280 participants
$4,100 per pupil costs
Resource Centers
6 centers were funded
Fellowships
128 awards
62 new awards
66 continuation
Range of funding was $1,200--$32,000
Gifted and Talented
1 program was funded in 1990
Subpart 3: Adult Education funded
18 new programs
12 continuation
Range of funding was $45,000--$250,000
7,300 participants
$560 per student cost. (Brescia, 1991, February 26)

These programs represent the bulk of programs in Native education. For better or worse, Native education has clearly become dependent upon these agencies. The funding cycles of these two federal agencies dominate the life cycle of Native education.

Effects of Remote Location and Sparse Population

Most Native students served by the BIA live some distance from their schools and are widely separated from each other. This predicament has a negative effect on funds provided by the ISEP formula. Currently the law provides for Native schools to receive payments equal to those given to public schools in that same district. This distribution system is unfair and ineffective. The formula should be modified so that the distribution system "will take into account what education will cost in any particular district given the circumstances under which that district operates" (Report P.L. 95-561, p. 1).

The current BIA system is invalid because it assumes that there is an equal amount of funds available to bureau and tribally operated schools and local public schools. This assumption is not accurate because bureau and tribal schools receive funds only from the federal government, whereas public schools receive funds from local, county, state, and federal sources.

The following tables (Tables B and C) will show how comparison between BIA schools and local school districts does not work.

All fifteen BIA and contract schools have higher per-pupil funding than the Gallup-McKinley local public school district. Gallup-McKinley comprises a geographic area approximately the size of Connecticut. It has twenty-eight school buildings, and it ranks third in the state in student population. It is not an appropriate district to compare with the fifteen single-unit BIA schools, which have enrollments ranging from 54 to 898 (Report P.L. 95-561, p. 2). Comparing BIA and contract schools to New Mexico public school districts of comparable size (Table B) gives a more accurate picture of equalized funding.

All but two of the fifteen BIA schools are below the per pupil funding levels of their counterpart (Report P.L. 95-561, p. 27). The high per-pupil costs connected with small public school districts are consistent throughout the United States. A careful examination of the two preceding tables reveals that small schools are more expensive to operate. It does not show that larger schools are more effective, only that they are more efficient. There is a large body of literature showing that small schools are more effective (Gregory & Smith, 1988). The difference in cost in running small BIA and contract schools is related to their location and sparse populations. Even the small public schools referenced in these tables take extraordinary measures to finance the extra costs of isolation. For example, in only four of the fifteen public schools do teachers salaries' exceed the state average.

Bureau schools consistently fall far behind their state counterparts in funding education. The national average per-pupil expenditure for Native schools is approximately $2,500; in Minnesota it is $4,128; in South Dakota, it is $3,830; in Nebraska, $3,543 (Schutt, 1990, pp. 3-5). I believe that only in Minnesota is the amount adequate to fund excellent education, which means that once again Native education is lagging behind in a race with the wrong schools. Native educators should be comparing their systems with the best educational systems in the United States, regardless of their geographical relationship. What kind of perverse logic would force Native children to live *down* to state education systems that are not providing an adequate education to their students?

Unique Transportation Requirements in Rural Areas

The current BIA ISEP formula does include transportation. This causes serious problems. In the 1989-90 school year there was a national shortfall of over $100,000 in the transportation budget which had to be taken out of the regular school instructional budget.

> The BIA budget request for student transportation continues to decline, yet the costs of transportation continue to increase. Schools are thus forced to use their instructional (ISEF) funds to make up the shortfall. This apparently undermines the intended purpose of instructional funding and limits the educational programs the schools can run (Barbero, 1990, p. 3-4).

The BIA has tried to hide this continuing deficit in transportation by folding that expense back into the regular school budget. Because of the tribes' strenuous objections, supplemental transportation allocations have been made; but this practice will not solve the problem of underfunded transportation needs. There should be a separate item in the budget for transportation. This budget should not use the misleading "count day" figure; instead it should strive for a formula that takes into account average student use of the transportation system. Average student use of transportation will give the local school officials an additional incentive to keep students in school and using the system.

Funding to Schools Supporting Native Students

BIA Programs for School Operations

ISEP Formula & Adjustments

The Indian School Equalization Program (ISEP) establishes uniform and direct funding of tribally and BIA--operated day schools, boarding schools, and dormitories. The costs which these funds cover include instruction, boarding, dormitories, bilingual instruction, exceptional child education, intense residential guidance, student transportation, school maintenance and repairs, school board training and funds, pre-kindergarten expenditures, and previously private contract school operation and maintenance.

The formula for the funding of each school is based on weighted student units. Weights are allotted to each program or service offered by the school and then multiplied by the average student body size. Boarding schools are weighted more heavily than non-residential schools, and Alaskan schools are entitled to additional funds. The funds for each school as determined by this formula are then disbursed.

Minimal academic standards have been established to ensure the basic education of Native children in BIA-- and Native-controlled contract schools if they choose to adopt them. The standards include philosophy and goals of the school; administrative requirements; program needs assessment; curriculum development; minimum academic programs/school calendar; kindergarten instructional program; junior high and middle school instructional program; secondary instructional program; grading requirements; student promotion requirements; library/media program; textbooks; counseling services; student activities; school program evaluation and needs assessment; and Office of Indian Education Programs and Agency monitoring and evaluation responsibilities.

The criteria within each of these standards are clearly defined by the BIA and must be met by adopting schools.

FY-1989 funding was $164,290,000. These funds were for the BIA to operate directly or by contract with various tribes some 166 elementary and secondary schools and 14 dormitories. The total number of students served was 39,381 in 23 states, 27,197 in BIA-- operated schools and 12,184 in tribally operated schools. In fiscal year 1989, 40 percent of all schools and over 30 percent of all students were served in tribally operated schools. (See Table 8 for a list of appropriations for BIA education for FY-1988 & 1989.)

Institutionalized Handicapped

This BIA program provides educational and related services to severely handicapped and mentally fragile children between the ages of 5 and 21. Twenty-five private facilities, two tribal institutions, and three state institutions received a total of $1,428,000 to provide services to 147 students.

Handicapped students placed by an agency in a private school or facility to receive special education and additional services are entitled to an education. Each agency must ensure that every student is provided with special education and related services at no cost to the parents, and the school or facility attended by the student must meet the standards which apply to that facility. The agency must monitor compliance of standards, disseminate applicable standards to each facility, provide opportunity for the schools/facilities to participate in the development of such standards, and ensure that handicapped children have the same rights as non-handicapped students.

School Boards' Expenses and Training

This BIA program is designed to provide training to Natives in all matters relating to education. FY-1989 was the last year for direct funding of this program. In FY-1990 funds were transferred to the ISEP formula and funded as a set-aside in accordance with P.L. 100-297. In FY-1989 funds were used for travel, per diem, stipends, and other costs for meetings; fees for memberships in school board associations; and legal fees. Total FY-1989 funds were $1,235,000.

Each school board is delegated a base sum for its training, with provisions for additional funding at Alaska and off-reservation boarding schools. Training activities in which school boards participate include educational philosophy; legal aspects of being a school board member; school board operations and procedures; fiscal management and formula funding; union negotiations and personnel matters; curricular needs; student rights and responsibilities; and needs assessment. Training ensures that each school board is fully aware of its purpose and responsibilities; it also assists in ensuring that the board is well versed in the day to day and planning operations of the schools.

Expenditures by the school board must be reported and made within the guidelines established by the BIA.

Student Transportation

The transportation costs for students to and from school are determined by a formula which accounts for the number of students using the service and the miles which each student must be driven. The formula does not apply to dormitories which provide their own transportation to the public schools that their students attend. Boarding schools and dormitories receive funding for transportation, but the formula used to determine the amount they receive is different; it may include bus and airplane transportation costs.

The formulas have remained virtually unchanged over the past ten years, with the allotment varying in accordance with enrollment changes and gasoline increases. The formula prices are reviewed and amended each year.

FY-1989 funds for this BIA program were $1,235,000. These funds are used for all costs relating to operation of the BIA--and tribally controlled schools' transportation systems, including costs for vehicle operators, rental of General Services Administration (GSA) vehicle, supplies and equipment, maintenance and repair, and other support costs. The BIA--and tribally controlled schools rely on the GSA for buses and receive a monthly lease rate and a mileage rate. GSA notified all Native schools that the lease rate was going to double because it had not been increased in a long time. The Department of the Interior was turned down by the GSA for a one-- year waiver. It took Senate action to prohibit GSA from enforcing the increase for one year.

Often the GSA does not have the buses that the schools need, or buses are old, access to maintenance is difficult, and the cost is prohibitive. As stated above, these costs are greatly influenced by the isolated locations of schools. This small amount cannot possibly provide the necessary funds. What schools need is money up front to buy and operate their own buses because GSA service centers are expensive and usually far from the Native schools.

Solo Parent

Solo Parent is a small BIA program that is operated in only two schools, Sherman Indian School and Flandreau Indian School. It provides single parents the opportunity to complete their high school education while living at the school with their children. Total FY-1989 funds were $108,000. Considering the disproportionate number of Native single parents, programs such as this should be in place in most Native communities, or better yet, funds should be expended to teach birth control and restraint.

Technical Support (Agency & MIS)

This BIA program includes educational Management Information Systems (MIS) training for field--level staff assistance to the director, Office of Indian Education Programs, and broad technical assistance and leadership for all education programs to local school boards, other Native community members, parents, and other Natives. Total FY-1989 funding was $8,807,000: $8,423,000 for Area/Agency Office and $384,000 for Management Information Systems.

Each school must provide a library and media program which meets state and regional standards. Instructional and service objectives which are consistent with the educational goals of the school must be written. Per student book allotments must be maintained, and the size of the library/media staff is determined by the number of students in the school. Libraries must also include materials which pertain to American Indian and/or Alaska Natives. Audio-visual aids must be available to the students and the staff of each school. Yearly inventories of books and instructional items must be conducted to ensure that the libraries have current materials and can assist in meeting the basic academic standards.

Substance/Alcohol Abuse Education Program

The Indian Education Act authorizes the use of funds for the training of school counselors. In keeping with this mandate, counselors have been trained to deal with alcohol and substance abuse. Money for this training is also allotted for those who wish to pursue postsecondary degrees in alcohol and substance abuse counseling. Specific implementation of such programs within each school has been left to the individual school boards. As national programs may or may not be effective for American Indian and Alaska Native students, individual schools are best equipped to evaluate and determine the needs of their own students. Also, investigation of reported school programs on alcohol/substance abuse showed that curriculum in this area was inadequate and did not meet the needs of the students. Alcohol and substance abuse education, counseling, and prevention should be integrated into the curriculum.

This BIA program is used to provide funds for counselors and staff to equip a program of instruction relating to alcohol and substance abuse prevention and treatment. In FY-1989 the BIA expanded this program with other substance abuse funding from the Department of Education to include a health promotion and disease prevention program and an AIDS program. Total funds in FY-1989 were $2,391,000.

Johnson-O'Malley Program

"The Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with a state or territory 'for the education, medical attention, agricultural assistance, and social welfare, including relief of distress, of Natives in such state or territory, through the qualified agencies of such state or territory.'" The original intent of the law was to enable states and territories to contract with the federal government to provide services under standards set by the secretary. The law was later amended to allow greater latitude with private agencies, corporations, and subdivisions of states and territories to contract (Strickland, 1982, p. 147).

In response to the economic times, the federal government in the 1930s hoped this legislation would make it possible for the states to work with the federal government to provide services. In 306 contracts 205,705 students were served. The total funding for FY-1989 was $23,000,000. (See Table 4 for a state-by-state breakdown of JOM allocations for FY-1989.)

Johnson-O'Malley is perceived as a major problem by most Native communities that are affected by the program. One reason is that the funding level and commitment keep changing each quarter. There is also the perception that school districts recently lost a lot of money to the BIA through the ISEP formula. Promises were made, which could not be funded, to contract schools and BIA schools to finance their teachers and support services. The BIA funds seem to have been moved out of JOM to finance this other activity. While there is no doubt that ISEP is an important area of funding, this seems to be another case of the federal government attempting to set one Native group off against another.

For JOM to work properly, Native communities need timely and accurate information about the program. JOM often takes a disproportionate amount of time for schools to operate. There is a lack of communication between the different levels of the BIA. A feeling exists that all information must be extracted from the BIA. Information seems to be hidden rather than accessible to schools. Different levels of the BIA give different stories and each level there is a different look at every issue. This lack of consistency makes it impossible for local decision makers to determine the best direction to take. With seemingly so many layers of bureaucracy, one way to save funds would be to cut some of those levels out. The BIA should be accountable to its clients, Native governments, and Native communities (Brescia, 1991, January).

Continuing Education

Appropriations may be made to schools to prevent students from dropping out and encourage them to attend institutions of higher education (see Chart 9, Enrollment of Native Students in Higher Education Institutions). Further, grants can be awarded to institutions of higher education and state and local educational agencies to prepare persons to serve Native students as teachers, counselors, or administrators, or to improve the qualifications of those individuals. Grants may also be earmarked for the development of fellowship programs which lead to advanced degree work.

Fellowships are available to Native students who intend to further their education in fields such as medicine, law, engineering, and business administration. The purpose of this aid is to assist the students in attaining a baccalaureate degree. No more than 10 percent of these fellowships are to be awarded to students who wish to attain further education in the field of alcohol and substance abuse counseling.

Funds appropriated by Congress for the education of Natives may be used for grants, aid, and loans to those students with one-fourth or more Native blood who attend accredited institutions of higher education.

Postsecondary Schools

In FY-1989, $11,556,000 went to fund two institutions, Haskell and SIPI. Haskell received $7,503,000 for 756 students in the fall and 689 students in the spring. Southwestern Indian Polytechnic Institute received $4,053,000 for 465 students in the fall and 480 students in the spring.

Special Higher Education Scholarships

In FY-1989, $1,960,000 went to two BIA programs that served 346 students. American Indian Scholarships provided a total of $1,800,000 in support to 285 students and a special summer law program at the University of New Mexico provided legal education to 61 students in the amount of $160,000.

Tribally Controlled Community Colleges

The Department of the Interior supports and encourages the operation of tribally controlled community colleges for the continuing education of Native students. These institutions are governed and operated by an Native governments or by the governing bodies of two or more Native governments. Financial assistance is available to those institutions which are governed by a board of directors or trustees who are Native; adhere to goals which promote the needs of Native students; if in operation for more than one year, have a majority of Native students enrolled; and receive a positive determination in a feasibility study.

Financial assistance is available to defray the operational costs of education expenses at community colleges; monies may not be used for religious worship or sectarian instruction. The equation used in determining the amount of money awarded to an institution is based primarily on the number of students the community college serves.

This BIA program has essentially decreased in per-pupil funding of students at the Tribally Controlled Community Colleges that it serves (see Chart 11). It served 21 institutions in 1989 and 22 in 1990. There are many other Native students that could benefit from Native controlled community colleges. The number of sites and amount of support should be increased. The FY-1989 budget was $12,968,000. It provided operating costs for all of the community colleges in Title I, except Navajo Community College which is funded by Title II of the act. Operating costs were $8,489,000 for Title I and $4,113,000 for Title II. An additional $116,000 was used for technical assistance to the colleges. P.L. 99-428 placed $250,000 in endowment for the colleges.

Tribe / Agency Operations

Scholarships

This BIA program provided $28,476,000 for scholarships in FY-1989.

Tribal Colleges Snyder Act Supplement

The Snyder Act was passed in 1921. It stipulates that the BIA, under the Secretary of the Interior, shall direct, supervise, and expend money which Congress appropriates. It was later expanded to include programs which are approved under the Higher Education Act of 1965; at this point, the programs of Native colleges which are in accordance with the Higher Education Act would be supervised by the BIA.

In order for Native colleges to receive federal funds, the BIA would have to ensure that they were following the guidelines as stipulated by the Higher Education act. The Snyder Act is the basic legislative instrument for the majority of federal funding to Native colleges.

Some tribes choose to supplement grants under P.L. 98-192 with funds available through the Indian Priority System. This supplemental appropriation was $932,000 in FY-1989.

Adult Education

The BIA adult education program makes it possible for Native adults to complete high school graduation requirements and prepares them for the General Educational Development test (GED); it helps them to acquire basic literacy and numeracy skills and Adult Basic Education (ABE), and generally to improve their skills and knowledge. Funds in FY-1989 were $3,138,000. Eighty-eight programs served 12,500 students. (See Table 6 for a breakdown of funding years 1985-1989.)

The BIA has marked those adults having less than five years of formal school training as eligible for adult education programs. Studies have shown that while the national rate of adult illiteracy is 8.3 percent, the rate of Native adultilliteracy is 27 percent. Because of a lack of education in the labor force, programs have been developed to assist those Natives in attaining adequate skills necessary for entry level positions.

Aside from literacy programs on reservations, there have been courses and conferences developed to assist adults with consumer buying, family care, parent-child relations, and citizenship.

Many programs offer courses in a wide range of life-coping skills, ranging from drivers' training to consumer awareness. Continuing education courses are also offered to upgrade skills and knowledge, as well as cultural classes that are requested by the community. Program participants range from students who have recently dropped out of high school to the elderly. (See Table 7 for a breakdown by area office of adult education programs funded in 1989.)

Department of Education

Office of Indian Education

The Indian Education Act of 1972 was developed to meet the needs of Native students of all levels.

Grants may be given to tribally controlled schools in order to cover the costs of training and development, establishing and maintaining programs and training counselors relevant to alcohol and substance abuse. The disbursement of grant money is conditional, based on need and a detailed description of how the funds will be utilized and monitored.

Special Programs for Native Students

Grants may be made and contracts negotiated with institutions of higher education, Native governments and organizations to prepare people for and establish in-service training for teaching and administering special education projects for Native students.

Fellowships may be awarded to Native students to continue their education at the graduate and professional levels. The amount of fellowships will be based on individual need and circumstances.

Centers for gifted and talented Native students have been developed at Sinte Gleska College and the Navajo Community College. Grants have been awarded and contracts entered into with these institutions in order to better identify the needs of gifted and talented elementary and secondary school children. The contract for this program runs until 1993.

Grants may be awarded to agencies, institutions, organizations and Native governments in order to establish, support, operate, research, develop and disseminate programs to improve the education of and employment opportunities of Native adults.

Program Administration

The Office of Indian Education administers all provisions of the Indian Education Act. The Office is headed by the Director of Indian Education who is selected by the Secretary of Education from a list of nominees prepared by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education.

The National Advisory Council on Indian Education is comprised of 15 members, all of whom are American Indian or Alaska Natives. The members are nominated by Tribes and are appointed by the President. The duties of the NACIE are to: advise the Commissioner of Education on administration of programs for Native children and adults; evaluate programs; provide technical assistance to Native agencies, institutions and organizations to promote education; and assist with the evaluation process of those agencies receiving grants.

Subpart 1 covers formula grants to public schools; subpart 1-ICS covers discretionary grants to Native-controlled schools; subpart 2 is for Native children and resource and evaluation centers; and subpart 3 is for Native adults (see Charts 5-7 for funding histories of Indian Education Act 1980-1989).

Bilingual Education

The Bilingual Education Act of 1968 (amended in 1984) addresses the increased number of children who lack English proficiency. The cultural differences of those whose Native language is not English should be valued; retaining their language is an important aspect of preserving the culture. Also, segregation of those students whose primary language, not English, has become an increasingly problematic occurrence.

To promote the philosophy of equality in education, bilingual programs should be offered where applicable and beneficial to the student body. Grant money can be used to develop transitional bilingual education, developmental bilingual education, family english proficiency programs, and bilingual education for primary, special education, and gifted and talented students.

It is difficult to come up with the exact number of Native students served by this program because several programs serve students from diverse language backgrounds and the breakdown of funds per language is not precise. However, there are a number of programs that serve only Native students. In FY-1989, 1994 programs in 18 states served 15,392 students. Funds going exclusively to Native programs totaled $11,286,180.

There were 2,255 Native students served in 22 programs in 9 states that included but were not restricted to Native students.

This program has a long history of serving Native students. It also has a long history of needing more Natives on staff at the national level. A large proportion of the students served by this program are Natives, and the staff ought to reflect that percentage.

Chapter 1 -- BIA 1 Percent Set-aside

This program is for use at BIA-- and tribally controlled schools. In FY-1989 it served 16,604 students. The total amount of funds for FY-1989 was $25,217,025. The program allocates funds for projects that provide compensatory educational services for disadvantaged students.

Chapter I Formula Grants to Local Education Agencies

This program "provides financial assistance to Local Education Agencies (LEAs) to meet the special needs of educationally deprived children who live in areas with high concentrations of children from low-income families. Recent amendments seek to improve further the educational opportunities of educationally deprived children by helping them succeed in their regular school program, attain grade-level proficiency, and improve achievement in basic and more advanced skills" (Cavazos, 1989, pp. 101-1). Approximately 5 percent of the participants in Chapter I are Natives.

Impact Aid Maintenance and Operations

Impact Aid was begun in 1950 to help local school districts offset the costs of educating children who attend a public school but are not part of the tax base. Funds are allocated in accordance with a complex formula that is based on average daily attendance. In FY-1990, 1,844,604 students were served, of which 111,262 were Natives. Though the final figures are not in, it appears that the total amount spent for Native students will be about the same as in FY-1989, $239,355,638.

This money goes directly to the schools to be used as they see fit. Most of it is spent on teachers' salaries, as is true of most school budgets nationwide. The only requirement relating to spending the Native monies is that a parent advisory board exist and be consulted. These advisory boards have no real control over the use of the money (Brescia, 1991). Impact Aid is a rare breed of federal program; it gives the LEAs a blank check and is in need of revision. At the least, schools receiving these funds should be required to have the number of representatives on their school boards be in proportion to the number of students attending the school. I would also recommend that a member of the Native community be given a leading role in the finance committee.

Impact Aid Construction P.L. 81-815

These funds are for LEAs that serve Native students for construction and renovation of their facilities. Funds obligated in 1989 were $7,681,000.

Income guidelines govern eligibility for this program. Participants must also be from a federally recognized Native group to participate. In FY-1989, 14,202 were served by 106 tribal organizations from a budget of $41,773,791.

Vocational Education 1.25 Percent Set-aside

In 1956, the Secretary of the Interior was authorized to develop vocational training programs to assist adult Natives residing on or near American Indian reservations. The purpose of this authorization was to help those Native adults needing to obtain reasonable and satisfactory jobs. Programs include vocational guidance and counseling, institutional training, apprenticeships, and on-the-job training. Contracts may be entered into with any state, federal, or local governmental agency or private school which is recognized for vocational education and training.

This program funds federally recognized tribes and Alaska Native villages. In FY-1989 it funded 40 projects. The total expenditure was $10,808,990, and approximately 2,300 Native students were served. Considering the documented need for these kinds of services, this level of funding is inadequate (see Chart 2, Vocational Education, for the funding history of this program in 1980-1989).

Vocational Rehabilitation 0.25 Percent Set-aside

The set-aside for FY-1989 was $3,625,000 for a total of 14 programs (see Chart 3 for the Funding history of vocational rehabilitation in 1981-1989). Approximately 3,000 Native students were served.

Institutional Aid

This Department of Education program gave institutional self-sufficiency grants to predominantly Native institutions. Ten institutions received $2,401,904.

Library Services for Indian Tribes and Hawaiian Natives Program

Library Services for Indian Tribes was established after the inadequacy of present library services to and for Natives became evident. The rationale behind this program is to offer a public service to those on or near reservations and to create incentives for the improvement of existing tribal library programs and their administration. Grants for this program go toward in-service training of library staff; purchase of library materials; library programs for Natives; salaries for library staff; library construction; transportation for access to library facilities by those on or near reservations; dissemination of information about library services; and access to tribal needs.

This program awards direct grants to federally recognized Native governments and Alaska Native villages. A total of $1,836,525 was given to Native governments. The total included 159 basic grants equaling $598,090 and 17 special grants totalling $1,238,435. Basic grants in 1989 were for $3,629. Basic grants are used to initiate or supplement libraries in eight areas: assessment, training, personnel, library materials, dissemination, transportation, special programs, and construction. Special project grants are competitive and are made with unused funds after the basic grants are awarded. A tribe must have a basic grant to compete for a special project grant. Special projects require matching funds for 20 percent of the total costs of the project. They must be part of a long-range plan of three to five years and must be administered by a librarian. In 1989 grants ranged from about $20,000 to more than $170,000. An additional $612,175 was given to Hawaiian Natives.

Education of the Handicapped Set-aside 1.25 Percent, P.L. 94-142.

This bureau program provides funds for the special educational needs of handicapped Native children from birth to age 21. In FY-1989 $18,286,876 was used to serve 6,762 students.

Math & Science Education Set-aside 0.5 Percent

The National Science Foundation Program for Partnerships in Education for Mathematics, Science and Engineering was developed in order to increase the quality of instruction, awarding scholarships and purchasing equipment in these areas. Local educational agencies are permitted to petition for grant money to improve and develop these academic programs.

The stipulations attached to receiving grant money include holding administrative costs to no more than 5 percent of the amount and making sure that there is no conflict of interest between those instructing in math, science, and engineering and any local businesses which may be contributing to the development of these academic programs. The program also stipulates that no more than 15 percent of the total funds available may be awarded to any one state.

The program provides training to bureau school math and science teachers. FY-1989 funding was $598,375.

Drug Free Schools & Communities Set-aside 1.0 percent

The Drug Free Schools Act of 1986 was passed to assist in the prevention, detection, and rehabilitation of substance/alcohol abuse (see Chart 4, Drug-Free Schools: Indian Youth Program, for a funding history 1987-1989). Prompted by concern about the use of alcohol by youth and illegal drugs, the government provided a financial incentive to help schools alleviate the problem. Monies appropriated to local educational agencies must be used to develop, implement, evaluate, and integrate drug and alcohol abuse programs. Money can be used to train teachers/counselors and to provide school-based education and early intervention programs, treatment and rehabilitation facilities, and community education.

Local educational agencies must apply for the grants by preparing in writing specific programs which will be set up, goals, and evaluation procedures.

Funds can go to BIA-- or tribally controlled schools for alcohol and drug abuse prevention programs. FY-1989 funding was $3,475,000.

Office of Construction Management

New school construction is based on an established ranking process published in the Federal Register. The Repair and Improvement Program is based on priority--ranked input from BIA area offices. The program budget for FY-1989 was $33,650,000, with $9,190,000 for education projects, $500,000 for Planning & Design, and $23,960,000 for Improvements.

Essentially, the majority of Native schools are outdated; they have space that does not meet contemporary educational requirements and buildings that have generally been poorly maintained. Congress has been funding roughly two or three new school construction projects annually. At that rate, the backlog would not be eliminated until well into the next century. There has to be some real commitment to capital improvement for new school construction. Instead of $5,000,000-10,000,000 a year, it should be closer to $30,000,000-40,000,000. The current backlog for FI&R (Facilities, Improvement and Repair) is approaching $200,000,000. That work should certainly be new construction. Construction is being finessed by putting projects on FI&R because it is easer to obtain that money. Many old schools simply must be rebuilt. There should be a new process to get this accomplished. The bureau's procedure for school construction and space requirements are outmoded and dysfunctional. A flat requirement per child of 135 square feet does not take into account extra educational programs such as Chapter I or Gifted and Talented. The bureau process for planning schools and designing schools is out of step with contemporary educational thinking. Children cannot be educated in square boxes.

There has to be an aggressive school replacement program. The bureau should take the lead in determining enrollment projections and implementing a planning process that takes into account constructing buildings that support educational programs.

Star Schools

The Star Schools Program was developed in order to improve instruction in math, science and foreign language as well as vocational education through telecommunication partnerships. Grants are made available to assist in the development, construction and acquisition of telecommunications video and audio equipment for instructional programming to improve those academic areas.

Star Schools is a high-technology project designed to provide instruction and teacher training in foreign languages (I assume English is not being included as a foreign language) and science to schools via satellite. This bureau project is funded through the Department of Education grant to TI-IN United Star Network in San Antonio, Texas. Sixteen sites are served across the United States. The total funding for FY-1989 was $5,700,000. I believe this project shows a great deal of promise and should be expanded to provide instruction to all reservations. This technology, if controlled locally, can make delivery of quality instruction cost-effective and can help support Native values and culture.

Adult Education Programs

Public Law 1201 of Title 20 (Basic Program Revisions) provides assistance to states to create better educational opportunities for adults lacking the literacy skills needed for effective citizenship and productive employment. It is the intention of this law to assist states in helping adults to attain a level of functional literacy, provide adults with basic education they need to participate in job training, and aid those adults who wish to obtain education at least to the level of completion of secondary school.

The Basic State Grants enable the states to fund adult education programs, services, and activities.

State-Administered Basic Grant Program

This is a block grant program of adult education funds that are administered by the individual states. In fiscal year 1990 $157.8 million was appropriated for this effort. This program is analyzed in detail in Commissioned Paper 19 of the Supplemental Volume.

National Workplace Literacy

Grants are available to businesses, labor organizations, private industry councils, state and local educational agencies, institutions of higher education and schools which have shown excellence in workplace literacy.

These grants pay the federal portion of the adult education programs which teach literacy skills to workers. These funds may be used to provide and improve services, training, programs and counseling.

This program is designed to foster partnerships between schools and businesses to improve the basic literacy skills needed in the workplace. Curriculum materials include reading and math materials used on the job to increase relevancy for the learners. This program received $9.5 million in funding in Fiscal Year 1989, $11.9 million in FY 1990, and $19.7 million in FY 1991. Of the 300 or so applications received in FY 1990, 10% were funded, and no grants were made to Native communities in FY 1989 or FY 1990. One Native community applied in FY 1991; grant awards were announced after this report went to press.

The program officer speculated that the reason for the dearth of applications from Native communities is the requirement that the applications be partnerships between educational or community-based organizations, and business/industry groups, primarily Private Industry Councils. The tribe that applied in FY 1991 sought and received a waiver from the Department of Education to allow its partnership to be between the tribe as a community-based organization and tribal businesses, since there was no Private Industry Council on the reservation. The intent of the legislation was clearly to include Native communities, and the program officer interviewed hopes to receive more applications from tribes in the FY 1992 cycle. $19.3 million will be available in FY 1992; the official announcement of the program will be made in April 1991, with a deadline for applications sometime in July. (Garkinkle, 1991, February 19)

State-Administered Workplace Literacy Program

States which have approved workplace literacy plans may also be eligible for grants. These monies may be used for funding up to 70 percent of the cost to run adult workplace literacy programs, administrative costs and expenses incurred by the state in evaluating such programs.

This program was authorized in the 1988 amendments to the Adult Education Act, but to date, the Congress has appropriated no funds for the program. The program serves to support workplace literacy programs at the state level.

State-Administered English Literacy Program

States which have plans to operate, improve and establish English literacy programs may also be eligible for grants. These programs are developed to assist in improving the English skills of those individuals who lack English proficiency. In order to receive such a grant, the state must show the number of individuals who would benefit from English literacy programs, the activities which will promote literacy, how those served will benefit, and resources needed to accomplish this goal.

Grant money can be taken away from a state only if the state has not made substantial progress in its goals when such programs are no longer needed.

Funds have been used for state grants and demonstration projects to promote English literacy for limited-English proficient adults. This program was funded in FY 1989 ($4.9 million) and FY 1990 ($5.9 million), but no money was appropriated for FY 1991. Data on Native involvement is unavailable at the federal level, although each state is required to assemble such data for its program. (Garkinkle, 1991, February 20)

National English Literacy Demonstration Program for Individuals of Limited English Proficiency

The English literacy demonstration program makes available funds through grants and contracts with public and private nonprofit agencies, institutions and organizations. These funds are to be used to develop new approaches to literacy for adults with limited English proficiency through the use of innovative technologies and teaching methodologies. Also, these funds are to be used to establish the Center for Applied Linguistics of the Office of Educational Research and Improvement as the national clearinghouse on literacy education for those adults with limited English proficiency. This clearinghouse shall collect and disburse information pertaining to effective methods and geared toward English proficiency programs.

The limited funds under this program have been used to establish an English as a Second Language (ESL) clearinghouse. A grant of $244,000 was made to the English Literacy Center to begin this effort. More money may be forthcoming. The legislation authorizing this program also intended for funds to support the development of innovative approaches and methods in English literacy, especially taking advantage of new instructional methods and technologies. (Garkinkle, 1991, February 20)

Adult Migrant Farmworker and Immigrant Education Program

Grants are available to states and local eligible recipients to assist in the planning, development and evaluation of programs which provide adult education services and activities suited to the needs of migrant farmworkers and immigrants. Priority will be given to the development of educational programs for migrant farmworkers.

No program funds have been appropriated for migrant education to date, but a small amount of money was found to conduct a study of what the needs of the population were. This study is intended to help adult education administrators and teachers in planning, developing and evaluating effective literacy program for adult migrant farmworkers. The Office of Vocational and Adult

Education in the Department of Education contracted the report from Slaughter & Associates, Woodland Hills, California. (Garkinkle, 1991, February 21)

National Adult Literacy Volunteer Training Program

Planning, implementation and evaluation of programs which train adult volunteers who wish to assist in adult literacy education may be funded through grants to states and local eligible recipients. This program was authorized in the 1988 amendments to the Adult Education Act, but to date the Congress has appropriated no funds for the program. The intent is to provide grants to support training of adult volunteers, especially senior citizens, to participate as tutors in local adult education programs.

State Program Analysis Assistance and Policy Studies

States may be assisted in program analysis and policy studies of adult literacy opportunities. Through these studies, the national illiterate adult population should be assessed, and a report on the status of adult literacy and education shall be made to establish the national trends. The national report will be submitted to the President and the appropriate Congressional committees on the status of literacy and adult education.

This is a set of evaluation and research studies conducted by the Program Services Branch in the Adult Education and Literacy Division. Activities include a series of evaluation studies, a case study analysis of adult education programs and services, and an analysis of adult education data collected by various sources. A major national adult literacy survey is being undertaken by the Educational Testing Service; this survey will include a national household study to be performed in 1993.

Native populations are only partially identified under the Adult Education and Literacy Division's efforts. One reason for this may be that there are separate monies for Native literacy programs in the Office of Indian Education. Most of the Natives tracked by the Program Services Branch are those off the reservations. Most of the evaluation work done by this program does not break out Native populations served; the usual breakdowns are white, Hispanic, black, and other. A summary report of this Branch's activities will be published in August 1991. (Garkinkle, 1991, February 22)

Head Start

Native Head Start programs were started in the summer of 1964 as pilot programs. The next year the overall program was continued. Today there are programs in 24 states.

Funding for all Head Start programs was $ 1,386,315,000 in 1990, with Native programs accounting for 4% of the total. Approximately 15,000 Native students make up 4% of the total population of Head Start students. In FY 1990 106 programs were funded, and all but three of those were to specific tribes; the remaining three were to intertribal councils. Handicapped programs received 13.5% of the funds. The total enrollment average cost per pupil was $2,767 (Brescia, 1991 February 26).

Indian Health Scholarship Program

Scholarship money under the national Scholarship Program shall be made available to physicians, osteopaths, dentists, veterinarians, nurses, optometrists, podiatrists, pharmacists, public health personnel and allied health professionals in order to provide services needed by Natives.

Most years this program is lucky to fund 40 percent of the applicants. This shows a strong interest in and a need for more funds in this area. FY-1989 funds totaled $7,896,000.

Institute of American Indian Arts (IAIA)

The Institute of American Indian Arts has separated itself from the BIA and has moved to a new campus. Meeting its Congressional mandate, it has implemented several new programs and courses and has increased student enrollment substantially. In FY-1989 IAIA served 160 students with $3,093,000. Given all the talk these days about improving math and science skills, I think such programs should be encouraged and fostered. I would hate to see this part of our culture lost to the needs of a high-technology society.

Minority Science Improvement Program

Predominantly Native institutions received discretionary grants totaling $548,523 to help them improve their science and engineering education programs. Seven institutions served 1,239 students.

(See table 5 for an overview of programs benefiting American Indian and Alaska Native students in FY-1989.)

NOTE: much of the information in this section came from the NACIE 16th Annual Report.

There are undoubtedly other sources that provide some funds to Native education. For those of you who work with and for those programs, it was not my intention to leave anyone out. I believe that what I have presented here is a good overview of the major federal funding sources.

Impact Aid--Does It Work?

Nationwide there is a feeling in Native communities that schools are not targeting enough of the Impact Aid funds they receive to Native students. There is concern about the way monies come back down to the districts for special education purposes as well as for the regular education program. Native communities feel that they do not have enough say about how the Native set-aside monies are prioritized, and budgeted, and about the overall operations of school districts that receive Impact Aid.

Although school administrators say that everything is going well, Native people feel they are kept on the outside of the decision-making process. In many places the policies and procedures are in place and clear, but they actually do not allow dialogue and consultation with Native governments and parents. Many school districts are out of compliance with these policies and procedures, often because of a lack of knowledge of the law. Districts have been known to write up their budgets using the 874 monies with no communication with the Native community.

While the funds in Impact Aid are often viewed as being non-categorical, they are still subject to review and consultation involving Native governments and parents. Many school districts are in compliance on paper, but in actual practice nothing has changed to include Native people in the process. Districts are free to fill out their compliance forms without follow up to guarantee accuracy. Native communities need policing authority to ensure the compliance. The law as it stands now is close to being workable if it were implemented fully and properly.

One improvement that could easily be made is for program support staff to know more about Native communities and Native governments. Many of them seem to be moved around from other federal programs and come to Impact Aid with unfounded assumptions about Natives. Some staff are not familiar with the statutes and practices and are attempting to work with school districts and Native communities on Impact Aid. There is a possibility of confusion, and mixed messages can be sent to the school districts and Native communities. Staff should be literate in Impact Aid and about Native communities. It is difficult now to find people who fill that bill. The technicians who work at Impact Aid should be experts who can give technical assistance to Native communities. If staff were more knowledgeable, they could be more responsive to Native concerns.

Congress should continue to make Impact Aid a priority. It would be helpful if there were not always a battle to keep this program consistent. Its funding should be increased along with inflation because it is so closely tied to fixed costs of the school. Improvements have been made over the last five years, but much work still needs to be done. Native communities, states, and Impact Aid need to work together to make sure that school districts are in compliance (Brescia, 1991).

Need for Forward Funding

Forward funding has been a serious problem because BIA-- funded schools, unlike public schools, do not know what their final budget figures are until after Congress has appropriated funds during that year. In a good year Congress might have completed the BIA school budget by September 15; count week is in October, which means that schools will not know their budget for the year until sometime in December. Sometimes final figures are not available until well into the second semester. This lack of forward funding breeds inefficiency and waste. Schools often delay filling positions and buying necessary supplies until they receive their money, and then they are forced to spend what money does come in in the last three months of school. So that money ends up being spent on "stuff" rather than instruction.

Lack of forward funding also compounds the under-count problem. Without using an average student attendance figure, there is no incentive for BIA schools to keep students in school after count day (Brescia, 1990, December 24).

Investing in the Brightest and Best

The development of postsecondary education for Native students has been slow. The United Presbyterian Church founded Sheldon Jackson College for Alaska Natives in 1878, and the American Baptist Church started "Indian University" for the Creeks in 1880. The latter is today known as Bacone College, in Muskogee, Oklahoma. A school for Native students begun by the state of North Carolina in 1887 became a college in the 1930s and is today Pembroke State University, with an enrollment still approximately 20% Natives. "No additional efforts were undertaken to establish Indian colleges until the 1960's." Instead, Federal efforts focused on establishing vocational schools and providing scholarships for "the few Native college students to attend majority institutions" (Olivas, 1982, p. 2). Haskell Institute offered the first college preparatory program for Natives in 1963. The Institute of American Indian Arts opened in 1962, and offered high school courses and two additional postsecondary years of "work in areas such as creative writing, sculpture, and design and painting of textiles" (Fries, 1987, p. 5).

With access to higher education so limited, only 66 Natives took baccalaureate degrees in 1961. Seven years later, in 1968, this number had increased nearly three-fold. Even so, a total of only 181 Natives received four-year degrees that year (ibid., p. 5). The Kennedy Report of 1969 sounded a note ominously like that heard in the Merriam Report, and concluded that Natives need "more control over their children's education and schools" (ibid., p. 5).

Starting with Navajo Community College in 1969, some 20 tribally controlled community colleges were established during the 1970s. Other institutions began to increase postsecondary access for Natives by the introduction of ethnic programs. Arizona State University led the way in 1954 with the Arizona State Indian Education Center. The University of New Mexico founded the American Indian Law Center in 1967, and, in 1970, the University of Minnesota began a program to train Native teachers and school administrators. These and other developments resulted in noticeable increases in the enrollment of Native students (ibid., pp. 5,6).

Legislation such as the Civil Rights and the Higher Education Acts of 1965 increased public concern for and support of minority access to higher education. The increased governance of their own postsecondary educational facilities by Native students, especially in the tribally controlled community colleges, also has had a positive impact. Perhaps most notable is the ability to increase students' self-awareness and self-respect by making Native Studies part of degree or certificate requirements, as at Salish Kootenai College, Flathead Indian Reservation, Montana (McDonald and Le Beau, 1983, p. 18). A third positive force on enlarging Native access has been the increase in Federal funds available for both student and institutional aid.

The Higher Education Act of 1965 provides for institutional aid in Title III and for student assistance in Title IV. The Navajo Community College Act of 1971 provided specifically for Federal funding of a community college to be established by Navajos for their own education. Congress made further provision for Federal support of Native education with the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978 (P.L. 95-471). Obtaining grants under P.L. 96-471 has been notoriously difficult because of difficulties in qualifying (Olivas, 1982, pp. 6-10), intergovernmental agency squabbling, and under-funding.

Such difficulties notwithstanding, community colleges have flourished as a result of these funds. The example of Salish Kootenai College is again instructive. A forestry technology program was begun on the Flathead Reservation in 1973. Two years later, assistance was sought as a developing institution under Title III of the Higher Education Act. Beginning in the school year 1976-77, and continuing through 1979-80, Salish Kootenai received a total of $110,000 under Title III, and another $768,200 in 1979-80 and 1980-81 under P.L. 95-471. Additional Federal contracts and grants totaled approximately $800,000 during the same period (McDonald and Le Beau, 1983, p. 16). The result of this large infusion of Federal dollars was a school which served some 1,300 students in 1981-82. Of these, 850 (65.3%) were Natives (ibid., p. 10). As of January, 1990, a total of 20 tribally controlled community colleges had received grants under P.L. 95-471, as reported in the National Advisory Council on Indian Education Scholarship Field guide (Cheek, 1990, pp. 36, 37).

Data from the censuses of 1970 and 1980 show that the number of Natives between the ages of 18 and 24 more than doubled during the decade, and that the proportion graduating from high school increased from 51% to 60% during the same period (ibid., p. 10). The educational attainment of Native students is still substantially behind that of white Americans (Fries, 1987, p. 9). In 1980, 45% of Natives over the age of 25 had not completed high school (compared with 31% of white Americans) and only 7.7% of Natives over 25 had completed four or more years of college (as compared with 17% of white Americans).

Despite the growth in "college-age" Native youth and their increasing high school graduation rate, growth in postsecondary enrollment was mixed. In 1976, 76,110 Native students were enrolled in institutions of higher education in the United States. This number increased by 15% in 1982, to 87,700, but declined to 82,672 in 1984 (ibid., p. 11). As with other minority populations, this decline probably resulted from cuts in financial aid under the Reagan administration.

There was a 20.8% increase in the number of degrees granted to Native students between 1975-76 and 19880-81, from 7,048 to 8,513. The largest increase took place in the number of associate degrees granted: from 2,522 to 3,574 (41.7%). The next largest increase was in the number of master's degrees granted: from 783 to 1,034 (32.1%). Professional degrees and doctorates increased by 76, from 245 to 321 (31%). Bachelor's degrees increased by only 76, from 3,498 to 3,574 (2.2%). Overall, then, the number of bachelor's and higher degrees increased by only 403, from 4,526 to 4,929 (8.9%) during the period 1975-76 to 1980-81. To place these numbers in perspective, institutions of higher learning across the nation awarded approximately 1.3 million degrees during each of these years (ibid., p. 18).

Perhaps the nation's failure to look after the higher education needs of Native students is best illustrated by the data regarding employment of Natives in the nation's colleges and universities. The total of all faculty and staff in higher learning was reported as approximately 1.6 million in the fall of 1983. Of these, only 6,735 were Natives and some 60% of those were in service occupations. Only 19% were full-time faculty (ibid., p. 25). Even more distressing, none of the Native institutions had a faculty composed primarily of Native educators in 1981 or 1983. "In fact, of the 13 predominantly Native institution reporting for those years, six had no Natives as full-time faculty employed" (Fries, 1987, p. 28).

The NACIE Scholarship Field Guide suggests that the "opportunities for minorities to pursue an education have never been better." This January, 1990 compilation of scholarships, fellowships, and other programs to aid Natives bears this conclusion out. It lists some 27 colleges which are tribally controlled community colleges or member institutions of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium, and six predominantly white institutions in four states with programs specifically to benefit Natives or minorities (Cheek, 1990, pp. 36, 37; 27-30). Of the latter many more could be listed today. In addition, this directory also lists approximately 48 scholarships, fellowships, or other programs benefitting Natives/minorities. Of these, 16 are funded by the federal government and 32 by private agencies or organizations. among the Federal programs, five are for Natives only; six benefit all minorities; the remaining five are for any applicant. Among the private programs, 13 benefit only Natives; nine are for all minorities; and anyone may apply for the remaining 10.

There is clearly a problem with recruiting and retaining Native students in four year and research universities. Additional programs should be instituted to help improve and expand the schools in the American Indian Higher Education Consortium. Also students pursuing higher education in traditionally white institutions need assistance in coping with the cultural conflict as well as new academic problems. I suggest that institutions look at methods, practices and curriculum for their faculty, so they know how to teach in a multi-cultural setting, rather than looking at the students to try to fix them.

(Table 9 covers the BIA grant and graduate scholarship programs.)

Scholarships and Fellowships

Voluntary Action for the Public Good: The Role of Foundation Giving in Native Education

The foundations in this study had to meet two simple criteria: they had to give at least $5,000, and they had to be among the top 400 foundations in giving nationally. This does mean that small foundations are left out, but I believe it presents a good picture of foundation giving.

One fundamental point must be understood when discussing foundation giving to Native education, and that is that the total amount is inordinately small. The total is small when compared to foundations' total giving to all causes. It is small when compared to the percentage of Native students in the population (see Chart 10 for 1980-1988 population of Natives in the United States). In virtually all comparisons, foundation giving falls short. Why is it that foundations do not give in this area? Is it because no one is asking? Is it because of a lack of programs? Is it because foundations are not interested in giving? These are all important research and policy questions that need to be addressed. While it would be interesting to look at individual and corporate giving to Native education, it would be virtually impossible given the geographic diversity of Native groups, the need to maintain donor anonymity, and the lack of applicable data bases.

The foundations mentioned in this paper should not be criticized for not giving enough. At least they are giving something. As with all foundation relations, it is better to work with them as friends rather than adversaries.

At no time during 1985-1989, the years I researched, did total foundation giving to Natives exceed 1 percent of total foundation giving. Since giving to education is only part of total foundation giving in this area, giving to Native education is much less than 1 percent.

Geographic Giving from Foundations

It is startling that foundations in 22 of the states gave **nothing** to Native causes. Nearly half the states did not have a foundation that could find a linkage with Native education! Several of these states have large Native populations: Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Wyoming, Montana, North Dakota, and South Dakota. All of the other states that did not give have Native groups of living within their borders.

The Big Givers

Table D shows examples of grants in the area of education, what subcategory they fell into, and who gave how much to whom.

Far and away the biggest giver in education is the Ford Foundation, with no fewer than 21 grants totaling more than $2,212,278. Most foundations that gave to Native causes gave at least twice; many gave numerous grants.

Also of interest are foundations that gave at least one grant of $80,000 or more. Once again Ford proved to be the leader in this area. Unfortunately, most of the foundations that gave big grants in this area gave only one large grant, showing that they had one project that interested them rather than a commitment to funding Native education projects.

Foundations do give to education more than to any other Native cause except development. In the years 1985-1989 they gave $15,827,694 to education (see Chart 6). Giving to education is almost exclusively to higher education; only a small part goes to elementary and secondary education and other purposes, which are divided into science, adult education, technology, vocational education, and life science. The vast majority of money going to higher education was for fellowships or scholarships; some was for program activity, but this amount was small by comparison. Exactly how much of this scholarship money actually got to Native students is impossible to tell. Undoubtedly some of the money goes for support staff and university/college indirect costs. Funding in other education areas is nearly exclusively of the program nature, with essentially no funds given for basic institutional support.

Not included in the above amounts is funding for legal education, that is, a small amount given by a few foundations with a special relationship with specific Native organizations. These foundations are committed to working with these Native organizations, not to Native education, and stated that they would discontinue funding Native causes of any kind if they did not fund these specific organizations. These foundations are fiercely loyal to the organizations they give to. The reason for this loyalty seems to be based on the competence of those organizations and their ability to show these foundations that their money is being spent the way the foundation wants it spent.

As a rule, foundations have no separate programs for Native education. Money is given to Native groups because a foundation is interested in education without regard to its relevance to Native communities. A few foundations have a special program in one specific area such as higher education or substance abuse. These foundations have developed this interest in funding Native education out of a general interest in funding education (Brescia, 1990).

Native groups need to encourage the efforts that foundations are making in Native education and to involve more foundations in this endeavor.

Can We Do It on Our Own?

Most Native communities have no tax base. Some Native communities may be able to pay part of education funding, unhappily, it will be a long time before any Native community can pay the whole bill. Native communities that have income have only sporadic earnings from energy resources, timber, or fisheries. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians spends about $8,000,000 on education-related expenses; even at that they still need about $4,000,000 to meed the needs they have identified. That figure does not even include facilities replacement. Even on reservations where manufacturing provides a steady income, profit is put into debt replacement. There will be no money for education programs support until well into the next century.

It might be possible to "tax" certain activities such as gaming. It is not clear now what gaming could bring in, but it obviously will never be enough to run a school system. That is, of course, assuming that schools were the only expense. What about roads, health care, etc.? "Capital-intensive services such as education and health require costly facilities and suffer diseconomies at smaller scale. Tribes simply do not have the tax base to" support these efforts (Barsh & Diaz-Knauf, 1984, p. 11). The Navajo, for example, have enormous resources, but they also have enormous public service needs. A lot of their population lives without running water or at great distances, from a paved road. The issue is achieving a more entrepreneurial condition on the reservation. But the problem is that the tribes are capital poor. There is no tax base. Until property values improve, Native communities will be unable to support their school systems. As long as illiteracy exists to the extent that it does on reservations, virtually nothing can happen to create a tax base (Brescia, December, 1990).

Conclusion and Recommendations

Nothing short of a Marshall Plan for Native education will suffice! The federal government has never been willing to do what is needed to bring American Indian and Alaska Native groups up to parity with the larger community. It is not necessary for the federal government to do this on its own. If only 2 percent of total foundations, personal and corporate giving went for this purpose, there would be funds to accomplish part the task. Philanthropy will never be able to replace federal programs but it should lead the way to improvements and restructuring. While the Marshall Plan was influenced strongly by the Truman Doctrine and a desire to control the spread of communism, it did have two points that make it a good model for funding of Native education: first, the basic idea was to support the self-determination of the various European states; and second, large amounts of money were used to build each country's infrastructure.

Native governments and communities should have the same consideration as European governments in determining how they could best use funds to create an environment that fosters the kind of growth they want. Native governments and communities need assistance to raise property values to the point where Native students can be supported by their own governments and communities. For Native education to be improved, funds must be directed to the development of Native communities as well as to the education systems. Charts 12-14 "illustrate the trends in constant dollars for FY1975-1991. [Chart 12] shows the generally upward, but fluctuating, trend for the Department of Education Budget. [Charts 13 and 14] show the long-term downward trends for BIA education and Office of Indian Education in the Department of Education" (Walke, 1990, p. 4)

Native education systems need a massive infusion of capital so that real decisions can be made about students' education. As in choice programs, if all the options are bad, then you have no choice. If Native communities have no opportunity to direct the education of their children, than there is little reason to expect improvement in student outcomes whatever one's personal feelings might be concerning the desired outcomes. If economic conditions on reservations are not improved by restructuring and expansion of the tax base, there is no reason to expect that any educational restructuring will be successful. The two are inseparably linked.

There is a great discrepancy between what Washington, D.C., office staff say and what is happening in Native communities. Washington staff are not as familiar with life in Native communities as they should be. In order to administer and operate federal programs efficiently and effectively, it is vital that decision makers have a clear view of what the conditions are and how Native people think programs should work.

It is no longer possible to believe that BIA education programs can be improved by trying to "fix" the current system. The BIA education delivery system must be restructured. Tinkering with the system will never bring about the fundamental change that is necessary to ensure that Native students receive the education they deserve. The key element to that fundamental change is local control. Each Native community must have control over education funding or any effort at improvement will be doomed to fail.

The current system of programs causes tribes to see each other as adversaries and to continually seek a diminishing amount of funds. The result is a lack of continuity in the education system. Programs come and go, making it impossible to attract the best teachers, administrators, and support staff because other systems can offer them stability and security. Reliance on programs also forces staff to spend large blocks of what should be instructional time on reports and applications for refunding and new funding (Barsh & Diaz-Knauf, 1984, p. 10). Native schools need a base they can operate with. Native schools should have the right to apply for any program that other schools can, but they also need the base that other schools have. Providing this base will make it possible for schools to have the excellent staff they need for the instructional program.

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About the Author

William Brescia, Jr. received his M.S. in Curriculum and Instruction from the University of Wisconsin at Madison in 1973. He has spent much of his professional life designing and producing educational materials for and about American Indians. He has written and edited numerous books; written, produced and directed video; written scholarly articles; served on national advisory panels; designed and programmed computer education environments; and consulted in curriculum design for grades K-12, higher education and adult education.

After working in the field of curriculum development for the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation in Seattle, Washington, and later as director of Research and Curriculum Development for the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians in Philadelphia, Mississippi, he is now the development officer for Research, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana where his work focuses on American Indian Studies and Museum collections.

Mr. Brescia is also a doctoral student in Instructional Systems Technology and Philanthropy at Indiana University. He plans to use his expertise in instructional systems to improve instruction in philanthropy. His professional goals are to assist American Indian tribes in their efforts to aggressively seek funding from foundations, corporations and individuals, and to train Natives to be successful fund raisers.

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Native and Non-Native Teachers and Administrators for Elementary and Secondary Schools Serving American Indian and Alaska Native Students

Grayson Noley

Abstract

This paper discusses issues concerning the recruitment, retention, and training of students destined to become teachers and administrators in schools attended by Native students. That the number of Native education professionals serving these schools is extremely small is indisputable, and there is evidence that this number is not improving at a rate necessary even to keep pace with the population, despite the fact that the number of undergraduate and graduate Native students has increased steadily during the past fifteen years. One argument states that the raw numbers are misleading and the Native college enrollment actually is decreasing as a percent of total university populations. In any case, most will agree that the need for more professional Native educators is great as exemplified by testimony describing one reservation where only ten of 90 professional education positions were occupied by Natives.

Universities do not seem to have the fervor for the recruitment and accommodation of Native students as in past years, although examples of institutional commitment that have fostered success are present on both undergraduate and graduate levels. These institutions use recruitment and retention methods that can be replicated including personal contact recruiting, tribal involvement, and participation by institutional officials and the host community. Regarding retention, culturally sensitive institutions provide an array of support services including cultural centers, tutoring and counseling, social and cultural groups, and study centers equipped with necessities such as computers. In addition, they aggressively pursue identifiable and culturally aware faculty and staff.

To improve on the present record, institutions must develop innovative approaches to teacher and administrator education. Cooperative agreements with tribally-controlled community and four-year colleges can help teacher training institutions reach Native students. A combination of on- and off-campus curriculum activities and research will help create a linkage between the university and the Native community bringing increased understanding to both institutions. Nested programs are most useful for the education of Native school administrators as attested to by the success of this method in various locations. But, field-based programs for Native teacher candidates also should be developed.

Finally, schools must be innovative in their search for Native faculty and be willing to pay premium salaries in a case where a school serves significant numbers of Native children and has no Native teachers. Schools also can recruit from their own ranks by promising employment to their aides or students upon their receipt of a college degree and teacher's certification as did one large school district. Conditions will improve through innovation and not through the maintenance of the status quo.

Introduction

American Indian and Alaska Native children in the United States are saddled with a long list of disadvantages related to their opportunity to obtain the kind of education which would enable them to compete, as adults, on an equal basis with other Americans. One of the conditions perceived to be inhibiting to the achievement of Native children is a lack of significant involvement by Native educators in the planning and delivery of educational programs. Clearly, there continues to be a great need for Native administrators and teachers; but, because the geography of the schools Native children attend is widely varying, it is just as necessary that their non-Native teachers be educated more appropriately as well.

The purpose of this paper is to define more clearly the questions related to the recruiting, retention, and training of Native and non-Native education professionals who are destined to serve Native children. A further intent is to describe some of the various program components designed to serve these functions drawing upon accounts of existing activities for examples. Finally, this paper will discuss strategic alternatives for attacking the existing conditions.

This paper is important because it provides a primary documentation of the need for Native education professionals as testified to by dozens of Native educators during the field hearings of the Indian Nations at Risk (INAR) Task Force. Program activities which appear to be successful in meeting the kinds of educational objectives implied in the statement of purpose and the needs expressed by Native witnesses at regional INAR Task Force hearings will be highlighted for the sake of the possibility that others will find them useful for replication. It is hoped that readers will find the information included herein useful in their efforts to address the subjects of this paper.

While it was intended for this paper to provide the reader with an understanding of the status of American Indian education professionals, it was not intended to provide an exhaustive empirical analysis of placement, Native educators presently in service, individuals presently in training programs, or those who potentially will enter into training programs. Rather, the focus of this paper is on the program activities which may enhance the recruitment, retention, and training of those who do choose to enter into educational programs which prepare them for careers as teachers and administrators.

Data for the present work have been obtained from several sources including testimony submitted to the INAR Task Force in both oral and written form, the professional literature, literature produced by programs performing tasks related to the subjects, and scholarly presentations. Testimony was reviewed along with information obtained from other sources and from these data, issues and concerns were delineated and analyzed within appropriate categories. These issues and concerns were compared with proposed solutions as described in the literature, reports, and other sources of information with the conclusions being a result of these comparisons. The qualitative nature of these analyses seemed to be most appropriate for this paper.

This paper is organized in a manner designed to provide a logical flow of information from that which is known, to a discussion of the implications of that knowledge, to that which is proposed as a result of that knowledge. Beginning with a review of the professional literature representative of all the information pertinent to the present subjects, this paper continues with definitions of the various issues and concerns involved in recruitment, retention and training culminating in a comprehensive discussion of the same. It is during this discussion that we seek to determine which kinds of programs and propositions have merit and, perhaps, potential for success in the nineties given the prevailing political and social climates. Existing programs which focus on training will be described where they are unique and/or unusually successful. Finally, the conclusions delineate the issues and concerns which must be resolved in order to create the climate necessary for the Native community in the United States to have confidence in the schools their children attend.

The Collective Wisdom

Introduction

Native people have served other Native people as teachers in formal institutions of learning at least since Adin C. Gibbs, a Delaware, taught in the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions' schools in the Choctaw Nation during the 1820s (*The Missionary Herald*, 1824, p. 3) and as school administrators at least since Peter P. Pitchlynn, a Choctaw, was appointed Superintendent of the Choctaw Academy in 1841 (Meyer, 1932, pp. 372-378). Many other Native people have served their own people as teachers and administrators in schools established by tribes, missionary groups, the federal government, and other entities, perhaps before those mentioned above but certainly afterward. However, for the most part, Native students in the last century and the present have attended schools taught and administered by non-Natives.

It is clear that, in recent history, the numbers of Native educators in schools serving Native children have been astonishingly low. A study by Aurbach and Fuchs found, among other things, that of 358 administrators in the Bureau of Indian Affairs' (BIA) schools at that time, only 28 percent were Native (The Pennsylvania State University, 1970). Moreover, within the sixteen states reporting data on public schools at that time, only 55 Native school administrators were identified. In 1974, the United States Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) revealed data which appeared to show that the numbers of Native school administrators sufficient to achieve parity already were employed in American schools. However, after pursuing the data more thoroughly, it was found that parity, according to the EEOC, was only the percent of administrators employed as compared to the number of qualified administrators available. In other words, those Native people who were qualified and available to fill administrative positions apparently were employed. The figures as presented did not, in fact, show the actual need as might be indicated by a comparison of the number of Native children in schools with the numbers of Native educators serving them, a more credible view of parity. Rather, the EEOC documented the extent to which discrimination occurred using a narrowly constructed definition, only comparing the numbers available with those hired. The EEOC did not address the notion that the percentages of Native people serving in schools with Native populations ought to be, for example, at least as high as the numbers of non-Natives serving non-Native people. The difference between these two indices cannot be overemphasized.

That EEOC report went on to state that although it was their judgement that qualified administrators were not being discriminated against, Native teachers were. The report said,

> This low representation as teachers existed despite the fact that schools with American Indian principals employed high proportions of American Indian teachers. These facts appear to be contradictory, but it must be realized that most of the schools headed by American Indians were very small. Consequently, although American Indians held a relatively large proportion of the administrator and principal jobs, their ability to carry their influence to other occupations was limited by the small number of employees they controlled. And, because few American Indian people have been allowed to obtain the training required to be teachers, administrators, or principals, their low numbers reflected the ethnic character of the small administrator and principal categories to a much greater degree than the larger teacher category. (EEOC, 1974)

What this meant, then, was the number of Native school administrators employed at that time was so small they were unable to achieve the impact on Native teacher employment possible given more administrative influence. Therefore, it may be concluded that, although the EEOC report did not document evidence of discrimination in the employment of administrators, the need to enlarge their numbers was rather clearly indicated by the absence of higher numbers of teachers. This is to say that when there are more Native administrators affecting a larger number of schools serving Native students, more Native teachers will be employed. Additionally, the report concludes with the statement that the occupational distribution appeared to be worsening.

> While 49 percent of all American Indians working full time were professional/instructional personnel, only 34 percent of the newly hired American Indians held such jobs. (EEOC, 1974)

In another category, it was determined by the 1979 EEOC report that Native women were severely underrepresented in policy making, administrator, principal, and assistant principal categories as well. This occurred in spite of the fact that, as of 1979, Native women occupied 57 percent of the full-time positions held by Natives in public secondary and elementary education. This was a decline of 5 percent from the 1974 EEOC report.

A paper presented at the 1983 Annual Meeting of the American Educational Research Association cited clear and compelling documentation that the need for greater numbers of Native school administrators existed (Noley, 1983). Parity, for the purpose of that paper, was defined as a percent of Native staff in schools equal to the percent of Native children in attendance. Using that definition it was found the existing numbers would have had to nearly quadruple in order to reach parity with non-Native administrators. The study also found that 37 percent of the Indian Education Act (IEA) public school entitlement program (Part A) directors themselves were *non*-Native and that only 38 percent of the Bureau of Indian Affairs' school administrators were Native. Obviously, these are positions which one legitimately might expect all should be filled by Native people.

The need for Native professional educators continues to be tremendous according to Phillip Martin, Chief of the Mississippi Band of Choctaws, whose written testimony presented to the INAR Task Force hearing at Cherokee, North Carolina, stated that on his reservation, "there are 90 professional educational positions, but only ten are occupied by Choctaws" (p. 4). Willard Bill also emphasized the need for the training of more Native teachers in his testimony submitted to the INAR Task Force hearing at Seattle. He told the Task Force that the momentum for educating and certifying Native teachers gained in the decade of the 1970s was lost. He advocated the reactivation of special teacher preparation programs such as the Teacher Corps, a federally supported program focusing on the development of minority teachers operated during the sixties and seventies.

It should be clear to anyone who has responsibility for the development of public policy that the shortage of minority, especially Native, teachers and the decline of minorities in teacher education is a crisis of gigantic proportions. Case, *et.al.*, have compiled evidence from various sources which indicate that not only are minorities underrepresented in American schools, the situation is becoming worse (*Journal of Teacher Education*, 1988, p. 54). They show that in spite of the fact that more than 25 percent of public school enrollment in the United States are minorities, in 1985 nearly 90 percent of the teachers were white. They provide an estimate that more than one-third of all public school students in the year 2000 will be minority which should be cause for great alarm (p. 54) due to the decline or, at the very least, non-growth of Natives and other students in teacher education.

The basic precept for this paper is the notion that the numbers of Native administrators and teachers required in schools serving Native students and the numbers in existence are at great odds. Also basic is the idea that the preparation programs generally offered adequately prepare neither Native nor non-Native teachers and administrators to serve Native students. And, the obvious conclusion is that we must work toward correcting these deficiencies. What follows is a discussion of the activities found in the literature on each of the topics.

Recruitment

American colleges and universities are obligated to serve Native people in the same manner in which they serve non-Natives in all their offerings. Although this appears to be a statement of the obvious, during the late sixties and early seventies, an important and highly vocalized aspect of student life focused on the admission of minorities to these institutions. Activists found and exploited weaknesses in the methods used for recruitment and admission, causing many institutions to review their policies so they might ferret out the obvious inadequacies regarding their potential for attracting and retaining minority students. It appeared, following the emotion-laden movements of those tumultuous times, the concerns of minorities were salved by the development of recruitment activities, improved admission standards, programs of study focusing on underrepresented groups and the promises of institutions that they would reach out and improve on their record of service to minorities.

Institutional recruiters found that the secondary school preparation of minority students, in many cases, was lacking in the quality necessary for them to enter a university's academic environment without deficiencies. Curricula were adapted to meet this problem, and admissions policies were opened to provide the opportunity for increased minority enrollment. However, coursework developed to accommodate the perceived needs of minority students were, in some cases, unacceptable to the very students they were intended to serve, mostly because they frequently appeared to be less demanding versions of that which was required of *regular* students. And, worst of all, they sometimes did not count toward graduation, leading not only to criticism from the minorities, but also from politicians who loudly proclaimed that universities were using tax money to repeat instruction which should have been given in high school. Native students were among those expressing dissatisfaction with this method used by universities to increase the minority presence.

Institutions across the United States struggled, during the early to mid-seventies, to establish ethnic studies programs that not only were acceptable to the different groups, but also were credible in the academic world within which they were housed. Some institutions found success in this endeavor while others seemed to find it impossible to escape criticism. There was no model for ethnic studies programs and some mainstream academics and administrators feared their development would have disruptive influences on traditional values and, of course, the politics of academia (Broussard, 1984; Drake, 1984). Nevertheless, clumsy as it may have been, institutional change for the benefit of minority students moved slowly forward.

Barriers and Decline

Despite the more obvious shortcomings of programs designed to enhance the minority presence on American university campuses, Native student enrollment grew throughout the decade of the seventies. According to the most recent *Almanac* published by the *Chronicles of Higher Education* (September 5, 1990), Native student enrollment on university campuses has increased by slightly more than 19 percent since 1976, exceeding both the national norm and the growth of the African-American population. However, Tijerina and Biemer (*Educational Record*, 1988, p. 88) make the case that even though the raw numbers show an increase in Native students in colleges and universities, they are misleading and Native enrollment actually is losing ground as a proportion of the higher education population. They, of course, are supported in their contentions by Case, *et.al.*, as mentioned earlier. Tijerina and Biemer assert that reasons for this alleged decline is a national trend toward indifference, a federal government departure from an attitude of affirmative action, and a national tolerance of institutional racism.

Clearly, the barriers to the task of improving the minority presence on university campuses are many and, perhaps, too subtle in some cases to be recognized. Oliver and Brown, writing for the *Journal of College Student Development* (1988), suggest that institutional barriers to minority recruitment and retention sometimes are couched in terms of ideology, and others are recognizable in certain behaviors. Specifically, they say decision-makers use high sounding ideals such as "obligations to accept the best students" (p. 41) to excuse themselves from making commitments to admit minorities, ignoring the possibility that minority candidates are just as likely to meet the ideal as non-minority candidates. Another barrier characterized as ideological is the conflict between those who hold that the university has an obligation to engage in special efforts to recruit minorities due to previous unjust policies, and those who object to practices that seem to override the privileged status assumed by those who historically have profited from discrimination.

Inconsistency on the part of influential university staff is an example of a behavior which inhibits minority recruitment and retention according to Oliver and Brown. Specifically, this refers to those faculty members and others who express support for minority recruitment efforts and other activities, but fail to translate their private statements into public actions. When they do express public support, it usually is after the fact when the damage already is done and the chances for corrective action are virtually nil. These people are the commiserators, those who console the individuals who worked hard to achieve a victory only to lose in the end. The commiserators are those who allege that they were behind the movement all the way and cannot understand why it was unsuccessful. Of course, if they had been as willing to state their position when it meant something, the movement may have succeeded. Another example of inconsistent behavior given by Oliver and Brown can be characterized as a failure to follow through with stated positions, or not putting one's money where one's mouth is. When faculty or others have an opportunity to support a movement with their active participation and fail to do so, they have given the stakeholders a tremendous letdown. When this type of behavior occurs, the institution risks being considered a bad environment for minorities (p. 42).

Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis, writing in the *Journal of College Admissions* (1987), list other reasons for declining minority enrollments and, like Oliver and Brown, also give pointers for establishing successful programs for recruitment. Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis are straightforward in their rationalization listing 14 reasons for declining minority enrollment at the institution in which they conducted a case study. Some of these reasons are summarized as follows:

- Lack of scholarships.
- Inaccessibility of the institution to urban areas.
- Lack of dormitory space for those with special needs.
- Institutional literature unavailable in high schools.
- Counselors were not encouraging students to attend the college because of transportation problems.
- Students were uninformed about the college.
- There were no bridge programs with targeted high schools.
- No ongoing relationship with counselors that would encourage secondary school-college linkages.
- Perception of students already on campus discouraged potential students.
- Lack of adequate follow-up on entering freshmen.

Several entries on this list could be paraphrased for Native students. In fact, Tijerina and Biemer decried the state of financial aid in support of their allegation that Native enrollments have declined (pp. 89-90). They lament the difficulty of assembling the necessary financial aid in times when the cost of attending college increases at twice the annual rate of inflation and a decrease in the availability of BIA grants-in-aid and federal loans occurred in the 1980s (p. 90). Another barrier related to the above, according to Tijerina and Biemer (not to mention thousands of other critics), is that Native students frequently exit high schools unprepared in various ways for college. They are advised against higher education by high school counselors, have few suitable role-models, and little access to career counseling.

Higher admission standards, a solution to unpreparedness initiated by many institutions in recent years is the *coup de grace*, even though the purported reason for this action is to put secondary schools on notice that they no longer will accept unprepared students. In testimony given at the INAR Plains Regional Public Hearing, (Oklahoma City, September 17-18, 1990), Barbara Hobson, after listing areas of improvement in Native college student attendance, likened the new higher standards for admission to a "dark cloud hanging over us" and also was critical of the current status of financial aid. Tijerina and Biemer say that Native students have become the victims of this solution if, because of the poor quality of their high schools, they do not qualify for college admission.

Further evidence of admission standards providing hindrances to the development of minority teachers was reported by Case, *et.al.* They surveyed 73 of the 108 members of the Association of Colleges and Schools of Education in State Universities and Land Grant Colleges and Affiliated Private Universities and found that 38 percent of these institutions said their criteria for admission into teacher education hindered minority enrollment. The same percentage did not agree, but 24 percent either were unsure of the effects or did not respond because of a lack of information. Nevertheless, the percentage of institutions documented as having admissions criteria that inhibit minority enrollment certainly is a cause for great concern. Increasing this concern is the fact that the colleges of education responding to this survey reported similar criteria for entry into teacher education programs, a phenomenon which might suggest that the arbitrariness of admission standards are keeping many Natives and other minorities from becoming teachers.

Finally, admissions tests such as the ACT and SAT are among the measures used by institutions of higher education to determine eligibility for entry. The ACT probably is used most frequently by institutions enrolling most Native students in the United States and it was found by Suina, in a 1987 study, that scores on this test are not valid predictors of persistence for this population (p. 127). Although it is understood that most institutions will deny the importance of the ACT (or SAT) alone in making an admissions decision, it is clear that it remains a strong factor.

Middleton, *et.al.*, echo the importance of role-models in their model for planning, implementing, and maintaining an institutional effort to recruit and retain minority students in teacher education programs (*Journal of Teacher Education*, 1988, p. 14). The need for role-models was given as a part of their rationale for recruiting minority teachers into teacher education. Another reason given for minority recruitment is their prediction of an impending shortage of qualified teachers. Unfortunately, one of the reasons given for the impending shortage, comparatively low salaries, is probably a popular reason for not entering into teacher education. Regarding the choice of teaching as a profession, it was stated at the INAR/National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) Joint Issue Sessions at the 1990 National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Conference that "competition between college majors means that many students are choosing to pursue professions other than teaching because teachers are paid less and have less stature in society" (INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions, Teacher and Administrator Training, Recruitment and Retention, San Diego, p. 1). Data made available by the American Council on Education confirm this by showing that there were more than 39 percent fewer bachelor's degrees in education awarded in 1987 than in 1976. In addition, Case, *et.al.* (p. 57), suggest that although higher admissions requirements, alienation, and poor recruitment and retention procedures all contribute to the decline in minority enrollments in teacher education, another reality is that talented minorities, who once had few options, now are opting for careers offering greater opportunities in salary and advancement.

The preceding appears to be representative of the professional literature regarding the barriers to minority teacher and administrator recruitment and, as well, the thoughts expressed by Native people who addressed similar topics during the hearings conducted by members of the INAR Task Force at various sites. It is clear that the barriers to be overcome are both institutional and human in nature, and special tactics are necessary to attack them successfully. The following provides us with examples of some of the ways certain institutions addressed the problem on their campuses.

Establishment of Recruiting Programs

Obviously, there are many views regarding the most appropriate strategies to improve the status of minority enrollment in teacher education. Even if the question is not verbalized, individuals involved in minority student recruitment find themselves wondering if there is one best way to get the job done, and everyone who has been successful can recite the things they do that they think have caused their success. However, it appears that there is one recommendation that seems to be agreed upon by nearly all who have written about recruitment programs. That constant is planning and the first step in this process used by most is an evaluation of the status quo.

Oliver and Brown describe their tasks in this regard as:

> (a) gathering information on the extent, degree, and urgency of the problem; (b) assessing the institutions readiness for action; (c) identifying the setting and structure appropriate for the initiation of action; and (d) evaluating the resources (actual and poten-

> tial) available for recruitment and retention purposes. (p. 44)

In addition, they consider it necessary to obtain the perceptions of minority students, university personnel, and community leaders as a means of assessing the institution's record with regard to service to minorities. This is considered important so as to not overlook a possible need to mend fences in their own community before reaching out to others. If the institution has suffered negative impressions in its recent past, it would be advisable to take actions to counteract these perceptions. They suggest four activities for this purpose.

> 1. Determine the target population's social network, paying particular attention to cross linkages. Work through actors that are strategically located at critical junctures and seek their assistance as mediators of past negative contacts.
>
> 2. Increase the institution's visibility by frequenting minority social and cultural events. Seize opportunities to show the institution's support of events and issues that have an impact on the lives of the target population such as (a) purchasing corporate memberships (in minority associations)...., (b) operating booths at minority cultural events, and (c) openly endorsing and requesting that minority groups use campus facilities for their educational and cultural forums.
>
> 3. Actively recruit highly visible minority members who might be interested in attending the university. If such persons are recruited, they serve as a magnet for other minorities.
>
> 4. Aggressively hire minority graduates, and use the university's influence to assist minority alumni in developing their careers. (p. 44)

Varhely and Applewhite-Lozano report on a plan developed at their institution that "began with a philosophical commitment to the belief that cultural and racial differences are valuable dimensions of personality and that the presence of these diversities enhances and enriches the total university community" (*Journal of College Student Personnel*, 1985, p. 77). Their plan is said to have used a systems approach and began with an evaluation of the following areas:

- Philosophy of the institution regarding cultural and racial differences.
- Attitudes of staff, faculty, and administration toward students from ethnic minority groups.
- Geographic areas that have high concentrations of minority group populations.
- Needs of potential students in these areas.
- Existing services and programs for students from minority groups.
- Resources available but not used. (p. 77)

Middleton, *et.al.*, devised a minority recruitment plan that also uses a systems approach and contains eight functions beginning with an analysis of teacher education program systems (p. 15). The beginning analysis, as with the other seven functions, is divided into several sub-activities which may or may not be used by other institutions depending on their need and complexity. The analysis of the existing teacher education program systems includes a documentation of the need, a description of the program's structure (including, but not limited to, entry and certification requirements, course structure, faculty, etc.), the organization and analysis of existing data on recruitment and retention, faculty composition, a description of multi-cultural curriculum issues, an analysis of graduate employment patterns, development of an understanding of any possible legal issues, the identification of differential enrollment patterns under different curriculum alternatives, a description of student support services, and a description of potential influences on minority applicants (p. 15). Data collected and understood in this first function are expected to provide guidance for the other functions of this recruitment and retention model.

Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis also began with an evaluation of their status quo, the results of which were reported in the section on Barriers and Decline. Their findings defined what they perceived to be the shortcomings of their institution regarding their efforts to attract minority candidates. Although, it is clear that the results were institution specific, the lack of more comprehensive data seems to indicate that the method of review lacked the rigor suggested by the two evaluation methods described above.

The results of the institutional studies were intended to guide the further development of the recruitment programs. In the case of Oliver and Brown, a set of principles emerged, although it is not clear whether they followed the evaluation or vice-versa. In any event, they provide a list of six principles (p. 42) which they suggest should guide the development of their minority recruitment program. These principles are summarized as follows:

- The university's majority population must assume visible and active roles.
- The activities should not be solely based nor disproportionately dependent on active minority participation.

- The program should be designed to develop and facilitate linkages within and between the social networks used by campus minorities.
- The program should include diverse activities such as academic forums, mentoring, and ethnic entertainment events.
- The program should include active service components, especially services that relate to personal needs which demonstrate caring. They suggest that minority recruitment be viewed as a service delivery problem.
- Recognize that success in this endeavor is related directly to systematic planning and that the goal should reach beyond recruitment to retention (pp. 42-43).

These principles are considered to be a first step in the development of a recruiting program and are intended to serve as decision-making guidelines. The first two principles deal with an issue sensitive to university minority advocates and those who rule the status quo. Although the minority advocates may be seeking the involvement of the majority population, the university's representatives of that group may not realize their participation is desired. The involvement of the majority is desirable because it demonstrates commitment on the part of the institution as a whole but it also means that minority faculty are not compelled to forsake their scholarly responsibilities, required to achieve rank and tenure, in order to spend all their time promoting opportunities for other minorities. In any case, equality of opportunity on American campuses is not merely a minority responsibility; it is first and foremost an institutional one.

The creation of linkages recognizes the potential for a lack of communication among existing service units on campuses and can provide assurances that students who may require a variety of services are accommodated appropriately. Diverse activities refer to the promotion of events and conditions which might be used to attract allies within the institution as well as potential students. These events and conditions, which may range from luncheons, to assigning mentors, to academic forums, should be used as opportunities for developing interactive relationships among university personnel, the target populations, and their supportive networks (p. 43). Finally, conceptualizing the program as a service delivery problem and establishing comprehensive goals that reach beyond recruiting to retention will enhance the chances for success, according to Oliver and Brown.

Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis discuss what they call six action steps for attracting minority students to their campus. Their action steps consist of:

- The establishment of goals.
- Increasing the percentage of *specially* admitted first-time freshmen by five percent with the requirement that at least half the total admitted in this category be minorities.
- Increasing the admissions staff by giving released time to faculty, staff, and administrators.
- Seeking state support for merit scholarships for minority students.
- Increasing the frequency of community contacts through school visits and direct mail.
- Visits by minority students for special events.
- Creating communications among various offices, groups, and service units.
- Establishing bridge programs with local school districts.

These action steps are intended for a specific institution but obviously can provide guidance for others as well. They have certain similarities with the Oliver and Brown principles especially in terms of creating linkages and communications among relevant campus groups and the promotion of diverse activities and special events as a means of providing opportunities for interaction between the prospective students and the university community. These socially related exercises take on added importance due to the finding by Loo and Rolison (1986) that although majority student attrition is caused largely by academic factors, minority student attrition is caused by both academic factors and sociocultural alienation. Finally, the establishment of goals is an obvious step but necessary to list and publicize so as to enable the creation of a common purpose among all involved.

The model described by Middleton, *et.al.*, followed the analysis of the teacher education program systems with a function requiring the specification of goals for minority participation in their teacher education programs. Their goals were to be based upon the results of the analyses performed in the first function as described earlier. Basically, the goals and objectives would specify the target population, access various aspects of the local community for their participation in planning, establish the degree of participation by professional organizations and existing faculty, and improve levels of understanding regarding multicultural issues within the existing program (p. 15). They suggest that this function will be most successful if a wide variety of community groups become involved.

Phase two according to Oliver and Brown should consist of building a support structure consisting of linkages and those who can encourage the development of policies that establish firm commitments on the part of the institution. They apparently are insisting that the commitment to recruit and retain minority students must be institutional and not fragmented within the university among only those who most obviously are the stakeholders. Phase three of the Oliver and Brown plan involves goal setting but also includes the definition of tasks, the building of a structure, and the collection of resources. The authors suggest that, as a means of avoiding the inadvertent imposition of solutions, multiple goals with multiple strategies for accomplishing them should be defined. They would use the principles described earlier to guide this process.

The Middleton, *et.al.*, model engages community involvement in function three and develops their comprehensive plan in function four. Like Oliver and Brown's phase two, function three involves the creation of linkages with various influential individuals as well as community, civic, public, and working groups. And, like phase three, function four builds an organizational structure providing task definition, roles for participating institutions and individuals including staff, performance criteria, a curriculum plan and a monitoring instrument. Function five continues in development of the structure and includes staff training and the specification of physical arrangements. Operation of the plan begins in function six, and evaluation of the program begins immediately in function seven and is ongoing regarding constant data collection and analysis. Ongoing process evaluation enables officials to make midstream adjustments when they are deemed necessary (pp. 15-16).

The implementation and evaluation of Oliver and Brown's model occurs in their phase four and is defined as consisting of eight components. They are:

- Institutional input.
- Change agent.
- Mode of linkage.
- Location and setting.
- Target population.
- Program outcomes.
- Evaluation.
- Feedback.

Institutional input includes all the physical technological resources available and the human values as represented by the ideological commitments made to the recruitment program. The change agents are the individuals who are responsible for creating the linkages with the target population, and the mode of linkage refers to the medium used for these contacts. The location and setting of the recruiting and retention activity is considered to be important to its success. The selection of the target community is a process which must be considered seriously, according to the authors and consists of decisions related to what parts of the minority community should be given the most consideration. The final three components apparently are related although this is not made explicit in the article. Program outcomes are evaluated, and the results of this evaluation are turned back into the organization presumably to the improvement of the operation. Each of the components are presumed to be so interrelated that any change in one will precipitate a change in all the others. However, if this is indeed the intention, the relationships are vague at best.

The Varhely and Applewhite-Lozano model does not describe a planning or organizational function. Instead, it relies upon a vague reference to the notion that the plan is based on systems theory (p. 77). This description of a minority student recruitment model moves from the initial evaluation stage to the implementation stage, where the introduction suggests the establishment of a coordinating council for the purpose of ensuring implementation of programs and awareness of their impact on various aspects of the university. Eventually, the authors say that the council will act as overseer, troubleshooter, and moderator to assure the operation of what they refer to as an interaction-feedback process. Varhely and Applewhite-Lozano then list five programs and activities that *could* be included. The five are similar to those already mentioned, such as high school visits, establishment of access to community networks, creation of admission incentives (non-financial), creation of support groups, and education of the student body (pp. 77-78).

Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis defined efforts that resulted from planning on their campus as being concentrated in two areas: more personal contact with clientele and carefully coordinated follow-up activities (p. 4). The personal contact category was divided into two groups consisting of those called decision-makers and those called influencers. The decision-makers are the potential students and their parents, and the influencers include current students, school counselors, and community leaders. Personal contacts with each of these actors as individuals and groups were believed to be critical with regard to influencing the decision to be made for college attendance. Follow-up included a variety of activities which seem to have been designed to demonstrate interest on the part of the institution. These activities were interviews, visits to high schools, workshops, special attention to incomplete applications, and other events and activities designed to focus attention on minority student applicants.

There are many similarities in the descriptions of what has been done or has been proposed in the name of minority recruitment. There also are specific suggestions made and included in models for recruitment but not highlighted. For example, Hanes and Hanes (1986-87, in Middleton, *et.al.*), suggest concentrating efforts on those individuals who show interest in becoming teachers, a thought which seems to be a statement of the obvious. However, focusing attention on those who already are considering education as a professional career will enable the institution to highlight the positive aspects of teaching and helping the potential students to maintain their interest. Middleton and his colleagues have suggested that the current status of inadequate numbers of minorities in professional education must be recognized as a complex problem and potential students must be sought out several years before they actually are ready to enroll in higher education. Early contact is defined by Witty (in Case, *et.al.*) as being the seventh grade and by the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma as being the junior high school years. Consequently, it is suggested that the early creation of interest and the focusing of attention on those who have developed that interest is a procedure that holds considerable promise for future recruitment.

Other suggestions given to Middleton, *et.al.*, include closer collaboration between institutions of higher education and elementary and secondary schools, an idea also endorsed by Case and his colleagues (p. 56) and Dorsey-Gaines and Lewis (p. 4). Other suggestions include more scholarship support for minority students, already mentioned as a need by others in this document, the encouragement of mid-career professionals who may be seeking a change, and the creation of programs designed to improve the ability of applicants to score better on admissions tests.

A more straightforward approach was adopted by a midwestern university when it decided to address its situation with minority recruitment. This university instituted a policy that directed:

- The development of differential strategies for the recruitment of minorities.
- The creation of recruitment materials to reflect its diverse population.
- The provision of financial assistance for qualified minorities.
- The encouragement of legislative incentives for minorities to enroll in teacher education.
- The recruitment of minority faculty.
- The creation of a standing committee responsible for the recruitment of minority students and faculty.

Each of the components listed above are self-explanatory or easily interpreted in the present context and represent a rather bureaucratic approach to what should be viewed by now as a complex problem. However, those individuals assigned to carry out the tasks implied by the policy directive may not agree with this straightforward assessment.

Summary

There are many commonalities to be found in the various approaches to minority recruitment described thus far. The extent to which they are capable of overcoming some of the barriers faced by minorities, especially Native people, will be subject to the understanding of individuals who serve the programs and their willingness to learn from the experiences which might be brought to them by their clientele. There are some issues listed in this review that are clear and obvious. One such issue is financial aid. It is unfortunate that one of the most difficult problems continuing to face Native people is the difficulty in acquiring the necessary financial aid to attend school. It was pointed out that tuition has increased twice as fast as inflation, and the availability of federally guaranteed loan funds and BIA grant funds have decreased even as the government has sanctioned more eligibility for their receipt, a situation which will be explained later in this paper.

If anything is made clear in the above, it is that there continue to be many barriers to the enrollment of Native people in teacher and administrator programs. The resulting shortage represents a crisis described by Case, *et.al.*, the EEOC, and Native witnesses that is bad and growing worse. Tijerina and Biemer make the case that, in spite of the recent publication of statistics showing the contrary, Native students actually are losing ground in proportion to the total enrollments in various states of high Native population. Noley's analysis confirmed the great shortage of school administrators and a tribal leader gave a dramatic example of the shortage.

Prominently mentioned as a barrier to the enrollment of Native people and other minorities is the recent movement by many institutions to raise their standards for admission in part as a way of counteracting the effects of poor preparation by sending secondary schools. It also was noted that criteria for admission to teacher education in 38 percent of the schools responding to a survey were judged to have hindered minority enrollment.

In the review of recruiting programs, some constants were found. One of the most prominent of these constants was the recommendation for thorough planning beginning with an honest assessment of the status quo of the institution. Some of the planning models reviewed were quite thorough, in fact, sometimes more thorough than the description of the resulting program. However, it is clear that the programs described placed a high premium on consultation with the affected community and, as well, the establishment of a firm commitment on the part of the institution, its leaders, the institution's community, and the community within which the institution rests. In addition to recognizing a need to recruit students, these programs also saw a need to recruit minority faculty for the purpose of serving as role models and mentors.

Collaboration with local school districts is another strategy which was mentioned prominently, but probably the most important finding by those who developed these programs was the value of personal contacts. This was emphasized by several programs and included contact, not only with the potential students, but with their parents and community leaders as well. Finally, because of the extreme shortage of teachers and the relative unattractiveness of salaries, one of the suggestions which probably has more merit than it might seem is early identification of potential teachers.

This summary was intended to highlight some of the more important issues given in the above review. A discussion of some of these issues will be found in a following section.

Retention

Introduction

The attrition of Native students in American institutions of higher education long has been acknowledged a serious problem even if the knowledge of such mostly has been intuitive. However, the demographics of college attendance by Native students is not a topic of this paper as they will be more completely developed and described in another. Suffice to say it is recognized as a serious problem by most observers. In the previous review of programs of recruitment as described in the literature, most insisted on, or alluded to, the idea that a recruiting program is incomplete if it is not followed closely by a comprehensive program of retention. This section is intended to provide a review of information on the retention of minority students in general and Native students in particular.

Reasons for Leaving

One easily might conclude that since Native people seem to have such a difficult time entering college that once they do matriculate, it would be difficult to make them leave. This is, unfortunately, not the case as has been documented repeatedly, and, in fact, is documented again in a subsequent paper. The reality of this matter is not in question, but that being the case, it is important to attempt to obtain an understanding of the reasons they leave. Billison and Terry have given some general information on this in their article, *A student retention model for higher education*, (*College and University*, 1987, pp. 290-305). The list of reasons they give may provide a partial framework within which one can begin to understand the complexity of the problem. Billison and Terry identify what they call five central problems which influence students to leave college before graduation. They are:

- Difficulty in making the transition into adulthood.
- A lack of good study skills and discipline.
- Inadequate family support.
- Underdeveloped problem-solving skills.
- The inability to link their present academic work to their future career plans.

Coser, in testimony presented at the Plains Regional Hearing of the INAR Task Force (September, 1990) presented a compilation of factors which he believes contributes to the high rate of Native student attrition. His factors were taken from two sources which focused on Native students (Guyette & Heth, 1985; Social Justice in Oklahoma Higher Education, Report 6, Workshop on Native Americans, 1986, pp. 1-50) and another (McNairy, 1989) which focused on *culturally diverse* students. Coser's compilation has been condensed, made into a list, and separated into factors controlled by the institution and those controlled by the individual.

Institutional Factors

- Inadequate availability of financial aid.
- Institutional environments are alienating to Native students with the availability of support groups either limited or nil as are friends or other Native people.
- Professional role models who are identifiable, sensitive, and culturally aware are non-existent or in limited numbers on campuses.
- Student and faculty campus populations generally are ignorant of the cultures and contributions of Native people.
- The advising available is inadequate or inappropriate.

Individual Factors

- Native students sometimes have, or think they have, inadequate math skills and English language speaking and writing skills, a result of inadequate secondary school preparation.
- Health problems, alcohol and/or drug abuse.
- Some Native students lack long-range or career goals contributing to low motivation.
- Jealousy and sibling rivalry may contribute to a lack of family support.
- There seems to be an unrealistic concept of rewards for educated Native people.
- Some students may be unwilling to change perhaps due to a fear that any change might create alienation between them and their relationships at home.

One should note that the five central problems identified by Billison and Terry all are personal, implying there are no institutional problems except those brought by the students. The exhaustive list compiled by Coser and condensed here include both institutionally- and individually-based factors, a difference which appears to be significant. Coser, a respected Native scholar at Oklahoma State University, has demonstrated his comprehensive understanding of the problem in his testimony acknowledging the responsibility of the institution as well as the individual.

Reasons for Staying

Coser's presentation did not only concentrate on reasons for leaving the institution. In addition, within the list he compiled and reported are needs which, presumably, if met, will resolve some of the problems of retention. The first statement of needs is general but the others are more specific.

- There is a need for the adoption of intervention strategies focusing on necessary changes in the mainstream of higher education.
- There is a need for funds to be made available to tribes for pre-college programs such as study and life skills, and orientation to college workshops.
- There is a need for more identifiable as well as culturally aware Native staff and faculty.
- There is a need for a comprehensive mentor program for native undergraduate and graduate students.
- A visible Native alumni association would help provide role models.
- The creation of a Native faculty and staff association also will help provide role models and can assist the institution as it resolves to respond to the Native student crisis at hand.
- Involvement of the administration and governing board as well as official representative faculty organizations will demonstrate institutional commitment.

Similarly, Falk and Aitken (*Journal of American Indian Education*, 1983, pp. 24-31) reported a list of priorities for increasing retention identified by the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe and the University of Minnesota, Duluth. The list provided implies problems contributing to high attrition and suggests if these priorities are met, Native student retention will be improved. The priorities were listed as follows:

- Support of family and Indian community.
- Developmental academic preparation at the university including study skills classes, development of math skills, budgeting skills training, and career information and goals.
- Overt institutional commitment demonstrated by special staffing, student support groups, faculty-staff role models, and the recruitment and retention of Native personnel.

- More complete financial aid including assistance with transportation, clothing, medical expenses, and child care, and
- Personal motivation.

The data which support these conclusions were obtained by interviewing nearly 300 Native students and almost a dozen on-campus educators.

Hetherington and Davis, writing for the *Journal of College Student Personnel* (1984, pp. 551-552), listed factors they believe enabled an increase in retention although no data were given. The goals they established were to:

- Increase accessibility to advising, study areas, computer terminals, and academic tutors.
- Increase faculty-student contact outside of classes.
- Provide selected credit courses within residence halls to increase peer group support.
- Provide non-academic workshops for students' personal, cultural, and social growth.

Consistency regarding the understanding of the problem and the recommended remedies begins to emerge from the above lists leading one to believe there is a certain amount of agreement. These common themes are not confined to retention but occur in the rhetoric on recruiting as well. The more prominent of these themes, assuming that some of the different statements had the same meaning, e.g., poor discipline and study skills and inadequate preparation, include:

- Inadequate relationships with basic support groups.
- Inadequate and inappropriate advising and counseling especially regarding careers.
- Inadequate secondary school preparation.
- Existence of alienating institutional environments.
- Inadequate financial aid.
- A paucity of culturally sensitive and identifiable role models.

Although the above is a consolidation of the themes which come through most clearly in the literature, one must be careful to not ignore some of the more specific statements. The more specific statements provide details which may or may not be parochial in nature and the statements immediately above are intended to encapsulate the lists already given into a more manageable group of issues. These issues will be discussed in more detail in a later section.

Frameworks for Resolution

Most of those who have written about their efforts to recruit minority students and the needs related to retention also have described their perceptions of activities and structures which they believe will provide opportunities for success. Jeanotte (1981) attempted to determine the difference between those Native students who stayed in college and graduated and those who chose to leave prior to that event. Among many other findings, he found five factors which contributed significantly to Native student graduation. Those he found to be most likely to graduate were those who became involved in:

- Academic and extra-academic activities such as clubs, or other activities supporting student interests.
- Native studies.
- Support services such as tutoring and counseling.
- A campus cultural center.
- Budgeting personal funds with the help of the institution.

In addition, Jeanotte found that the places where students studied contributed significantly to the graduation rate. He identified several key locations which were used by successful students and, as well, places used by unsuccessful students. The successful students studied in places like the university library, counseling center, their academic departments, and cultural centers, while the unsuccessful students most likely studied in their homes or public places such as the student union. Jeanotte found that the institution's cultural center was a strong factor in the lives of the students who graduated but not so in those who dropped out. Suina's 1987 dissertation supported Jeanotte's findings when he concluded that, among other things, the "availability and use of institutional support services influence persistence" in higher education (p. 128).

Fleming (1984) and Thompson and Cimbolic (1978) in Oliver and Brown (1988) suggest that activities to improve retention should focus on five areas including:

- Orientation.
- Sociocultural adjustment to the college environment.
- Financial assistance.
- Support services.

- Outreach.

Oliver and Brown also have listed actions gleaned from the literature which should be taken by an institution as a prelude to or concurrent with the formation of an effective retention plan. Those actions are:

- A lessening of cultural conflict.
- Improvement of ethnic sensitive counseling and career guidance.
- Provide for the presence of role models in the staff, faculty, and administrative ranks.
- The enhancement of peer support among minority students.
- Provide access to placement services that support self-worth and promote personal self-sufficiency.

Billison and Terry (1987) presented a detailed student retention model in their *College and University* article. Their model begins with outreach, recruitment, assessment, and preparation, a strong suggestion that comprehensive planning and preparation for the types of students likely to enroll is necessary. Outreach means contact with high school students on a systematic basis and recruitment means the identification of students with characteristics for success in college and giving them an early commitment for residence hall assignments. Assessment means developing an understanding of the new students' achievement, aptitude, vocational interests, and learning styles as well as identifying higher risk students who need special services or even summer preparation. Preparation includes the development of a summer writing and math or computer science programs for the purpose of remediation or enrichment. The Billison and Terry model continues with a mandatory orientation program that includes a parent/spouse program intended to bolster students' family support. The next part of their model is called integration which includes student participation in improved advisement, core courses in liberal arts, student organizations, mentoring, and the involvement of families in campus events. Assistance with on-campus housing and employment also is a part of this piece of the model. Then, once all these services and functions are in place and serving new students, the institution must take measures to maintain this level of attention. Billison and Terry suggest this be accomplished apparently by improving existing structures and procedures as they suggest nothing new. Finally, these two writers suggest the implementation of a separation program which would include preparation for the world of work. This includes such things as resume preparation, interview techniques, and graduate school advisement among other things.

Realistically, many of the structures suggested in this article already exist on most campuses, even those that continue to have difficulty in improving their minority enrollment. Although most of the ideas listed are likely to be beneficial, it appears other writers advise development of extraordinary methods exhibited only sparingly by this model. One area of attention suggested in this article which will prove useful is institutionalized parent and spouse involvement in the educational process.

Case *et.al.*, say that "special support services and the availability of cultural opportunities were important in the retention of minority students" in teacher education. Gifford (1986) has proposed a comprehensive three-step program to improve the situation (in Case, *et.al.*). These three steps are:

- Early identification of minority students with a commitment to teaching.
- Intensive university and post-graduate training.
- Programs and rewards for outstanding and effective teachers once they are in the classroom.

These steps clearly are much too general as stated, but their implications likely will include many of the specific suggestions already given by others, especially by those testifying at the field hearings. Early identification was mentioned earlier as an important factor, and intensive training obviously is much too broad to offer any help. However, programs and rewards for outstanding and effective teachers do appear to be new and innovative ideas, at least to this point. The questions which remain, however, have to do with how an institution is to train those teachers who some day will be judged as outstanding and effective. This is the subject of the next section.

Training

Introduction

A general belief of Native people and others who have thought about it, is that more Native professionals in school systems would help improve Native student retention. Another general belief is that if there were more Native school administrators, there would be more consideration given to Native cultures, traditions, and languages; more Native teachers would be employed to lead in the development of curriculum materials to meet these challenges. From the present perspective, both these beliefs can be supported as being correct but the problem remains twofold; first, the numbers of Native students in teacher education apparently is declining, and second, colleges of teacher education generally fail to understand the training needs of those who are destined to be teachers of Native children. This section will review certain perspectives on this subject found in the literature.

Views of the Problem

"Regardless of the numbers of Indian teachers that can be counted in Arizona schools attended by Indian students, there are not enough," said Karen Swisher at the INAR Task Force hearing in Phoenix (1990). She goes on to support her statement by making reference to research conducted by her center at Arizona State University eventually concluding, among other things, that the existence of well-trained Native teachers contributes to a community attitude that schools are places of empowerment for *all* individuals, not just the majority.

Flo Wiger, speaking at the Great Lakes Regional hearing in St. Paul, Minnesota, (September, 1990) believes there must be a major restructuring of the entire educational system and made three recommendations including the following focusing on teacher education.

> There must be a major overhaul of the teacher education programs. What is going on in terms of teacher training simply is not appropriate to meet the needs of Indian students in the classroom. We have teachers in the state of Minnesota and ... the bulk of our students are being educated in the public school systems, who have virtually no idea how many reservations exist in this state. They have no idea of any of the population base of the American Indian people. They are, in fact, culturally illiterate when it comes to anything dealing with American Indian students, or in the broader sense, American Indian people.

Swisher and Wiger did not equivocate in their testimonies. Native teachers are needed in schools that serve Native students due to the fact that, even if nothing else mattered, merely their presence will return great dividends for Native children as well as the Native community. In addition, non-Native teachers need to have access to teacher education that more properly will prepare them to serve Native children.

Policy recommendations (p. 28) made by the Education Commission of the States (ECS) stated that "Postsecondary institutions need to develop and improve teacher training to meet the special and unique education needs of Indian students" (1980). Of course, no one would argue that this comment was new when it was written even though it appeared in a now aged report. That same report went on to present a classic truism when it declared,

> Most teacher training programs place little emphasis on working with minority children. These programs, therefore, do not prepare students to teach on or near the reservation. Often they do not require courses on Indian history, culture, and traditions, or on contemporary Indian economic, political, and social issues of relevance and concern to the Indian community for prospective educators (p. 28).

Clearly, these are statements of the obvious to those who have labored long and hard on behalf of education for Native people but it is just as obvious that they must be said loudly and repeatedly. Unfortunately, work such as this produced by the ECS does not enjoy wide circulation especially among those individuals who hold positions of influence in public policy. Another of the ECS reports released at the same time presented results of a survey of Natives and non-Natives that indicated a general belief that colleges and universities should be responsible for issuing teachers sensitive to Native student needs and concerns (Report on Involvement of Federal, State, and Tribal Governments, p. 24).

Views of the Solutions

Pasch, *et.al.*, have listed ten key features of a teacher education program which, if present, should improve the quality of education available for minority teachers (*Urban Education*, pp. 207-218). Pasch's comments appear to be more pertinent to the review of retention programs but are viewed here because they are relevant to a more comprehensive method of viewing teacher education.

The authors of this article reported on a collaboration of effort involving two regional universities, a large state university, a state department of education, one community college, and two independent school districts. The result of their joint effort was the development of a comprehensive view of a teacher education program for minorities. The pertinent features of this view were that:

- Students should receive their education close to their homes.
- Students should receive paid internships during their junior and senior years.

- The institution should create special recruitment, selection, admission, and retention procedures.
- Teacher education programs should be research-based, clinical, and performance oriented.
- Students should collaborate with practicing K-12 educators on field activities.
- Students should be *nested* for support.
- Programs should be developmental and structured with early, frequent, and supervised field experiences.
- Programs should be conceived and implemented collaboratively by higher education and K-12 communities.
- Opportunities for minority and disadvantaged students to enter the teacher education program should be increased.
- Classroom teachers should participate as mentors.

The importance of the points made above cannot be overemphasized, as they outline a comprehensiveness clearly laudable but also imply a control of the teacher candidates that generally would be avoided. Yet, it is clear that the kind of program implied has been successful for Native people and others. Native people, being closely attached not only to their families but also to their cultures and lifestyles, which are not as easily duplicated in an alien setting as those of other Americans, will usually seek to be educated as near to their homes as possible as evidenced by the obvious success of the Indian-controlled community colleges.

A teacher education program that is research-based has a better chance of understanding the environment to which Native teachers will return and where non-Native teachers may choose to go. Clearly, a teacher education program located in a major research institution has an obligation to study all the characteristics of all the populations residing within the state it serves. Unfortunately, it is just as clear that many major state universities, which at least aspire to be major research institutions, have produced nothing with respect to new knowledge regarding the technical needs of teachers who work with Native children. Teacher education institutions in states with the highest Native populations have been tragically remiss in their failure to fulfill their responsibilities in this regard.

Programs should arrange for clinical experiences to be obtained in a tribal environment, if desired by the student, as a means of providing a more specific preparation program for the Native or non-Native candidate and at the same time, provide university service to the Native community. This, in fact, will provide Native students with an opportunity for a clinical experience equal to that a non-Native student receives when she or he chooses to perform an internship in a community similar to the one from which they emerged. If non-Native students most frequently are able to perform as student teachers in practica and internships in friendly and familiar environs, Native teachers should have the same opportunity.

Most of the other points are self-explanatory or will be discussed in a later section. However, the reader may not be familiar with the reference to the *nested* concept. This concept defines a program where students are brought into an institution as a group (although perhaps not all at the same time) and are exposed to services designed especially for them in addition to, and sometimes duplicating, those regularly available. Although their programs of study likely are individual, they experience certain activities in common as a means of reinforcing the group feeling. In brief, the nested concept increases the likelihood that students will feel as though they have entered a warm and accepting climate. Suina (1987) found that those involved in a specially designed program are more likely to persist than those who are not involved in such programs. The American Indian Leadership Program (AILP) at The Pennsylvania State University (PSU) has provided twenty years of testimony to this notion with its outstanding record of graduates at the master's and doctoral levels.

Hornett also has given suggestions which will aid in the success of Native students in teacher education. Her article in the *Journal of Indian Education* (1989), strongly implies that college of education faculty should seek out methods by which they might better assist the potential Native teacher become a better student and eventually a better graduate. She suggests the following as ways in which faculty may establish mutually rewarding relationships with Native students.

- Faculty should understand and attempt to deal with racism.
- Faculty should learn to recognize non-traditional leadership skills.
- Faculty and advisers should recognize the need students have for a strong support person.
- Faculty should recognize and communicate the need for long- and short-range goals and objectives.

- Faculty should recognize the student need for understanding self.
- Faculty should recognize the student need for a positive self-concept.

The above appears to place focus on objectives peripheral to the specific issues of teacher education which include curriculum and teaching methodology. In fact, some readers may argue that these are concerns which are manifest in teacher education and college of education faculty and need no additional focus as they represent knowledge already present. However, without condemning all colleges of education, these objectives clearly should be pursued. Understanding that needs exist and may be resolved differently or that they have different root causes and varying degrees of urgency is a strong beginning. Colleges of education should exhibit recognition that the cultures represented by their students are significant to them and the communities to which they likely will return. The task for universities is to acknowledge all these differences and make room for them within the conceptual makeup of teacher education.

Discussion of the Issues and the Status Quo

Recruiting

Focus on Undergraduates

Recruiting programs for undergraduate students for admission to colleges and universities appear, on the surface, to be highly targeted but in the end usually are merely activities which duplicate methods traditionally used for the recruitment of all students. Although institutions may tend to hire Native professionals for positions focusing on Native student recruitment, in general, the efforts rendered are not specialized to any great degree. For example, Native staff may be encouraged to attend career days or other programs where the conventional wisdom directs them but otherwise do not demonstrate innovativeness in the search for Native students. These programs use the same technology for the recruiting of Native students as they do for non-Natives. Some programs are general and recruit Native students for any academic area. Others target their efforts to recruit students for specific areas such as the sciences and engineering. There are aggressive programs of recruitment, such as one at Cornell University, that make large commitments of time and staff to meet their goals, and there are those with little money to recruit who still seem to enjoy success.

The American Indian Program (AIP) at Cornell claims credit for increasing the Native enrollment by more than 300 percent during the last ten years. According to program documents, the Native student graduation rate is 80 percent compared to a nation-wide rate of 25 percent (American Indian Program document, n.d., Cornell). Additionally, the staff serving Cornell's Native students doubled in size during the same time frame. Cornell's apparent progress in Native student enrollment, retention and graduation suggests they have, somehow, overcome the problems other institutions continue to face. However, one must be cautious in making such an assessment due to the fact that Cornell's admissions criteria already were stringent, and they obviously attract a special kind of student. Nevertheless, the critical accomplishment is graduation, and if the published figures are correct, Cornell is doing quite well on behalf of Native students.

The issues an institution must address if it hopes to succeed at the same level as Cornell seem to have emerged clearly from the literature. They were addressed in terms of barriers in most cases but none seemed to be insurmountable. The barriers that were most prominent in the review of literature were:

- Insufficient financial aid.
- Alienation.
- Few identifiable role models.
- Higher admissions requirements.
- Inadequate secondary school preparation.

Financial aid continues to head the list of barriers to college attendance as it has for many years. This is confounding due to the fact that it is believed popularly that Native students need only apply to their tribe or the BIA for funds to attend college. Obviously this is not true and Native students must, like all other American students, submit applications for financial aid and await judgements of eligibility. Tijerina and Biemer have made the case that tribal or BIA assistance in the form of a grant-in-aid program that has been available since 1957 has not adequately kept pace with the demands being made by the rising cost of a college education. And, the situation is made worse by the increase of eligibility for receipt of this grant.

The United States Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled in 1986 (*Zarr v. Barlow*) that the one-fourth degree blood requirement used by the BIA for various programs since the passage of an appropriations act in 1918 (25 USC 297) was archaic in view of more recent congressional actions. This, of course, was notwithstanding the fact that this decision applied only to the higher education grants program and other BIA programs continue to use the blood quantum requirement. The net effect of this decision for some tribes was to perhaps triple the number of people eligible to receive these grants although no new money was allowed to help meet the increased need. Another result of the failure of the BIA leadership to protect the interests of Native people in this regard is that those people who are most in need and perhaps most closely in touch with the language and culture of Native tribes in the United States, will most likely be those left waiting, while those otherwise unidentifiable as Native people are awarded the bulk of the available funds.

Social alienation on university campuses appears at first to be a personal matter. However, in spite of the fact that America's Native people are increasingly urban, they still are tribal and retain allegiance to their heritage regardless of their place of residence. This means that they still may enter a university campus seeking comfort and satisfaction with their surroundings but be unable to find it on the same level as non-Natives due to the absence of a critical mass of individuals with similar interests and/or backgrounds. They must confront a subtle racism in certain instances and be stereotyped in others. Most non-Natives can find their own groups on campus, and sometimes Native people find those same groups. However, the diversity on America's university campuses demands equal time for the different groups who desire only that their social needs be met on the same basis as others. That this is an important issue is quite clear.

The notion that identifiable role models are useful in the struggle to serve Native students better is an idea which has been around for many years. And, generally the response of institutions that are the worst behaved in this regard is the same. "None qualified applied" was the most frequent response to a question put to school superintendents who were asked why no or few Native faculty were present in their schools in the study done by Noley in 1983. The university level corollary to that is, "we were unable to recruit one." This is a problem that will not go away, and with more and more Native people completing the Ph.D. or equivalent, this excuse, already growing thin, will grow thinner. Ninety-three Native scholars completed a doctorate in 1988, the last year in which figures are available according to the American Council on Education, and while this may not be impressive to others, it represents a one-year five percent growth for Native people. In any event, that universities have a great responsibility to seek out and employ Native people is clear, not just for the purpose of providing role models for students but mostly for the added dimension they can bring to institutions of higher education, especially in education and the social sciences.

That higher admissions standards have become an issue in these days is an indication that a battle is never completely finished. During the early seventies, when institutions discovered they should extend university opportunities to minorities, some initiated what they referred to as *open enrollment* policies. In doing so, these institutions were compelled to design remedial coursework in order to assist some students who were underqualified to survive. Obviously, one would not have expected *all* of those students who were admitted under these circumstances to survive to graduation. But, some of them did. They graduated from an institution that gave them an opportunity that otherwise might have been too elusive to capture. Those who graduated made good the decision to take chances on certain students. Unfortunately, the segment of society who would compound the injury done to students who have been forced to attend substandard elementary and secondary schools seem to have prevailed. They have never learned that when institutions opened their doors to students they knew would require extra help that they were not lowering their instructional standards. This means that while standards for admissions were opened, standards for graduation remained the same. One cannot find evidence in the literature that instructional standards or requirements for graduation were lowered. Unfortunately, even some of the small regional state universities now are seeking to raise their admission requirements when they would be better served by improving their standards for instruction and the performance of research that will improve their understanding of the communities to which their graduates go to teach. Consequently, the issue for the nineties in this regard is the need to strengthen and expand the instructional programs of our great universities so that they again will feel compelled to help succeed in college those failed by secondary schools.

It is clear that there are some vitally important points to understand when it comes to recruiting Native students. Case, *et. al.*, found that college recruiters most frequently cited college fairs (85 percent), direct mailings (68 percent), contacts with high school counselors (70 percent), explanation of support services (63 percent), and telephone contacts (51 percent), when asked about the strategies used to recruit students for their institutions. The most effective method, however, according to these recruiters was found to be individual personal contacts. Similarly, the key to a successful Native student recruiting program is personal contact. This will hold true whether the student is a graduate student or an undergraduate. This is, of course, not to say that the other methods mentioned in the previous discussions are not useful. However, if a college or university recruiter is interested in Native students, she or he should strive to meet them in person at least once and follow up on that meeting with telephone calls and regular mailings of institutional literature. Bringing potential students to the campus and orienting them to the facilities, activities, and persons who can help them with admissions, scholarships, and other aspects of their interest will show the students that the institution truly is interested. The parents cannot be ignored either. They will be worried about finances, environment, the quality of the institution, and the distance between the university and home.

A university wishing to improve its Native student enrollment must insist that its staff seek to create personal relationships with the potential students and go beyond the method of relying on the school counselor for the identification of college bound students. While school counselors may be helpful, it is likely that they will have preconceived notions of which students are college-bound and may overlook others who may not be quite as obvious. Students will help identify other students and soon will create a pool which might appear quite different than the one given by official sources.

Tribal organizations should be drawn into the process as well. Some tribes host ceremonies honoring their high school graduates, in addition to the graduation ceremony, as a means of giving them encouragement and praising them for their achievement. Tribes may also be encouraged to host other activities which may more likely bring out Native parents and the potential college students. The Cherokee Nation, for example, sponsored a parent/student financial aid information night for the first time in 1990. The night was an overwhelming success as the financial aid representatives brought from four institutions of higher education were inundated with questions about the forms, their submission, and what their expectations should be regarding financial aid. The night was designed to provide answers to questions about financial aid that usually go unanswered. The most important commodity given that night was confidence that the sometimes confusing array of application forms was negotiable and could be submitted correctly and in a timely fashion. The higher education staff also used the evening as an opportunity to use their computer equipment to help individuals search out career information and scholarship opportunities that might accompany them. This type of activity is the tribal version of face-to-face recruiting and is important because Native parents and their children who aspire to higher education sometimes will be more comfortable going to a tribal meeting environment than to a university campus to learn about their options. They will be most likely to ask questions in this setting and will have more confidence in the answers.

Finally, inadequate secondary school preparation is a serious and obviously complex problem. Arguably, the problem is worse in areas of high population of Native people than in the mainstream of American education. The complexity of the problem is compounded in some areas by the continuing presence of prejudice and/or benign neglect on the part of the schools, their boards of education, and their administrators and teachers. Low expectations of Native students result in low self-concepts and enable the continued repetition of the self-fulfilling prophecy. High drop-out rates are only a part of the pattern of despair to which schools poorly prepared to serve Native children contribute. Colleges of education that have conducted the research enabling them to have a better understanding of the conditions of education faced by Native people will be better prepared to train the teachers destined to serve them.

However, to consider the quality of secondary schools to be the crux of the problem would be naive. It is much more comprehensive. It appears to be true that the problem is not limited to secondary schools or even elementary schools. A growing number of Native educators are convinced that the answer to this problem extends all the way back to the early childhood years, even before Head Start. Because of the negative influences of the poverty conditions that afflict such large populations of Native people and because the most helpless of the victims of these conditions are the new born children to perhaps those three years of age, the educational institution has a responsibility to extend its influence even to the crib. Mothers must be taught properly to care for their children in many cases, and part of that care should be the creation of a learning environment. A healthy learning environment for infants will begin with the provision of a sense of security, gentleness, and happiness and extend through enhanced sensory development using toys and manipulatives already available and common in many, perhaps most, homes. The early continuation of this process, using methods similar to those found in Montessori schools, with a healthy balance between social and academic development will improve on the changes already evident in those children who have been fortunate to have had exposure to well-designed Head Start programs. Confidence building at an early age will pay great dividends for future educational performance. Early childhood education at an earlier age is the hope for a future of success in secondary schools and beyond for Native people.

Focus on Graduate Students

Graduate student recruitment ranges from the general, as exemplified by the Minority Student Locator, a publication made available by the Graduate Record Examination Board, to the specific, as exemplified by the American Indian Leadership Program at The Pennsylvania State University and other similar programs which search out students for specific academic programs. Efforts of universities to identify potential high quality minority graduate students usually include subscribing to the Minority Student Locator, perhaps, in addition to other things. Unfortunately, Native students frequently do not take advantage of the opportunity to present their credentials and desires to this important service.

The issues surrounding the recruitment of Native graduate students will vary only slightly from the discussion immediately above. Financial aid, it may be argued, is even more important to graduate students given that they are older and many times have families to support during the time they are engaged full time in graduate study. Acknowledging the fact that many undergraduates also are older than the generally understood norm for college students, nearly all the graduate students will have financial responsibilities beyond themselves. In fact, by the mid-eighties The Pennsylvania State University had more than fifteen years of experience with its American Indian Leadership Program and was able to characterize its Native students as married with two children and approximately five years of professional experience in education. Because these individuals already were accustomed to earning salaries and, perhaps, had accumulated some debt requiring regular payments, adequate financial aid was vital. Although those students understood they and their families would be forced to make some sacrifices, it obviously would be natural to attempt to keep them to a minimum so each of them worked hard to maximize their scholarship assistance.

Unfortunately, adequate financial assistance for graduate students is difficult to obtain, more so than aid for undergraduates. Even more unfortunate is the position held by some influential leaders, that graduate education is a low priority for Native people. A position like that could not be more wrongheaded but, in some cases, it has resulted in graduate education being placed in a lower priority category for tribal funds which might be available for college attendance.

A real and most important issue is the need for the commitment of substantial amounts of funds to be available to meet the financial aid demands of the advanced degree seeking educators necessary to fill the void currently existing in the schools Native children attend. The National Center for Education Statistics (1990) reported recently that 821 Native administrators were serving in American public schools. The extent to which these administrators were serving in schools with significant numbers of Native children is unknown but Noley's 1983 study (p. 9) estimated 662 Native administrators were serving in those schools. If both numbers are correct, there has been a 24 percent increase in only five years which could be attributable to the funded administrator education programs such as those at Harvard University and The Pennsylvania State University. However, Noley estimated in 1983 that the actual need at that time was 1523, nearly twice the number presently estimated to be in the field. Given that the need certainly has increased, one must question whether any progress at all was made during the five year period. It clearly will take a massive effort to bring the number of Native school administrators to parity with their non-Native counterparts.

Minority Teacher Recruitment

Native teachers, according to the EEOC reports, somehow do not seem to find themselves in teaching positions to the extent that they should. Some of the reasons given for this in recent times include low pay, discriminatory hiring practices, and the unwillingness or inability of the teacher to go where positions are available. As indicated earlier in this paper, more Native administrators serving in schools with substantial numbers of Native children will assist in the employment of Native teachers. However, other strategies must also be utilized as well.

The issues involved here are not as easily isolated as they are in other areas of this paper's concern. Certain teachers are in sufficient demand that those who possess the appropriate credentials need only decide where they would rather live and work. Science and mathematics teachers are in demand at the present time with some school districts offering premium pay for those areas. In fact, the offering of premium salaries for these teaching areas probably is necessary these days due to the opportunities available to these teachers in other fields of endeavor. School districts with a significant population of Native children but few or no Native teachers must persist in their efforts by thinking of this shortage in the same way they think about the shortage of teachers in the technical fields. They must offer premium salaries, if necessary, to fill a void in their school which cannot be addressed in any other way.

School districts also can think in terms of nurturing their own Native teachers, especially where they employ teacher aides for Indian Education Act (IEA) or Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) programs. Schools can provide financial aid to their teacher aides encouraging them even to the extent of promising employment as teachers upon completion of the degree program. Students themselves can be encouraged in keeping with the advice given earlier in this paper regarding early identification. In fact, the Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania Board of Education initiated a program making precisely this promise (Nicklos & Brown, 1989). They guaranteed a teaching position for any Pittsburgh Public School graduate who obtained a bachelors degree and teacher certification. Future teachers' clubs were organized, and teachers themselves were asked to help identify those who might prosper as teachers in the future. Events were being planned that would focus further attention on future teachers so that their progress might be monitored and they might be advised on such things as college admission requirements, financial aid, district hiring policies, and salaries.

Universities and tribal organizations also can develop cooperative agreements including the development of training programs and the identification of research needs. This could create a kind of coincidence of interests which could lead to a comprehensive program of research and instruction which not only would provide the institution with a better understanding of tribal educational needs, but it also could result in a structuring of a more relevant teacher education program. The tribe benefits from the association by taking advantage of the university's research services for its own economic and social needs in addition to the development of locally trained teachers for their schools.

An important issue which must be addressed in all parts of the United States has to do with the need for teachers with special talents in Native languages, cultures, arts, and other areas of special instructional services. Although there are many who have skills in these areas which cannot be obtained in colleges and universities, they usually are employed as paraprofessional teachers or aides and therefore do not have the same status as a regularly credentialed teacher. This is a correctable problem. A publication of the Indian Education Act (IEA) Resource and Evaluation Center One suggests that because many IEA projects are staffed with uncertified personnel who usually are classified as paraprofessionals, they frequently are denied the support, professionally and financially, they deserve. The Center One publication is a resource for information on optional credentialing for public school instructional personnel. The credentialing of these teachers by states is an act which provides formal recognition that the talents possessed are important and necessary for the well-rounded school curriculum. This recognition also will aid and abet the notion that classes supporting the culture and language of Native people are vital to the healthy maturation of Native children.

Recruitment of Minority Administrators

Unlike a search for a teacher in a public school where, because of affirmative action programs, a minority teacher can be solicited openly, searches for minority school administrators are more difficult. For example, a public school superintendency rarely would be for a school with a majority of Native students; the best one might expect is a specific invitation for minority applications. The politics of the board of education likely would avoid any implication that a particular minority was preferred or even that a *minority* was preferred due to the risk of violating the civil rights of potential applicants. Even though it is clear that in the past and probably presently as well, qualified Native administrators have not been selected due to the prejudice of board members, preference for Native applicants is not a legal reality except in positions financed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Department of Education, or other federal agencies administering funds designated specifically for Native people.

Clearly, Native administrators are desirable especially for schools with significant numbers of Native children so the only question has to do with how they might be recruited. Arizona State University (ASU) has initiated a program recently which may provide some answers to this dilemma. The program, known as Cadre I, was initiated in the academic year 1989-90 as a means of identifying minority elementary and secondary school faculty and staff with interest in, and high potential for, entry into school administration. Participants are recommended by their principals and superintendents (although this recommendation is not required) and they are given assistance in matriculation by university staff. They are placed in a nested atmosphere although all the special services generally associated with such are not available for these students. All regular student services are, however, available just as they are for other students. Cadre I was 100 percent successful as all received masters degrees in school administration, and most are now continuing to complete the credits necessary to be recommended for certification. This program could be improved if the participating districts would guarantee employment as did the Pittsburgh Public Schools and also by keeping the students nested until certification.

The commitment to employ Native faculty and administrators is a necessary orientation for boards of education. Clearly, there are some individuals serving on boards without this orientation who must be educated and assisted in the development of a more enlightened perspective on the staffing of a school with a diverse population. Without this orientation, school districts will never grow to understand the value of the best possible education for all members of the community. The development of the Native population will continue to be hampered by the inadequacy of a school system that serves only a portion of the community as a whole.

Retention

Every institution of higher education has a responsibility for creating a campus climate that is hospitable to all those who are in attendance. Especially for Native students who may be away from home for the first time, organized social and perhaps, cultural outlets are necessary to help combat loneliness. Jeanotte found that a Native student cultural center on campus was a significant contributor to retention and graduation, so it would make sense to develop these where they do not exist and improve the support of those which do. Clearly, there are needs which can be met by routinely paying attention to practical concerns such as advising, tutoring, counseling and social outlets. However, especially on a large campus, the coordination and integration of all these activities is vital. Some of the services and activities which may be met by tutoring and counseling centers and other support activities may seem to be duplicative of other institutional services, but the literature appears to support the idea that in certain cases this is necessary and not discriminatory, especially when it contributes to the relative comfort students have the right to expect. Social outlets recognizing and utilizing Native customs should become as common, visible, and welcome on campuses as athletic events.

The factors found by Jeanotte, and described earlier as contributing to the success of Native students, were practical and supportive in nature as were those listed by Coser. One of the factors was unique within this review as it had to do with the budgeting of personal funds. Jeanotte found that students with full financial aid sometimes had funds for general support above their actual college costs and intended to meet their personal needs. These funds normally were dispersed on a semiannual basis resulting in poor budgeting and inadequate funds for some students. The institution offered to help those students who needed help in budgeting and established a schedule of three payments per semester. The willingness of the institution to perform this extra task in order to help the students contributed to the maintenance of good institutional relationships with students. In considering this, one should be careful to not stereotype Native students in general as being poor managers of personal resources. The reality is that many Native students are taking responsibility for their own resources for the first time in their lives and do not have the experience others may have in budgeting funds for longer than a few weeks. Assistance such as that given by Jeanotte's institution will contribute to a longer college career for the inexperienced student.

Jeanotte also found that those students who participated most in academic and extra-academic activities, such as organizations that support student interests and needs, were most likely to graduate. Because these interests and needs include studying, it is important to provide comfortable places for such with all the equipment necessary being freely available. This includes computers and other electronic equipment such as provided by the American Indian Leadership Program at The Pennsylvania State University. This being located within or in association with a cultural center, such as at the University of North Dakota, will create a climate conducive to the development and maintenance of a positive attitude for the student.

Advising for Native students was referred to in the literature as a problem which should be addressed. It has been established that many times Native students suffer from inadequate secondary school preparation, yet it is found that rarely do university advisers exhibit any understanding or awareness of this reality. Because of their lack of knowledge or due to their complete insensitivity, they frequently will advise students to fail. They do this by recommending courses for which there has been limited or inadequate preparation, or the uninformed adviser will recommend enrollment in an extremely difficult combination of courses which might be better absorbed by being taken over a period of several semesters. Students who lack comprehension of the rigor of university courses simply assume that the adviser, similar to the physician, is an expert and asks no questions. Eventually these students find themselves struggling but instead of seeking relief through tutoring or the drop-add option, they conceal their problem, perhaps due to embarrassment, until it is too late. The result is a college drop-out that, with better advising, could have been a graduate. And, one should be disabused of the notion that this scenario applies only to the weaker students; it applies to even the strongest.

Institutions must continue to seek ways in which to personalize their relationships with students. When a student withdraws from classes or simply abandons them, perhaps, there should be an acknowledgment of failure on the part of the institution as well as the student. Generally, one assumes that when a student leaves before graduation, the blame for that occurrence is the student's alone. The institution must begin to view its support programs as being insufficient until a much higher percentage of Native students receive their baccalaureate degrees.

Training

Colleges of education are not free to develop their programs on an *ad hoc* basis. They are governed by state regulations as well as standards imposed by professional associations and must conform or face the possibility that their graduates will not be certified or their programs will not be accredited. Realizing this, it appears that institutions, states, and accrediting associations should take it upon themselves to review their strategies for teacher education and make changes where they find that existing standards do not promote cultural pluralism and the resulting implications for classroom teaching and school administration.

Colleges of education, in cooperation with state, tribal and federal governments and, where possible, tribally-controlled colleges, should consider the potential held by two structures for the improved training of Native teachers. One is the creation of nested programs such as the American Indian Leadership Program at The Pennsylvania State University and the Cadre at Arizona State University and the other is the creation of field-based programs with a significant amount of on-campus experiences.

A nested program obviously is residential but should consist of a significant amount of field-based experiences as well. The nested concept has at least five attributes which make it a desirable strategy for expanding the pool of Native teachers and administrators.

- A nested program gives considerable attention to the creation of a group which enables all the members to feel a sense of security, camaraderie, and mission.
- A nested program consisting of a group of individuals creates a need for the college of education to analyze the extent to which it is capable of meeting all the needs of all its students. Program adaptations can result which may be of specific benefit to Native students or for the college as a whole.
- A nested program creates a critical mass of intellectual energy that can cause increased attention to research focusing on Native education.
- A mature nested program, or one old enough to have produced graduates and placed them in the field, develops a tradition that gives sending communities, potential students, and the educational leadership confidence in the institution and receiving employers confidence in the graduates.
- The nested program constantly is concerned with developing improved methods for recruiting, retaining, and training administrators and teachers.

A nested program for teachers and administrators also should include field experiences. Internships should become a requirement for all administrator programs, or the first year of administrator practice should be probationary, supervised by the college of education in cooperation with the school district. Students aspiring to be school administrators are graduate students, most of whom will have had experiences as teachers, so their programs should dwell on research and classroom training. On the other hand, teacher candidates in nested programs should have extensive opportunities for field experiences. A suggestion made earlier in this paper alluding to the use of field-based teacher mentors should be implemented by teacher training programs in both nested and field-based situations. Undergraduate teacher trainees will benefit considerably from ongoing relationships with practicing teachers due to the opportunity for them to act as participant observers of the teaching profession. Teacher trainees in nested programs should take most of their classes on campus although they should not be discouraged from taking courses at tribally-controlled colleges. Finally, nested program participants should receive a stipend to assist with living and travel expenses related to field experiences in addition to basic support.

The field-based program is intended to serve students who are unable to leave home for the time necessary to obtain a bachelor's degree due to family responsibilities but who have much potential as teachers. The field-based concept has at least several attributes which make it useful for Native communities. They are:

- It allows the participation of students who otherwise would be unable to become involved in teacher education.
- It provides extensive experience in classrooms similar to those in which they eventually will supervise.
- It provides teacher candidates with opportunities to create collegial relationships with their mentor teachers at the same time they are enrolled in classes with university theorists leading to a possibly that both mentor and student will grow in their knowledge of the best practice.
- It enables a teacher candidate to earn a salary at the same time they are earning a degree thus reducing the sacrifice usually made in foregone earnings during the years of training.
- It forges a close relationship between the university, the Native community, the tribally-controlled community college, and the local school district.

Generally, the field-based teacher candidate might be characterized as being older and separated from formal education for a longer period of time than the nested program participant. The field-based teacher candidates will take their courses in or near their home communities but will have campus-based advisers and faculty. They will be employed by their local school as aides or interns thus earning a salary at least during their third and fourth undergraduate years but preferably during all the years of undergraduate training. They might be classified as an aid, for example, until they achieve teacher candidate status and then be given more professional responsibilities to justify a higher salary. Classes should be offered in or near their home communities either by university based faculty or tribally-controlled college faculty. Short and intensive summertime campus seminars should be organized for field-based teacher candidates as a means of creating a campus connection that goes beyond faculty traveling to teach classes on site. These candidates might substitute certain field experiences for classroom hours but generally should have the same exposure to theory as the nested program participant.

As should be obvious, I believe tribally-controlled community colleges should be active participants in this enterprise, at least to the extent that field-based students would take their first two years of courses at these institutions. Nested program students also could take their first two years of courses at the community college but should be encouraged to attend the campus of the regional or state university where possible. Cooperation between the community colleges, the teacher training institution, the tribes, and local school districts would necessarily be developed. This is the consortium of the nineties, and we should forge ahead as quickly as possible to begin to make it a reality.

Summary and Conclusions

This paper has focused on the issues surrounding the recruitment, retention, and training of Native college and university students who intend to become professional educators serving schools with significant enrollments of Native students.

This is deemed to be important because the dearth of Native education professionals is perceived to be an important inhibitor of achievement for Indian children. There is no opposition to the argument that the number of Native professionals serving schools Native children attend is embarrassingly low but worse, there appears to be no improvement in view. It even has been suggested that the number of Native students attending colleges and universities actually is *decreasing* in spite of the data which show there presently are more Native students in higher education than ever before in history. The argument is that the Native enrollment is growing smaller as a proportion of the total population of students in the United States. In any case, it is clear and undisputed that there is a great need for far more Native professional educators than presently exist. Testimony to this was given at an INAR Task Force hearing wherein a well-known tribal leader decried the fact that, on his reservation, only ten of 90 professional educator positions were held by Native people.

Many barriers to the matriculation and persistence of Native students on American college and university campuses have been identified. Those which seemed to be the most prominent inhibitors were:

- Insufficient financial aid.
- Alienation.
- Few identifiable role models.
- Higher admission requirements.
- Inadequate secondary school preparation.

Conversely, a condensed group of factors which appear to contribute to persistence are:

- Family and community support.
- Accessibility to good advisement, counseling, study facilities, computer terminals, academic tutors, study skills classes, and other university instigated academic enhancement opportunities.
- Structures which provide for the sociocultural adjustment to the college environment.
- More complete financial assistance including transportation, child care, and budgeting.
- A reduction of cultural conflict on the campus, and
- The presence of identifiable, sensitive, and culturally aware role models.

Universities do not seem to have the same zeal for the recruitment and accommodation of Native students as in past years but there are examples of institutional success on both the undergraduate and graduate levels. These institutions use recruitment and retention methods which may be replicated including personal contact, tribal involvement, and participation by influential officials from the university and the host community. Regarding retention, a culturally sensitive institution will provide an array of support services such as those listed above (some of which may duplicate those already provided on a general basis), and aggressively pursue identifiable and culturally aware faculty and staff. Support services include, but are not limited to those listed above.

To improve on the present record, institutions must develop innovative approaches to teacher and administrator education. Cooperative agreements with tribally-controlled community and four-year colleges can help teacher training institutions reach Native students. A combination of on- and off-campus curriculum activities and research will help create a linkage between the university and the Native community bringing increased understanding to both institutions and enable individuals to become teachers who otherwise would have been unable to do so. Universities must be willing to extend their services beyond the confines of the campuses, as they already do in other ways, and create linkages leading to collaborative approaches to addressing the need to increase the number of Native educators. Nested programs are deemed to be most useful for the training of Native school administrators as attested to by the success of this method in various locations. Yet, administrators too should have exposure during their education to the differing political, economic, and social structures existing in Native communities. Colleges of education also must become less parochial and begin to understand that differences exist in each of these structures making their study essential if the institution is to train administrators who will serve in school systems populated by significant numbers of Native children. For example, differing financial structures include the BIA method of distributing funds to schools it operates directly as well as the tribally-controlled schools, the handling of Indian Education Act entitlement funds, JOM entitlements as well as a variety of other funds passed through the BIA that are intended for the benefit of Native children. In short, the need for colleges of education to initiate research in these areas is essential.

Finally, public schools and institutions of higher education should be innovative in their search for Native faculty and should be willing to pay premium salaries where necessary. It is necessary when a school serves a significant number of Native children and has no Native teachers. Schools also can recruit from the ranks of their own aides, other community members, or even their own students by promising employment upon their receipt of a teaching certificate as demonstrated by one large school district.

Conditions in the education of Native people will improve through both the application of practical solutions and innovative thinking. The more appropriate preparation of more Native teachers and administrators is one of the practical solutions which will contribute to the improvement of education for Native children. This alone will not do the job but the participation of Native people in educational policy making, their involvement in educational planning and development, and their roles in the implementation of educational programs will take the case for improvement to a new and much greater level.

Conclusions

Prior to the initiation of a renewed effort to enhance their service to Native communities and their students, an institution will be well served to engage in an extensive and serious self-assessment of its assets. It should seek to identify its areas of strengths and weaknesses first in terms of the social climate and second in terms of their present capability to serve the needs of the Native communities under terms equal to those under which it serves non-Native communities. With regard to social climate, an institution should seek to review its:

- History of tolerance — to understand the extent to which minority, especially Native, students have been forced to defend their integrity and to what extent, if any, the reputation of the institution was damaged.
- Host community — to determine the extent to which the community within which the institution is housed has a history of tolerance or intolerance toward Native people.
- Student organizations — to understand the extent to which the Native culture is represented fairly and students have equal opportunities to find comfortable and friendly environs.
- List of campus events — to understand the extent to which Native students have the opportunity to engage in activities representative of their culture.
- Programs designed to diminish cultural conflict and celebrate cultural pluralism.
- Record of searching for and employing Native faculty and staff — to understand the extent to which the institution appears committed to serving Native students in ways equal to the ways non-Native students are served.

Although this list is not presumed to be exhaustive regarding social climate, it certainly provides a starting point for an honest analysis of such.

Regarding the institutions ability to serve the needs of Native students and the communities whence they come, the following areas should be investigated:

- Relevance of curricula, especially in the college of education — to determine the extent to which the intellectual capacity of the institution is equal to the demands being placed on it by representatives of diverse cultures.
- Recruitment policies and strategies — to determine the extent to which extraordinary efforts are being made to identify and enroll Native students.
- Admissions policies — to determine the extent to which Native students are being encouraged to enroll or are being excluded due to misguided policies.
- Record of minority, especially Native, graduates — to determine the extent to which Native students who do matriculate persist and the reasons they do or do not.
- Goals for Native student recruitment — to determine the extent to which the expectations for Native student enrollment are realistic, yet aggressive, challenging, and sufficient to contribute to a noticeable improvement in the status of higher education achievement for Native people.
- Relationships with pertinent tribal groups and tribally-controlled community colleges — to determine the extent to which the institution is reaching out to extend its services to a previously underserved portion of the population as a whole.

It is clear that universities must review their assets in the above manner as a means of understanding where they stand and where they must go to do a better job of serving the educational needs of Native people.

Native students choose the universities they attend on the basis of personal knowledge, as do all students, so it stands to reason that the institution that reaches them best will be the one chosen. Some of the best students will seek admission to the *best* schools and they choose these *best* schools on the basis of what they know about them. There is no general agreement regarding a procedure to designate the best, even though rankings occasionally are made, so universities must rely on their reputations and, as a result, they work hard to maximize them. What Native students come to know about the best universities, in addition to the others, may be a result of personal investigations or by virtue of the promotion of these institutions by school counselors, teachers, friends, parents, and others whom they trust. However, the research shows that students respond most to personal contacts from the university (Case, *et.al.*). Personal contacts provide opportunities for questions and answers, exploration of concerns which may emerge from the literature, and for making a personal decision about whether the institution is interested in the person, a warm body, a minority, or a Native student. A university may cooperate with tribes or secondary schools to sponsor trips so potential students might visit their campus and be courted by faculty, current students, university officials and others. Colleges of education ought to be more aggressive and seek to identify secondary school students interested in teaching as a career earlier than their senior year and maintain contact with them through clubs or other instruments of communication.

Tribal organizations should also become involved in the college recruitment process with aggressive programs of information on higher education and frequent personal contact with students even on the elementary school level. For high school juniors and graduating seniors, tribes should provide information about schools, scholarships, careers, and financial aid using the method demonstrated by the Cherokee Nation as described earlier in this paper. Other contacts might be made in a variety of ways but it is critical that they be maintained over a period of years.

Social conditions which contribute to students' feelings of belongingness may appropriately be referred to as a social comfort zone. The creation of a social comfort zone appears to be important in the battle to retain a higher percentage of Native college students. As has been described earlier in this paper, this comfort zone includes such creations as cultural centers, academic support services exclusively for Native students, and social groups that are representative of the cultures brought to campuses by Native students. Institutions of higher education that pay attention to the needs of their Native students on the same basis they do for their other students will stand a better chance of graduating those students. Even though services such as advising, tutoring, counseling and social outlets may seem to be duplicative, the literature appears to support the idea that in certain cases this is necessary and not discriminatory, especially when it contributes to the relative comfort students have the right to expect. Careful attention to the creation of the conditions outlined by several writers on this subject will help universities develop an improved strategy for the retention of Native students. A condensed list of the actions they recommend are as follows:

- Establish measures designed to improve the social climate on campus for Native students.
- Establish the presence of culturally sensitive counseling and advising.
- Provide assurances for adequate financial aid.
- Comprehensive support services.
- Creation of structures for the enhancement of peer support.
- Provide for the presence of role models within staff, faculty, and administrative ranks.
- Create means for the participation of family and the Native community in the support system of the Native student.

Finally, regarding the type of training necessary to increase the number of Native educators in the schools Native children attend, a description of the programs required already has been detailed. They include a combination of nested and field-based training experiences that attempt to accommodate the individual needs of Native collegians while at the same time accounting for the differential training content needs of teachers and administrators who must do a better job of serving Native children. The value of nested programs already has been established and exemplified by various institutions including The Pennsylvania State University and Harvard University for graduate programs, and Cornell University and the University of North Dakota for undergraduate programs. The value of field-based programs also has been demonstrated by various tribal organizations in cooperation with a nearby university. The field-based programs proposed will be similar to, but presently are conceived as being more intensive than, those previously demonstrated.

The cost of these programs could be significant if they are adopted extensively in the states with the greatest number of Native students or by those institutions with the greatest interest. On the other hand, one must ponder the cost we will continue to endure, in both human and capital terms, if we fail to find the resources to perform the tasks implied by all the above.

It is suggested that the cost of all these programs should be shared by all of those entities which will benefit. This includes federal, tribal, and state governments and the institutions themselves. A creative use of existing financial structures may be capable of meeting the requirements although a restructuring of priorities probably would be necessary. However it is obvious that in addition to the restructuring of priorities, an infusion of new funds also will be required. But, it is clear that the benefits of this investment will far outweigh the outlay in the years to come. If change in this regard is not forthcoming, we can expect that existing conditions will become worse as years pass. We can only hope that those with the power to make changes will have an equal amount of courage.

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Continuous Evaluation of Native Education Programs for American Indian and Alaska Native Students

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Introduction

In the book, *Black Elk Speaks*, when Black Elk told John Neidhardt about how the sacred pipe was brought to the Dakotas by White Buffalo Calf woman, he finishes his story by saying "this they tell, and whether it happened so or not I do not know; but if you think about it you can see that it is true."

There are many things that we as Native people see as self-evident. Much of this is gained as cumulative knowledge within a people. However, it is often difficult to convince non-Natives of the truth of such beliefs and perspectives and we Native people end up getting sidetracked from believing into trying to prove that which we believe in. The history of federal education policy is full of examples of changing beliefs about the *best* way to educate American Indian and Alaska Native students. In the early decades of this century, the Progressive education movement's influence led to a federal Native education policy which promoted retention of Native cultures and a multicultural approach to education. This policy was congruent with a view of Native communities and governments as worthy of recognition in their own right. At mid-century, federal education policy had shifted to an assimilationist model and the goal of Native education was to get Native people into the American economic mainstream as quickly as possible. Throughout these shifts, the belief of Native people has been that education should integrate goals of both cultural sustenance and economic self-sufficiency. From a non-Native perspective, however, these goals have been viewed as incompatible. Using the term decentralization to denote efforts to ensure wider representation of and more responsiveness to legitimate interest groups (for our purposes, Native people), Weiler (1990) points out:

> The linkage between culture and learning tends to benefit from a more decentralized, disaggregated notion of learning and educational content...
>
> ...decentralizing the contexts and contents of learning as a means to recognize the diversity and importance of different cultural environments in one society is generally considered meaningful and valid. At the same time, however, it encounters the conflicting claims for a kind of learning that is less geared to the specifics of cultural contexts and more to the national...universalities of dealing with modern systems of technology and communication. (p. 439)

The role that evaluation plays in determining federal education policy is also critical. As Weiler notes:

> [Regarding] the relationship between decentralization and evaluation...I am arguing that this relationship is problematic for three different, but interrelated reasons... These reasons are: (a) modern pluralist societies increasingly face a lack of consensus on the objectives of education and hence on the criteria for evaluating the performance of educational systems; (b) there is...a very close linkage between evaluation and control, which is difficult to reconcile with the basic premises of decentralization; and (c) evaluation tends to be seen and used as a means of compensatory legitimation in its own right, that is, more for its legitimating than for its informative capacity. (p. 442)

For Native people--students, parents, and Elders alike--evaluation studies have become tiresome exercises. Hence the "not another study" syndrome. Evaluation can provide dismal statistics about the failure of Native students to *achieve* as well as non-Native students. Or evaluation can provide information on how American schools fail their Native students. The choice of which evaluation model to use in determining federal education policy today is particularly important since most Native students are enrolled in public schools, which themselves are undergoing critical review and reform.

This paper was developed based on the review of data generated from the Indian Nations At Risk (INAR) Task Force hearings across the country as well as on a literature review focused on evaluation studies either dealing specifically with the education of American Indian and Alaska Native students or which included Native students as part of the sample of students. The INAR hearing record itself is compelling and, as noted in the INAR summary -- *Open Discussion with NACIE and Task Force Members*, "the testimony from Indian people must be heard and taken in all sincerity" (p. 3).

The purpose of this paper is to present and discuss strategies for effective continuous evaluation of the education of Native students. These strategies are intended as plans for systemic reform in order to establish ongoing evaluation systems. As a backdrop to this analysis, we need to first identify the systems responsible for delivery of educational services to Native students. These are:

- The Federal government which is responsible for Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) funded schools through the Department of the Interior, as well as supplemental education programs funded through the Department of Education;
- The state education agencies and local public school districts which now have responsibility for educating the majority of Native students;
- Native governments which may operate their own schools, education programs, and/or tribal colleges; and which also have a responsibility to advocate for their constituents in dealing with other governmental bodies.

A primary task in this paper is to identify issues regarding the evaluation of the education of Native students. The hearing record of the INAR Task Force has noted that while there are various individual data collection/analysis efforts occurring at the national, state, tribal, and local levels, a national database on Native education is sorely lacking and must be established. This paper will also discuss what data and data collection systems do currently exist as well as how state and local education agencies and Native governments might coordinate data collection efforts in order to facilitate development of a national Native education database. When considering such a data base, it is also important that we (1) look at what measures, e.g., standardized test scores, are currently being used to assess Native student achievement (2) determine the appropriateness of these measures; and, if current measures are not appropriate, then (3) suggest potential systemic indicators of performance.

Another task of this paper is to identify the various groups which "have a stake" in the continuous evaluation of Native education. The evaluation needs of these various stakeholders can and do differ. We need to ensure that the data promoted by any evaluation are meaningful to all stakeholders.

Finally, it is important to identify the elements of an evaluation model that would be responsive to the needs seen within Native education. Not all evaluation models contain mechanisms for yielding appropriate, practical and timely information. As witnessed in the INAR hearings, an evaluation model must offer Native people strategic information designed to promote success in education, not to simply document failure.

Furthermore, the evaluation process must allow for participation of the various stakeholder groups. Finally, in recommending how to implement strategies for continuous evaluation of Native education, it is important to state these strategies as practical actions to be taken by each stakeholder group.

This final point regarding practicality is central to our discussion and formulation of evaluation strategies. Whatever policies develop from the INAR report, they must focus on the greater impracticality of keeping Native people undereducated and uninvolved in American's future. As Native peoples, we have much to give this nation in terms of cultural and social benefits.

Evaluation and Federal Education Programs

The role that evaluation plays in regard to federal education policy is an especially pertinent area to review here since much of Native education, as a distinct pedagogy, involves federal funding. This is not to ignore the fact that public schools are the principal providers of educational services to the vast majority of Native students. However, as the testimony throughout the INAR hearings has evidenced, Native parents have very little input into policy matters at the local level although much of what happens regarding Native education is directly related to programmatic policy concerned with federally funded programs, like the Indian Education Act (IEA) formula grant programs, which are administered by public schools.

House (1980) describes how federal educational evaluation policy evolved. In 1965, when Senator

Robert Kennedy pushed for an evaluation proviso to the Title I (compensatory education) program, this requirement was added to ensure that schools use the new federal funds to good advantage and thus, evaluation reporting was meant to assure that schools were responsive to parents' perceptions about what their children needed. Unfortunately, the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, of which Title I was a part, also coincided with the introduction of Planning Programming and Budgeting System (PPBS), a systems analysis mode which had been used extensively in the Pentagon, and was now applied to a wider array of federal programs including education. Thus, while Kennedy's intent was to use evaluation to assure that schools would be *responsive* to poor parents, evaluation as eventually implemented with Title I was used instead as a way to identify the most *efficient* approaches to educating disadvantaged students. Because of the evaluation requirements of the PPBS model, the implementation of Title I became an exercise in "developing programs that could be stated, measured, and evaluated in cost benefit terms" (p. 200). The model assumed that evaluation should be used to logically examine how a set of inputs, e.g. money or instructional strategies, was linked to a set of outputs, e.g. standardized test scores, and that this linkage was for the purpose of defining the most efficient system of education service delivery. In other words, evaluation became viewed solely as a way to measure the production function of these federal education programs.

The results of the first few years of Title I evaluations did not please the federal program staff under the Assistant Secretary for Program Evaluation (ASPE). They felt that the evaluations did not yield any common output measures to facilitate cost-benefit analysis. However, the evaluations, which were conducted locally, were almost all positive. ASPE then commissioned a study for the express purpose of examining what amount of resources yields what quantity of gain in a specific test score. That study, however, did not discover gains in test scores. Feeling that the problem was in the data supplied by the schools, ASPE then embarked on its own data collection and the Title I national surveys were commenced. However, the 1968 national survey showed no gains in test scores and the 1969 survey results were never made public (House, 1980).

ASPE then moved to centralize more control over program inputs and design as well as evaluation. Furthermore, *planned variation*, i.e. the systemic introduction of different input and output measures, were introduced. The Follow Through program was one of the first federal education programs to undergo planned variation and to use other "experimental design" concepts. Specifically, the use of control groups was introduced into the evaluation of the Follow Through program. The only evaluation information ASPE felt was worthy of consideration was that which focused on the production function, and the only evaluation models ASPE felt were worthy of consideration were those that used experimental methods and statistical techniques. The use of sponsors, i.e., specialists with special instructional models, was also introduced to the Follow Through program.

From 1968 through 1977, work on the Follow Through program evaluation continued. The first evaluators, Stanford Research Institute (SRI) initially stated that a broad array of evaluation criteria would be used including, among many other broader social measures, parental involvement/attitudes, comparisons of cognitive and affective development, and responsiveness to low-income children and parents.

Despite SRI's initial statements, however, from 1968-1971, only cognitive tests were administered. Each year, annual Follow Through meetings erupted with protests from community groups and sponsors who were satisfied that the programs were successfully meeting local needs. These protests were directed against the evaluators' bias in looking solely at the production function and the evaluators' use of what community groups and sponsors considered biased indicators. After spending $12 million by 1971, the evaluations had found no positive Follow Through effects. Several ASPE staff resigned, new staff were appointed and a new evaluation directive was initiated.

From 1972-73, while SRI continued the data collection, the Huron Institute was contracted to draw the evaluation sample, Abt Associates was contracted to conduct the data analysis, and a federally appointed panel was given the task of selecting the evaluation instruments. Two cognitive measures, the Metropolitan Achievement Test (MAT) and the Raven's Colored Progressive Matrices test were chosen and, despite the fact that the panel felt that no adequate noncognitive measures existed, two noncognitive tests were chosen for use, namely, the Intellectual Achievement Responsibility Scale and the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory.

The following year, the annual Follow Through meetings again erupted in discord. House (1980) reports that parents, feeling that they had no role in decision-making about the program, wrote:

> We are tired of others deciding when a program is 'not good' or 'good' for us based on

> their concept of 'data' and their concept of what is 'wrong' with our children and what is needed to correct these 'wrongs.' ...The burden of being able to measure the kind of program we want should be that of the experts -- rather than to design a program that they know how to measure. (p. 28)

The sponsors also wrote a document in support of the parents' concerns. Although this flare-up was similar to the previous meeting, the earlier meeting had produced some immediate, if temporary, changes. This time there were no attempts to address the criticisms. The national evaluation of federal education programs was by now completely isolated from stakeholder politics. This was the last annual general Follow Through meeting (House, 1980).

The next round of evaluation battles in federal evaluation shifted to Head Start. From 1974-1977, the Head Start evaluation, designed by Abt Associates, also proceeded as "impact" studies, based on the assumption that the effect of a program can be judged by its impact on students' tests scores. Although no difference was found between Head Start and non-Head Start classes, the push for a broader array of social indicators or for the use of qualitative data in the evaluation of federal education programs was essentially quashed. In 1974, the top federal official in charge of education evaluation noted that "if we find that parents and kids are enthusiastic but the evidence is anecdotal...it would be irresponsible for us to tell other communities to consider the model" (Report of Fourth Annual Follow Through Working Conference, 1974, in House, 1980, p. 210). Thereafter, educational evaluation models at the federal level became focused mostly on efficiency concerns.

All in all, both the evaluation policy at the national level, based on a systems analysis approach, and its focus on efficiency concerns have been seriously challenged by educational researchers. The prospect of finding the most cost-effective or efficient model for providing educational change is not as easy as identifying simple inputs and outputs. There are entirely too many other variables that affect education. Furthermore, as the field of evaluation has developed, the reliance on experimental design concepts or on a *hard science* paradigm of evaluation has also been challenged.

In terms of rendering more useful, practical and/or *true* evaluation data, the use of more participatory models of education has been advocated by many evaluation researchers. These researchers include Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba, whose model for "naturalistic inquiry" is proposed in this paper as an appropriate model for the continuous evaluation of Native education.

In analyzing what went wrong with the Follow Through evaluations, House (1980) points out the discrepancy between the various stakeholders involved in the program. Two stakeholder groups, parents and sponsors, sought to push evaluation back to assessing the broad set of social goals (e.g., greater responsiveness on the part of the schools to the concerns of low-income parents) that Follow Through sought to accomplish. On the other hand, the other stakeholder group, the then Office of Education, sought to reduce the program outcomes to a few common quantitative measures in which comparisons of program sites could be made. Thus, the goal of the evaluation of the Follow Through program changed from focusing on determining the overall effects of the program to only determining which model gave the most effect for a particular cost. This means-ends reasoning combined with the ends -- test score gains -- expected by the federal agency led to what is called technical rationality. This type of thinking assumes that "rationality consists of lining up clearly defined alternatives and choosing among them in terms of their effect on the particular objective one has in mind" (House, p. 212).

The evaluations of many federally funded education programs fall into this type of rationality, when in fact the goals of the education programs may be much broader than the measures themselves indicate. For example, the IEA formula grant program which was/is authorized to impel Native community control in partnerships with public school officials for Part A formula grants and meet the special educational and culturally related academic needs of Native students was evaluated in the early 1980's through an impact evaluation. Based on data from a sample of 115 projects, this Impact Evaluation of IEA Part A Programs initially viewed standardized achievement test data as a major indicator of the impact of the formula grant program on academic achievement. However, after a thorough review of relevant research and discussions with testing/evaluation experts, the evaluators (Development Associates) deemed as inappropriate the use of achievement test data as an impact measure. A mega-analysis of Indian student achievement test data from several studies over the preceding 40 years had shown that there had steadily been a significant improvement in test scores since the late 1960's. Furthermore, by the time the "Part A" impact evaluation was conducted, test scores of Native students had already risen to their highest level in over a decade, although they were still below the national norm. Thus, the evaluators could not directly attribute this progress to the IEA formula grant program. They did, however, note that the program "may [in part] have contributed to the increase" (National Evaluation of Indian Education Act Part A Projects, Department of Education, 1983).

This impact study used a broad array of other impact measures, including school attendance, and student self-esteem and attitudes toward school. The study also concluded that nationally, school attendance of Native students no longer seemed to be a serious problem and that Native students' attitudes toward school and themselves were also quite positive. The report also claimed that Native parents were more involved than ever before in public schools and that parents seemed to be *reasonably supportive* of the education the public schools were providing their children. The report noted that the data also suggested that the climate in public schools with respect to Native children was considerably more benign than reported 15 years earlier. Except for drop out rates of Native students, the data showed *marked change* since before the IEA formula grant program began, although these impacts could not be directly attributable to this program or the other programs serving Native students. While noting that *the overall objectives of Congress in enacting the Part A Program are being achieved,* the study found that continuing problems existed. Specifically:

> (1) achievement test scores are not universally positive;
>
> (2) while relations between the schools and Indian community are generally neutral to positive, this is not true everywhere;
>
> (3) the sensitivity of school administrators continues to be viewed as a problem by Indian parents and community leaders in up to 30% of the LEAs; and
>
> (4) test score results for some groups of Indians students are considerably below the norm. (Nichols, 1984)

In general the study was not very conclusive. One criticism of the study that this author had was that the IEA legislation used a considerably expanded definition of "Indian," thus covering students who had, in many cases, not been included in the samples used for previous Native education studies. Thus, by including Native students (and parents) who were in many cases more *mainstream* than those in the earlier studies, the IEA program data could consequently result in a trend toward the norm that might easily be misinterpreted as improvement of student performance. This concern, I felt, was not addressed adequately in the IEA Part A impact evaluation, nor was it addressed or brought up in the INAR hearings. Nevertheless, I believe it is an issue which should be of significant concern in the continuous evaluation of Native education since it most definitely affects the congruency of evaluation findings about Native students over time. This concern is further substantiated by the recent 1990 census findings, which demonstrates that the federal government count of American Indians (including Aleut and Eskimos) has tripled since 1960, an increase that cannot simply be attributable to an increased Native birth rate. While the growth rate remained low in states which traditionally have had a Native population (12.59 percent in South Dakota, 33 percent in Arizona), the growth in Native population has been considerable in states in which Native populations prior to 1960, were small; to wit, in Alabama there was a 117.7 percent increase from 1980 to 1990, only one decade (New York Times, March 5, 1991).

The concern raised here is not with the legitimacy of the data or the legitimacy of those individuals who claim Indian heritage; rather the concern has to do with the need to take into consideration the changing nature of the sample(s) used in any data base for the continuous evaluation of Native education. Caution must be exercised to ensure that valid conclusions are drawn from any data that might be generated in the future.

Evaluation Issues

A recent Time magazine essay explained how political "theorists of the emerging world" have started sorting the world into categories labeled Old Paradigm and New Paradigm, with the 1990's being viewed as the boundary at which one age transforms into another. A paradigm is an example, a model, that helps us compare things, as in past and present. To be able to process information and solve problems, one must operate upon a set of assumptions. Thus, the paradigm we use to come up with new solutions must operate upon new and different assumptions. An essential element of this new thinking is the making of lists of what is old and what is new. In looking for new ways to explain the world in order to analyze problems and seek solutions, this New Paradigm-Old Paradigm game considers "what works (New Paradigm) and what doesn't work anymore (Old Paradigm)."

In this scheme of things, centralized bureaucracy and *big* government are the Old Paradigm. The New Paradigm, on the other hand, allows for programmatic flexibility, change and decentralization as well as access to decision-making by the people affected. In this sense, the so-called New Paradigm in fact has commonalities with the thinking in the 1960's that gave rise to Community Action Programs meant to *empower* communities with previously little or no access to decision-making and power.

This New/Old Paradigm metaphor is a way of thinking about change and looking at what works, particularly as a basis for making decisions. This approach is especially important as we consider what has worked and what has not worked with respect to the education of Native students. It is somewhat reassuring to hear the author of the New Paradigm term, James Pinkerton, an assistant to President Bush, voice the opinion that "the conventional wisdom around Washington is that nothing works. [However,] Americans don't believe it."

Although much of the testimony from the INAR Task Force hearings focused on what has not worked for Native students, the hearings also provided information from concerned Native parents, Elders and educators about what (from their perspective) does work for themselves and their students.

It is important to keep in mind as evaluation is discussed in this paper that we must start to look at Native education not in terms of the Old Paradigm (centralized government, one organizing idealogy, one big idea, one big solution) but rather in terms of the New Paradigm — decentralized actions and pragmatic multifaceted strategies to determine what does work, why it works and how to share this information. In this sense, it is imperative that any recommended evaluation strategies focus not only on the national level, but also on how we can bring the very groups affected by Native education policies and programs — Native communities, tribes, Elders, parents and students — into the evaluation process.

A. Data Collection Efforts At The National Level Regarding Data Regarding Native Education

Since the *Meriam Report of 1928*, the need for a national database on Native education has been pointed out in virtually every study related to Native education. For instance, the 1969 Congressional report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, specifically noted that "One problem in evaluating the success of Federal programs for the American Indian is the extraordinary inadequacy of the statistics data presently available ... Without data, problems cannot be adequately understood or delineated and consequently are neglected" (p. 109). This report was issued over 20 years ago, yet its remarks remain disturbingly apropos for the 1990s.

This 1969 report recommended that the onus for developing and maintaining data on Native education performance be placed upon the BIA. Indeed, it was recommended that the BIA monitor Native student performance not only at BIA-funded schools, but also "make periodic checks of Indian performance data in public schools, and that data be reported to local and state school authorities, the Indian tribes or communities affected, and the U.S. Office of Education" (p. 135). The report also recommended that the BIA "should require improved evaluation components at the State and local levels ... Some uniform data collection techniques should be established ..." (p. 132). In other words, the need for a national database consisting of consistent data collected across states was again in 1969 deemed necessary.

Eleven years later, in 1980, the policy recommendations of the Education Commission of the States (ECS) demonstrated that a national database on Native education was still seen as necessary and that it also continued to remain largely nonexistent. The ECS report recommended that:

> ... state departments and boards of education and local boards recognize and consider the need to establish and maintain a standardized, centralized data collection system on Indian education. This data would be collected by local agencies and shared with Indian and non-Indian people involved with the education of Indian children. (*Indian Education*, Education Commission of the States, 1980)

The 1980 ECS report also recommended the creation, by Congress, of a "National Center for Indian Education" as a central point for the collection of information, including statistical data, on Native education. It was suggested that the Center have capabilities to provide technical assistance to "tribes, legislators, education policy makers, and others ..." (Ibid., p. 33).

In 1972, the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) was established by specific legislation resulting from the 1969 study cited above. Given its mandate to oversee all federal education programs that benefit Native students, NACIE however, has not had sufficient opportunity nor resources for developing or maintaining an extensive database. In its *15th Annual Report to the United States Congress, Fiscal Year 1988*, NACIE reiterated the lack of adequate and consistent data to assist in fulfilling its oversight function. Specifically, noting that the responsibility for maintaining such a database should logically be a part of the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), NACIE pointed out:

> ...the need to work with the NCES, and the need to collect data from state education agencies with available statistics on Indian students. The Council must begin this and other projects which will provide ... the types of information needed to assess the educational needs of Indian and Alaska Native people. However, it is clear that the Administration and Congress must assist in this effort by directing the [NCES] to gather the types of information needed and providing NCES with the money to do the necessary surveys and by directing the Office of Indian Education [in the Department of Education] and [BIA] to gather information from all of their grantees, contractors, and BIA-operated schools. (NACIE, 1988, p. 30)

In its FY 1989 report, the NACIE further noted that its staff had again had to compile data from various sources and would continue to do so "until the National Center for Education Statistics ... or some other responsible entity assumes the collection of necessary information on [Native education]" (1989, p. 12). Noting the many agencies from which it had to elicit information, NACIE cautioned that these agencies "use different sampling methods for arriving at their computations, and comparing similar data from one agency with another is discouraged ..." (Ibid.).

Based on NACIE's statements, it appears that the NCES has been unresponsive to the efforts of Native educators and policy recommendations citing the need for a national Native education database. Although, in its High School and Beyond (HS&B) survey, the NCES was able to cite Native students data regarding the sophomore "cohort drop-out rate" it was able to do so only because the HS&B survey elicited a great deal of background information on individual students, thus enabling a significant sample of Native students (*Drop-out Rates in the United States: 1988*, NCES, p. 25).

Approximately 90 percent of Native students now attend public schools, which are directly provided Department of Education funds -- $54,276,000 in FY 1990 -- through a formula grant program specifically targeted only for Native students. Public schools on or near Indian reservations receive additional funding through the Federal Impact Aid Program; for these schools, in FY 1989, this amounted to $239,355,638 in maintenance and operations funds, and $7,681,000 in construction funds. In FY 1989, Native students in public schools benefitted from an additional $23,000,000 in funds under the Johnson O'Malley Program, which provides monies to states and school districts to provide services to Native students (Brescia, Commissioned Paper 4 of INAR Supplement Volume, 1991). The fact that so much federal funding is earmarked specifically for Native students -- not to mention that Native students in public schools comprise about five percent of the services recipients of the FY 1990 4.4 billion dollars in Chapter One funds -- there is certainly a compelling reason for the inclusion of Native students as a special subsample in *all* NCES data collection efforts. Yet, despite the logic of such an undertaking, these data are still not collected as a matter of policy by NCES.

Another study conducted by NCES, the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS) of 1988, could have afforded an excellent opportunity to collect significant data on Native students. Nevertheless, this study represented simply one more instance where Native education, while not ignored, was benignly neglected. For instance, while the NELS specifically oversampled for students of Hispanic or of Asian or Pacific Islander origins, it did not attempt to do so for Native students. Furthermore, while both "regular" public and private schools were included among schools sampled, BIA schools were specifically, for some reason, excluded. The authors of the NELS:88 report, *A Profile of the American Eighth Grader*, note that "NELS:88 is a powerful vehicle for looking at at-risk issues" (p. v). However, the sample of Native students is small; thus, the authors note that while for most of the sampled populations inferences can be made from the data which are generally reliable, such is not the case "when estimates are made for relatively small subpopulations, such as for American Indians (N=315)" (Appendix B-5). It should be noted that the INAR staff has looked at how a specific subsample of Native students could be incorporated into the NELS sample; however, clearly that would be costly at this juncture.

In addition to the effort coordinated by the NACIE to collect national statistics on Native education from various federal agencies, the BIA began recently to report aggregate test scores and school performance data (it refers to them as "report cards") on BIA-funded schools, i.e., BIA operated schools as well as those schools operated by tribes through either contracts or grants from BIA. A total of 36 out of 180 BIA-funded schools were reviewed during the 1989-90 school year. These report cards are issued to tribes and Indian parents and are intended to assist these constituencies make informed choices on which school students should attend. This effort also involves the collection of alternative measures among a few BIA-funded schools (this effort is discussed in more detail in the section of this paper dealing with potential systemic indicators).

Related to this effort, BIA has indicated it will establish a research and evaluation component in the Office of Indian Education Programs (OIEP) to measure the progress of "Indian students on Indian lands" in meeting or exceeding national norms by the year 2000 (Department of the Interior, Goal and Strategy for BIA Education, 1990). To monitor such progress, BIA will monitor each school every four years. The parameters of this effort are limited, however, since the monitoring will only account for those students in BIA-funded schools and not (1) those other Native students on or near reservations who attend public schools, much less (2) Native students who may be tribal members but live in non-rural, non-reservation settings and attend nearby public schools -- that is, the majority of Native students.

Given NCES' and BIA's stances, we are essentially left with only NACIE's effort to compile national level data on Native education as it is generated from a variety of sources. However, since NACIE cannot effectively deal with this task without substantial additional resources, it is imperative that NCES take on this data collection and analysis responsibility. The rationale of the special and unique relationship between Native governments and the U.S. government could certainly serve as justification within the Department of Education to undertake this effort to recognize the special needs of Native students.

B. Data Collection Efforts At The State And Local Levels Regarding Native Education

The question of what data collection and research efforts are occurring at state and local levels was never directly asked by the INAR Task Force at the hearings. However, the testimony delivered by a broad cross-section of tribal, state and public school district educational personnel did include some valuable data that could presumably be useful for both the U.S. Departments of Education and Interior. It seems clear, however, that there is very little effective coordination between state and Native governments and public schools with respect to their efforts to collect the necessary data on Native student performance. Nevertheless certain inferences about data collection efforts can be made from the testimony at the INAR hearings as well as from other documentation and research collected by the INAR Task Force.

In 1980, the following states had the highest proportion of Native students to other students: Alaska (20.6 percent), Montana (9.8 percent), Oklahoma (9.1 percent), New Mexico (7.8 percent), South Dakota (7.2 percent), and Arizona (4.1 percent). Most of these states have some office within the state education agency which has responsibility for coordination with the Native communities (Boyer, 1983). INAR hearings were held in each of these states, with the exceptions of New Mexico and South Dakota. Additionally, hearings were held in California, Minnesota, North Carolina and Washington.

With the exception of Montana and Washington, each of the states in which INAR hearings were held had at least one representative from the state education agency present testimony. With the exception of North Dakota which was adjacent to a state where hearings were held, no state in which hearings were not held sent representatives to the hearings. One can presume that this lack of greater state participation was in large part due to funding restrictions on out-of-state travel. It is noteworthy, however, that Alaska and Minnesota, in addition to the state education agency representatives, had representatives from their respective state legislatures at the hearings.

Those states represented at the hearings indicated that they collected some statistics on Native education although there were varying degrees of specificity among the witnesses as to the type of data collected and analyzed. In three instances, local school district or tribal representatives also alluded to state statistics, namely for Wisconsin, New Mexico and South Dakota, but provided no substantive descriptions of the type or breadth of the statistical data available.

Boyer (1983) states that "In addition to national school measures ... many states have assessments of their own ... [Many states — Iowa, California and Michigan are cited — require standardized achievement tests at certain grades; and] more than thirty states now require competency tests" (pp. 29-30). In general, the states that were represented at the hearings did not present any comprehensive data on Native student performance that were collected and reported on a regular basis by the state. This is not to say that such a practice may not occur, only that the hearings did not bring out this point.

In general, the information cited by the state education agency representatives pertained to specific, mostly recent, one-time studies of general state and/or Native education performance rather than to any on-going and institutionalized data collection efforts on Native students. For the most part these studies were either (1) one-time statewide assessments that included Natives as a special population — such as *Helping Schools Succeed At Helping All Children Learn* (Alaska State Senate report, 1989) or (2) specific reports on Native education problems and policy recommendations — such as *Our Children, Our Future* (Minnesota Indian School Council report to the state legislature, 1989). It is noteworthy that these data collection efforts were usually instigated by specific state legislative actions. For example, Arizona, in 1983 and 1985, conducted a survey to help formulate an appropriate policy direction concerning the state's role in Indian education which resulted in *A Working Document on Indian Education* (1986). In 1988, North Carolina adopted an "Indian Education Policy" which led to the formation of a state advisory council on Native education. Minnesota similarly has a "Comprehensive Plan for Indian Education" (INAR Regional Hearings Reports).

One model for data collection is the TRACKS program in Montana. This program could serve as a potential model for other states since it represents a comprehensive statewide effort to gather information on Native education from kindergarten through the 12th grade, as well as on higher education. This Montana project grew out of original research conducted by Dull Knife Community College and the Northern Cheyenne Dropout Project. It is important to note the issues brought up by persons affiliated with these Montana efforts, regarding the collection, at both the state and local/tribal levels, of Native student performance data. The following statement outlines the concerns and observations regarding data collection at the tribal/local level made by the director of the Northern Cheyenne project:

> Upon receiving funding from OERI for my study, I began a lengthy process to determine the exact issues to address and data to collect. I worked cooperatively with the three schools serving most of the students on this reservation ... Each school expressed different concerns about the data collecting process, but they finally agreed on who would collect the data and how to manage issues of privacy.
>
> One critical aspect of my data collection process was the involvement of school personnel. ... Their involvement was ... beneficial for themselves as they learned a great deal about their own school and students, and as a result are very interested in the outcomes. I strongly urge that school personnel at all levels be involved in research endeavors.
>
> We collected kinds of information that were suggested by other studies on school completion and tried to determine whether students completed, transferred, or dropped out of schools. However, the definition of "drop out" is complicated because some students do not finish high school and others attend elsewhere. Because of the high rate of transfer among local schools, there was an underlying concern about transfer problems. We also collected data on student performance that included grade point average — overall and by subject, standardized test scores, and percentile ranking, to allow a comparison of measures. We reviewed student characteristics such as the number of days missed in high school, discipline problems, in and out of school suspensions, and which schools attended.
>
> We collected information on 698 students which represents three cohorts — the entire student population who would have graduated in 1987, 1988, and 1989, for all three schools. It is not a sample.
>
> ... Others [who testified] mentioned the need for good research but say this is too difficult or too expensive. This is not the case. The difficulty of this research comes from working with difficult issues and with concerns of confidentiality. I have been fortunate to work with ... a tribal community college ... located in the middle of the reservation. I had college students working on every aspect of the project: data entry, data collection, analyzing, and writing. Their input was essential to the research and they learned and contributed a lot.
>
> Moreover, it is important to conduct research at a local level. When you look at national studies like *High School and Beyond*, there are small representatives of Indians. It is important for local studies to compare to the national studies, and critique whether they represent Indians well. It is only with good local research that we can evaluate national studies and have an accurate perspective on their meaning. I recommend others to take on local research.
>
> The state is now interested in the project and its outcomes and has now initiated a TRACKS system, but our experience shows it can be done successfully at the local level. (Carol Ward, INAR High Plains Regional Hearing, August 20, 1990)

The director of the TRACKS program made the following observations about data collection issues at the state level:

> We need to put pressure on the Office of Public Instruction, universities, and tribes to get the information we need on the status of Indian education. Access to information

> equals power. (Ellen Swaney, INAR High Plains Hearing, August 1990)

In summary, the records of the INAR hearings bear out the fact that data collection efforts are to some degree (albeit at varying levels) occurring at the state, tribal and school district levels. Almost all individuals who testified were able to share at least some data on their constituent populations regarding educational performance. Based on the content of individual testimony, especially those from programs affiliated with universities, state universities seem to be able to collect and analyze information much more readily then other entities. Given this fact, perhaps special efforts should be made to coordinate efforts among universities, including tribal colleges, to lead this effort across states.

With respect to native governments that have undertaken comprehensive data collection efforts on Native education, it would appear that those that have done so have clearly seen the link between a good statistical demographic information base and economic development efforts. An example of tribal information gathering for this purpose are the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians' two publications, *Choctaw Education* (1979) and *The Choctaw School Study* (1985), both of which offer much information on methodological concerns at the local tribal level.

Local Indian organizations, particularly in urban areas, also were able to provide extensive information on Native education performance. Additionally, regional educational laboratories, funded by the Department of Education, can assist in coordinating data collection efforts among tribes, public schools, and states. Sahme (1990) has devised a "preliminary flow chart" for how this process could be structured.

The evidence collected through the INAR hearings suggests that data on Native education does exists to a greater degree than individual Native educators seem to believe. However, there is currently little effort being made among tribes, or local school districts and states with respect to coordination and consistency of data collection efforts. Moreover, there does not seem to be any interstate efforts for collecting such information. Furthermore, there is a lack of agreement on whose responsibility it is to coordinate these efforts and also take responsibility for analyzing and reporting data from these diverse efforts.

C. *Standardized Tests And Native Student Performance*

Standardized testing can be simply defined as the use of tests which (1) have the same or equivalent items meant to assign numerical values to samples of behaviors; (2) are administered using uniform directions and scoring methods; and (3) are usually interpreted through the development of norms for the group for which the test was developed.

There are generally four types of commercially available standardized tests which are most frequently used in educational placement and grading. Aiken (1976) defines these as:

- Achievement Tests. An achievement test is one that has been designed to measure the knowledge and skills accrued in a specific content area. The content areas are usually school subjects taught at a given grade level. Commercially available achievement tests are most frequently multiple choice, group-administered tests of content selected to apply to a wide range of school programs.
- Aptitude tests. An aptitude test is a test that has been designed to measure the capability of an individual to profit from instruction in a specific content area. An aptitude test is designed to measure skills, traits, and talents predictive of future performance in the area.
- Ability tests. An ability test is one deigned to measure the capability of one to perform in a content area. The difference between an ability test and an aptitude test is one of status; present capability versus potential capability.
- Intelligence tests. An intelligence test is one designed to measure an individual's ability to reason and perform verbally. The IQ test is a generalized form of aptitude test for scholastic work.

At all of the INAR hearings, the issue of usefulness and appropriateness of using scores from standardized tests, particularly achievement tests, for purposes of measuring Native students' academic performance elicited the most vociferously negative testimony. Rehyner (INAR Supplement Volume, Com. Paper 8) discusses how some of the changes — such as a strong reliance on standardized achievement tests — in the American school reform movement of the 1980's have hurt Native students. Breschia and Fortune (1988) also criticize the misuse of standardized achievement tests. Specifically:

> ... Achievement tests may be used in four ways to make decisions about [students:] as a survey of attainment in a content area, as a diagnostic instrument to identify the

> strengths and weaknesses of an individual in a content area, as a readiness indicator to determine if an individual has attained enough prerequisite material to continue study in a given content area, and as a performance test to estimate the degree of learning of a body of content defined by instruction.
>
> Generally, when standardized tests are used with American Indian students (on the reservation or in settings with low levels of acculturation) and produce invalid results, the tests usually produce lower or less desirable scores for the Indian test-taker. These score variations are not really explained by program related factors nor correlates of test performance which are frequently found in other situations.
>
> In program-related decisions the underestimation of Indian performance on ability tests may result in the development of an inefficient program design. Underestimation on achievement tests may result in the demise or modification of what in reality is an effective program. (p. 2)

In addition to these limitations to the use of standardized tests, several other factors can induce bias within such tests when used with Native students. These include language bias, whereby Native students, from non or substandard English prominent language families, may read questions or interpret an answer inaccurately. Native cultural values that do not stress competitive behaviors also can produce bias.

Despite concerns such as those stated above, standardized achievement tests are precisely the measures that many states and public schools rely upon to gauge academic success. Unfortunately for Native students, who are already affected by the cultural, income-level, and/or linguistic biases of these tests, there is now also a movement for competency testing at the national level. The education-focused newspaper, Education Week, recently reported that Educate America, Inc., is calling for the development of a "national achievement test for all high school seniors, [and plans] to ask Congress to fund it and make it mandatory for all students in public and private schools" (Education Week, February 6, 1991). Another article (Education Week, December 12, 1990) additionally reported that, two foundations, including the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, have provided grants to help launch work on a "national examination system" based upon the recommendations of groups such as the President's Educational Policy Advisory Committee. The article also notes that the National Center for Fair and Open Testing (commonly known as FairTest), the leading critic of standardized testing, has called these moves "a step backward at a time when states and school districts are developing more complex methods of measuring student performance."

That standardized tests are inherently culturally biased is generally agreed to based on the differences in performance across gender, racial, income, and ethnic lines: "white" males tending to score the highest. Although not touted as an achievement test but rather as an aptitude test, the SAT is the most commonly cited example of bias in standardized testing. The statement and chart below discusses relative SAT test scores along gender and racial/ethnic lines:

> Many students face multiple biases on the SAT. Black females, for example, are placed in "double jeopardy" by the test's minority and gender discrimination. Hispanic females, who score nearly 200 points lower than white males, face triple bias against their language, ethnicity, and gender. In every ethnic and racial group, females score much lower on the SAT than males, as shown in the following table.

Average SAT Scores, 1988

	Females	Males	Difference
Asian/Pacific/American	903	956	53
Black	724	756	32
Mexican American	783	840	57
Native American	805	852	47
Puerto Rican	732	788	56
White	907	965	58

> To adjust for the SAT's biases, some schools add points to women's and minority applicants' scores when they make admission decisions. But this is at best a stopgap measure. The only long-term solution is to either overhaul the SAT to make it fair or stop using it. (Weis, Beckworth and Schaeffer, 1989, p. 18)

Refer to Hillabrant, Romano and Stang (INAR Supplement Volume, Commissioned Paper 2) for a detailed overview of Native student performance on the two most frequently used aptitude tests for college placements; these are the Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) and the American College Testing Program (ACT).

At the St. Paul, Minnesota INAR hearing, the superintendent of the Red Lake Independent School District in Minnesota noted that " ... Too often Indian children have succeeded academically in spite of negative and hopeless predictions made by white educators from white achievement tests." Additionally, he cites a Lakota Times newspaper article on a Ford Foundation-sponsored commission finding that "All groups that score lower than whites on standardized tests fare better when judged by their school or job performance. Part of the reason is that tests are blind to strengths that tests makers do not understand, and thus distort evaluation" (INAR Great Lakes Regional Hearing, pp. 46-47).

Furthermore, the validity and use of standardized tests for any students or teachers is questioned by the broader educational community. Groups such as FairTest are questioning the uses of standardized testing for determining higher education admissions and teacher testing, as well as the public schools' use of these tests as accurate measures of academic performance (FairTest and New York State Public Interest Resource Center, 1990).

Not only in regard to their use as measures of general educational performance indicators have standardized tests been questioned. The INAR hearings also brought out the problem of using standardized tests to assess and diagnose educational problems. Regarding their use in special education programs, Dr. Marilyn Johnson states:

> ... the placement of children is a challenge because the children are assessed with tests designed for a different population. With Indian students, we are mostly dealing with bilingualism or limited English proficiency. We should not have children placed in special education if they do not properly belong there. (INAR Southwest Regional Hearing, p. 35)

Dr. Johnson also presents and discusses some alternatives to currently used measures for special education assessments and placements in Com. Paper 16 of this supplement volume to the INAR report.

Despite the fact that many of these and similar concerns have been voiced in the past, the BIA nevertheless relies heavily on standardized achievement test scores, specifically the California Achievement Test, for assessing their schools' improvement. The most recent (1988) report on BIA-funded schools includes statistics on CAT scores, drop-out rates, attendance, enrollments and school expenditures. It is illuminating to note one Native educator's comments on the appropriateness of relying solely on such statistics:

> ... As a former Bureau of Indian Affairs teacher, I am familiar with the national study the BIA put out in 1988 called *Report on BIA Education: Excellence in Indian Education Through the Effective School Process.* The title of the report is rather misleading. The report has more to do with failures in Indian education than any kind of excellence. It contains page after page of dismal statistics concerning the educational achievement of Indian students, both in BIA schools and public schools. It is full of statistics on high dropout rates, low scores on national standardized tests, and poor academic achievement in colleges, giving one the impression that there are no successful Indian students anywhere.
>
> I am sure the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force will be presented with an abundance of these types of statistics. I am not suggesting that these types of statistics be ignored; that would be foolish. If Indian students are dropping out of high school at a higher rate than other students, then, of course, that is of deep concern for all of us involved in Indian education. What I am suggesting is that you not make these types of statistics so overriding that all else is lost in your report on Indian education. (Robert Perea, INAR Southwest Regional Hearing)

As Native educators have attempted to look at Native student performance, they have relied less on standardized achievement test scores and more on measures of student satisfaction with school, on drop-out rates for example. During the INAR hearings, drop-out rates were the performance measure most consistently cited. It should be noted, however, that one person testifying before the INAR Task Force suggested that we must shift from focusing on negative measures to using more positive perspectives and criteria:

> We must stop thinking of success as reduced drop-out rates and fewer suspensions and start thinking of success as high graduation rates and post-secondary enrollment. (INAR Great Lakes Regional Hearing, p. 36)

D. Current And Potential Systemic Indicators Of Performance

The concern over the use of standardized tests for individual and school assessments is not voiced only by Native educators. There are also efforts in several states to make assessment more authentic and to develop indicators of authentic learning.

The term *authentic work* is used by the National Center on Effective Secondary Schools (NCESS) to characterize tasks which are considered "meaningful, valuable, significant and worthy of one's efforts" (NCESS, 1990). The term encompasses indicators that are culminating performances showing not only what a student has achieved but also the day-to-day activities required to learn and prepare for the performance.

Educators, in general, recognize that current conceptions of curricula and assessment, as well as their interaction, are fundamentally flawed. Curricula are often viewed as sets of information (sets of truths) rather than demonstrable skills; similarly, assessment methods like teacher lecture/question techniques, classroom quizzes, and standardized tests rely on a narrow set of information that students are asked to recall and invoke, whole. Both of these conceptions focus primarily on lower rather than higher level thinking skills. Describing the rationale behind NCESS research, Wiggins (1990) notes,

> curricula should be written around essential tasks to be mastered instead of 'doctrines' to be learned...[Furthermore] a verbal and passive view of knowledge leads us to falsely believe that...assessment involves a quasi-secretive after-the-fact sampling of the students' verbalized knowledge of the 'basic' facts, instead of a non-secret process of meeting known standards, while using important and diverse facts. (NCESS, p. 10)

Educational researchers like those at the NCESS view the current problems such as non-*engagement* of students in the classroom as related to the lack of authentic work being required of students:

> Authentic work is not about being tested after the fact...it is about being tested by a standard-revealing and important set of tasks...Most students can produce quality when it is expected; and when tasks, criteria and standards are engaging and demystified. (Wiggins, p. 11)

If these criticisms of current schooling and assessment are true for non-Native students, they are doubly appropriate for Native students whose many tribal/cultural traditions vary from those of mainstream society. As Swisher (1990), in an overview of research into Native students' learning styles notes, among Oglala Sioux, Yaqui and Navajo learners,

> ...observation, self-testing in private, and then demonstration of a task for approval were essential steps in learning and that learning through public mistakes is not a valued method...This style of learning suggests a respect for an individual's ability to learn from their world experientially without constant supervision and correction from another individual. It expresses a certain degree of confidence in the autonomy of the individual to know when performance of a task is ready for public scrutiny. (p. 3)

Swisher, as well as this author, cautions against the positing of a single Native learning style without further investigation, noting that this may further stereotype Native student behavior and "result in practice which is discriminatory or making inappropriate excuses for failure in teaching" (p. 6). While several presentors at the INAR hearings commented on current teachers' ability or desire to teach to Native learning style(s), this author believes that the criticism of current teaching and assessment methods as being unresponsive to different learning styles is equally valid for both non-Native and Native students.

In response to rising criticism about its heavy reliance on the CAT scores, the BIA has started to look at alternative indicators of performance. The BIA's Bureau of Effective Schools Teams (BEST) initiative has developed alternative student performance measures--input as well as output measures--some of which could serve as potential systemic indicators in the evaluation of Native education. The BEST initiative represents a special effort to improve BIA-funded schools. Currently 41 out of 180, or 23 percent, of schools are designated as BEST schools. The Alternative measures include, among others:

- Criterion-referenced tests (or teacher-made tests);
- Portfolios of student progress, e.g., writing samples;
- Non-academic participation (i.e., extra-curricular) rates;
- Attendance rates;
- Increased graduation rates;
- Rates of decreased vandalism by students;
- Increased holding power of a school to keep students and staff;
- Implementation of new curriculum initiatives;
- Increased participation of parents and community members;
- Increases in the variation of extra-curricular activities offered by schools and participated in by students;
- Improvements in staff development programs;
- Implementation of written school improvement plans; and
- Facilities improvements.

While several of these indicators (e.g., performance on criterion-referenced tests) may not easily serve as comparative systemic performance indicators across several schools, certainly others such as increased graduation rates, improved attendance and retention (holding power) rates could easily serve as indicators of performance among different schools serving Native students. With a little more effort, measures such as portfolios of Native student progress, perhaps compared across a sample of schools with Native students, could also serve as more dependable, appropriate and useful measures of systemic performance.

As the need for more accurate assessments of student learning is acknowledged, potential systemic indicators of performance are being developed nationwide, not only in Native education. For instance, the state of Connecticut (along with six other states -- Michigan, Minnesota, New York, Texas, Vermont and Wisconsin) is involved in developing alternatives to the use of standardized tests in assessing student outcomes. In Connecticut, this effort has required the development of a "Common Core of Learning" for all students in the state, i.e., a comprehensive set of knowledge and traits against which students are individually assessed. The Connecticut model is based on a comprehensive review of reports/recommendations made by several agencies and organizations such as the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Science, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics, and the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences. Recognizing that an overreliance on multiple-choice testing focuses on lower level thinking skills such as recall/recognition, the alternatives emphasize "conceptual understandings, multiple representations and connections," among other *mastery* criteria. Students are then performance tested, i.e., they must demonstrate mastery of specific skills. For example, in sciences, students must demonstrate the use of various science apparati (e.g., a triple beam balance, graduated cylinders, a microscope and an electrical circuit) and design and execute a science experiment. In the language arts, students must produce a direct writing sample as well as be able to take notes and use those notes to answer listening comprehension questions in response to tape-recorded messages (Baron, 1989).

Moreover, the National Commission on the Skills of the American Work Force (NCSAWF) has made recommendations regarding assessments specifically for demonstrated mastery of skills and subject areas. Several states are now incorporating or considering the NCSAWF recommendations (*Education Week*, June 20, 1990). These recommendations include the abolishment of the Carnegie unit, which is also among the reforms suggested by some Native educators and others testifying at the INAR hearing. One native educator (Blanchard, 1990) goes so far as to recommend the abolishment of the grade structure.

Clearly, if those individuals involved in Native education (1) examine what the current systemic indicators are telling Native students, parents and teachers, and (2) determine whether this is useful information, we can agree that current systemic indicators, such as standardized tests, absenteeism and drop-out rates are not particularly useful in assessing the actual knowledge, skills and learning processes acquired by Native students. Any plans for further evaluation of Native education must not rely heavily on measures that may sometimes be outdated or inappropriate (such as standardized achievement testing). Rather, the plans must allow for the use of alternative performance indicators such as those used by the BIA's BEST initiative or those being developed by the state of Connecticut and the six other states in the Coalition of Essential Schools.

Much of the testimony from the INAR hearings seem to indicate that current systemic performance measures are not useful. As one INAR Task Force member asks:

> How can we circumvent an evaluation process that measures performance related to tightly specified academic criteria that is not only irrelevant to our children's view of the world, but which documents failure instead of relationships between students and teachers, resources and students, and so on, that contribute to failure? (Hill, *Pedagogy and Self Determination*, INAR ancillary document, 1990)

Stakeholder Groups In Native Education

Native education involves several systems of service providers: federal agencies, state and local public schools, and Native governments. Additionally, each of these systems has categorical distinctions within itself. For example, the federal service providers include (1) the BIA-funded schools, e.g., those operated by the BIA as well as those operated by Native governments; and (2) the various ED programs which interact both with public schools directly (e.g., IEA formula grant projects) and tribes (e.g., vocational education, library services, and IEA adult education projects). Native education involves a complex network of interrelated agencies and responsibilities. Furthermore, these relationships are not unidirectional as they involve several points for input from the consumers of educational services. Also, several other functions involve monitoring the delivery as well as impacts of services.

All of the parties involved in Native education, from providers (e.g., schools, states, federal agencies, Native governments, Elders) to consumers (e.g., Native students, parents and governments) to monitors (e.g., Native parents, and governments, Elders, states) have an interest — a "stake" in ensuring that their concerns and perspectives are represented in the continuous evaluation of Native education. As noted in the INAR hearings, these stakeholder groups have different evaluation needs in terms of data, and require different procedures and reporting formats to find the evaluation useful or practical.

As primary stakeholders in the evaluation of Native education and as educational services consumers, parents realize the most immediate needs for effective evaluative information. At each INAR regional hearing, and at many of the INAR Joint Issues Sessions at the 1990 National Indian Education Association (NIEA) Annual Conference, Native parents voiced their concerns about the quality of educational services for Native students and the effects/goals of educational institutions.

The remarks made by one parent can be generalized across many others who expressed dissatisfaction about currently used student performance indicators:

> " ...my son was tested with the CTBS test administered through the Bureau, and he scored real low. They told him he had to be retained. He was in sixth grade and couldn't go on to seventh grade. As a parent, they wanted me to sign off on this. Usually the teachers and administrators call parents in to discuss a problem and ask the parent to sign off on a decision without giving the parent an option. Well, I said I didn't want to sign it. I said, "I know my child is better than that." And I said, "The test determines he can't read or write, but I know his potential." And so he therefore went ahead. I promoted him myself. The next year he was an honor student. He had real good grades all year, and I was glad I didn't sign those papers and have him retained. He is going to be graduating this year and is thinking of going to college. (INAR Summary: "Special Session for Students and Elders ..." p. 5)

That same parent felt that (1) many parents were intimidated by schools or (2) school administrators' expectations were low about how parents can assist their children. The same parent also indicated that parents have "common sense and a desire to learn about what their children are learning, and from that base they will begin to help their children get educated and become better prepared."

Evaluation strategies that focus only upon the compilation of statistics detailing the education failure of students to meet some elusive national norm are at best interesting for Native parents, at worst, depressing and debilitating. As noted in a previous section, parents of Native students who attend BIA schools, may receive "report cards" including aggregate school-wide test data on the performance of Native students. However, most of these parents cannot use these data to, as the BIA hopes, make *informed choices about the schools their children should attend.* In many cases, there is in fact no choice, or the choices are even less attractive than the schools in which the students are already enrolled. Parents would rather receive information about why those schools their students do attend fail to raise the students' performance levels. Knowing why schools -- not Native students -- fail would help parents make informed decisions on how to change the schools.

Obversely, parents of Native students in public schools often have problems getting statistical information on Native students as a group from their respective school districts. Thus, they are often unable to tell how Native students, as a group, compare with other students in their schools. Access to data--either aggregated for Native students, or comparative Native and non-Native data--(such as drop-out rates, absenteeism, retention, graduation rates as well as aggregate Native standardized test scores) is critical for determining needs of students eligible for Indian Education Act (IEA) formula grant projects. School districts often cite confidentiality concerns when denying access to these data. However, parents, particularly those that serve on IEA project parent committees, need such data to fulfill their responsibilities. Those observations are made by this author based on ten years experience with IEA projects.

In addition to student performance data, Native parents need information on educational programs that are effective with disadvantaged, low-income, multi-cultural and/or bilingual students, i.e., categories into which many Native students fall. Of course, information specifically on successful Native education programs is needed by Native parents in order for them to replicate and/or then adapt in their own settings.

Throughout the INAR hearings, Native parents and Elders have called for schools to take a lead role in ensuring the survival of Native cultures and languages. Indeed this philosophy reflects the special Native goals added by the INAR Task Force to the national goals for the year 2000. In line with this, any continuous evaluation strategies for Native education should allow for data collection, analyses and reporting on special programs that effectively sustain and develop Native cultures and languages.

Native Elders, as parents and grandparents, expressed their concerns throughout the INAR hearings. These concerns centered around the desire to see the sustenance of Native cultures and languages as a primary goal of the education of Native students. As a specific stakeholder group, in the continuous evaluation of Native education, the involvement of Native Elders must serve as a touchstone in planning and implementation of future evaluations. Many individuals testifying at the INAR hearings, expressed concern over the realization of the tremendous fragility of Native cultures and languages. Further evaluations in Native education must explore particularly effective programs that nurture the ongoing development of Native cultures and languages. Furthermore, mechanisms for sharing information about these programs must be developed and formalized. Presently, no one source of information, on effective Native culture and language sustenance programs, exists. Coordination efforts among Native governments must be promoted by federal agencies such as BIA as well as by national organizations such as the National Indian Education Association and the National Congress of American Indians. It is hoped that recent Congressional efforts, such as the Native Languages Preservation Act, will facilitate such coordination and development.

Native governments as both providers and consumers of Native education have distinct needs in terms of information that may come out of the continuous evaluation of Native education. Closer coordination between state education agencies and Native governments can lead to the easy retrieval of Native student performance data. However, state and local school districts must first realize their special obligation to Native students. Other commissioned papers (e.g., papers 1, 9, and 20) in this INAR Supplement Volume offer descriptive information on the obstacles put up by states in recognizing this need. Primary among these obstacles is the attitude, based on years of civil rights issues, that Native students are like other minority groups; therefore, to treat Native students differently would lead to charges of discrimination from these other groups. It behooves Native governments and off-reservation Native communities to take the lead in making states realize that the status of Native people is unique. The current efforts in Minnesota can serve as a model for Native governments and communities to use in working with their respective states (*Our Children, Our Future*, Minnesota Indian School Council, 1989).

The needs of other stakeholder groups that represent specific educator subgroups in Native education are well stated in other commissioned papers of this INAR Supplement Volume (e.g., papers 5, 7, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 18, and 19). Furthermore, Com. Paper 18 provides insight into how indicators of institutional success and student performance outcomes differ at tribal colleges from those at non-Native institutions of higher education.

Strategies for Continuous Evaluation of Native Education

The federal government has sponsored numerous evaluations, task force studies, policy review reports etc., on the education of Native students, both young and adult. The INAR hearings have generated many statistics on specific programs (in public schools as well as Native-controlled or tribal schools) and their impact on Native students. The state education representatives from several states with large Native populations have reported on their monitoring of Native educational performance. By examining the hearing record data, other information collected by the INAR Task Force, and their own management information systems, the Department of Education and BIA potentially have information to make better informed decisions about the extent of Native education services and more importantly, the quality of services.

To a reasonable degree, decisions about these programs can be based on the past performance of these programs. Some changes in the reporting of outcomes data can assist in judging program performance. As noted by one INAR Task Force member, "... in addition to a drop-out rate for [Native] students that exceeds 65 percent, and a post secondary drop-out rate that is estimated at 75-93 percent, hundreds of students effectively drop-out of school and physically never miss a day ... the statistics are very clear that we can out disadvantage all groups" (Hill, 1990).

It is imperative that strategies be developed to take evaluation of Native education beyond the discrepancy-based evaluation models concerned mostly with the collection of statistics on the lack of Native student achievement (e.g., low standardized achievement test scores). The collection of comparative statistical data on Native students is important to draw some conclusions about how well schools are serving Native students in relation to non-Native students. However, it is important to make certain that these data are valid and appropriate. Certain systemic indicators like dropout and absenteeism rates are likely more valid as measures of the schools' responsiveness to Native students and parents concerns. Comparisons of these indicators across the three categories of school systems (federal, state/local, Native-operated) along with descriptive information on why these rates may vary (e.g., different policies, school atmosphere, expectations) can give Native students and parents useful information. The collection of statistical data -- using various measures which can yield comparative information about the performance of Native students relative to that of other groups -- should be an ongoing function of state education agencies and also of NCES.

In terms of data collection for discrepancy evaluation, the TRACKS program in Montana as well as other efforts such as those of the Confederated Tribes of Warm Springs Reservation in Oregon can provide direction to Native educators and federal education officials alike. The Warm Springs model (Sahme, 1990) calls for Native educators to promote the establishment of Indian education standards for all Indian education programs. Noting that BIA has standards for its schools, Sahme calls for tribes to take part in setting standards for the schools they run and to work with public schools to set performance standards and jointly devise methods for achieving these standards. Furthermore, he notes that public schools receiving IEA formula grant funds must be held responsible for also setting long-range goals for meeting standards that would be jointly developed by the Native parent committees and the schools. These standards would be above and beyond the objectives of the funded project, and would extend across the school curriculum and programs. This effort could be coordinated through the seven regional education laboratories in conjunction with the IEA Indian Technical Assistance Centers funded by the Department of Education (Sahme, 1990).

More important in the evaluation of Native education is finding out *what* is working and just as importantly *why* it is working. In the language of the Old-New Paradigm, we must go beyond the big picture of national failure and refocus on snapshots of localized success in order to assess how and why certain approaches work. These snapshots can focus on regional efforts or particular stakeholder group claims, concerns or issues. The Department of Education and BIA must redirect their organizational efforts at increasing the knowledge base in those areas where little research and evaluation has thus far been conducted. For example, we not only need to know the drop-out rates in our schools, but also why some Native students drop out and others don't.

A. The Role of Naturalistic Inquiry

The INAR hearing record clearly demonstrates that the current evaluation models, based mostly on learning deficits, have not and do not serve Native education well, at least in terms of finding solutions to Native education problems. These models only inform us of the tremendously high Native student drop-out rates, the poor performance of Native students on standardized tests, and the ever increasing tardiness and absenteeism among Native students attending either BIA-funded or public schools. One of the most salient drawbacks to these models is that they fail to give us the underlying reasons for these dismal statistics.

Paul (in the INAR Supplement Volume, Commissioned Paper 7) cautions that we must move beyond the hard science paradigm in Native education and move toward an evaluation model which will empower the participants -- in other words, one that "would become a part of the growth and development of the children, families and [schools] within the communities (p. 16)." Charleston (1990) discusses an evaluation framework for the Indian Health Service (IHS) which would assist both the health care providers as well as the health care consumers — i.e., tribes — make better informed decisions. He also presents an emergent paradigm of evaluation, one with the intent of facilitating an understanding of the organization in relation to its environment and the complex network of relationships. This model, based on principles of naturalistic inquiry, could also be adopted to Native education and employed in future evaluations of Native education.

Naturalistic inquiry, or *fourth generation* evaluation, evolved from earlier models of social and educational research. The application of naturalistic inquiry can assist future evaluation of Native education move beyond the clash of evaluation goals -- similar to those documented by House (1980) in regard to the evaluation of three federal evaluation programs in the 1960's and 1970's -- which are present in Native education as documented in the INAR hearings. These distinct goals were referenced in the introduction of this paper, but need reiteration here. Namely, federal goals for Native education (as reflected and implemented by public and BIA schools) are mainly assimilationist and primarily concerned with ensuring the most efficient means of bringing Native students to the performance levels of non-Native students. Hence evaluation strategies have focused on comparisons of Native and non-Native student performance utilizing outcome measures that could be applied across disparate populations. Past evaluations and policy studies have thus been based solely on discrepancy evaluation models, with little or no analysis of the systemic factors that affect/result in these outcomes. Nor have past evaluations examined Native education as the complex network/system that it is; rather, past evaluations tended to focus on categorical distinctions such as specific federal programs or service agencies.

Native educators and stakeholder groups, on the other hand, see the goals of Native education as being culturally distinct from mainstream society while allowing for simultaneous participation in mainstream society. Native parents want their children to be educated to succeed in school but also to learn in culturally appropriate ways and to sustain/preserve their distinct cultures and languages. For them, evaluation of Native education must not only detail how schools fail their children in reaching the goals of Native people, but also provide information on how they as Native parents, Elders and educators can work to rectify any shortcomings related to educating Native students. Furthermore, from the perspective of Native communities, Native education is a singular but complex web of services, providers, and programs, e.g., BIA and/or public schools, JOM, Title V. This web is a singular whole which cannot be dealt with program by program, since each Native student is impacted by all entities. In short, there are *multiple realities* at work Native education which must be taken into account in evaluation.

The principles of *naturalistic* inquiry, developed by Yvonna Lincoln and Egon Guba, are responsive to the complexity and multiple goals within an organization. If Native education were viewed as a complex organism, then these same principles would certainly meet Paul's call for an "empowerment" model for the continuous evaluation of Native education. Naturalistic evaluation provides information in terms of naturalistic generalizations: for example, like the non-propositional, qualitative information garnished from reading a novel. Naturalistic inquiry uses ordinary language and is aimed at non-technical audiences like teachers or the public. It is based on "informal everyday reasoning" and tries to "understand the everyday world in the experience of those who live it." The case study is an example of naturalistic evaluation (House, 1980, p. 279).

Furthermore, naturalistic evaluation recognizes that there are competing claims, concerns, and issues to be considered which make it necessary to arrive at findings useful to the various groups that have a stake in the evaluation (Charleston, 1990).

Naturalistic inquiry (Guba and Lincoln, 1985) builds upon the work of Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) which analyzes and reports the emergence of new concepts in a variety of fields and disciplines including physics, chemistry, evolution, mathematics, philosophy, psychology, and educational research. These emerging concepts basically define the world in a much different way than has traditionally been the case. In their analysis, Schwartz and Ogilvy have abstracted seven areas that characterize how these new concepts, in what they call the new or emergent paradigm, differ from the old or dominant paradigm. The previously mentioned Old/New Paradigm ideas regarding political organization and government, represent a special application of this much broader *emergent* paradigm. The seven characteristics of Schwartz and Ogilvy's emergent paradigm, very simplistically stated, are:

(1) Complexity: Reality is diverse, complex and interactive and is becoming increasingly so; therefore, it is impossible to separate out any one thing from it's interactive environment and study it in isolation. Furthermore, systems can't be viewed simply as the sums of their parts; as they become more complex they develop their own unique qualities which cannot be accounted for from their parts.

(2) Heterarchy: Reality or nature, rather than ordered in terms of hierarchy or logical order, is ruled by many interacting (and rapidly shifting) factors. Furthermore, order may only exist in human thinking about the world, and may not in fact be real at all.

(3) Holography: This is the hardest concept to grasp since it is based on metaphor. Simply put, the old concepts of the world were mechanical; the universe (and reality) operated like a clock. The emergent paradigm views reality as more like a hologram. A hologram is an image produced by breaking an image into several patterns of light from several different perspectives. Furthermore, each piece of the holograph can reproduce the whole image if all others are destroyed.

(4) Indeterminacy: The behavior in a mechanical world view can predict the future if all variables are accounted for, i.e., this is a determinant view of reality. The emergent paradigm views the world as indeterminate, i.e., unpredictable; one can never account for all possible variables. The future states of systems are thus unpredictable.

(5) Mutual Causality: The mechanical model of the old paradigm views the world as one where causality is linear. Therefore, in the old paradigm it was important to learn what caused what. On the other hand, in the emergent paradigm, causality is material and evolving; the distinction between cause and effect in a system is meaningless.

(6) Morphogenesis: In the old paradigm, a system was constructed or assembled from parts organized in a knowable plan. In the emergent paradigm, systems are evolving in morphogenetic (organic) ways which are unpredictable and spontaneous under conditions of diversity, openness, and mutual causality.

(7) Perspective: In the old paradigm, objectivity was valued. The emergent paradigm states that objectivity is impossible; e.g., instruments and processes are not neutral, they alter reality. However, in place of subjectivity as the alternative to objectivity, the emergent paradigm suggests perspective as a more useful concept. In evaluation, one cannot be objective, since the observer changes the nature of what is being studied. Rather, one must try to present as many perspectives as possible to ensure that the evaluation is true.

[Recognizing that this is a very simplistic explanation of the very complex concepts underlying the emergent paradigm, this author refers any one interested in this new paradigm to the works of Guba and Lincoln as well as to the original monograph by Schwartz and Ogilvy. Both are cited in the references.]

The emerging way of viewing the world, and approaching evaluation, is more in line with traditional Native beliefs about the world/reality. That is to say, Native peoples view the world as complex, inter-connected in non-linear relationships (heterarchic), dynamic, unknowable (indeterminant), changing/moving in several simultaneous cycles (mutual causality), growing as a whole (morphogenesis) and consisting of many perspectives.

Given the extent to which past evaluations of Native education have relied on old paradigm concepts, it is important to restate how the world of Native education actually is perceived in terms of the emergent paradigm characteristics.

Complexity: Native education cannot be simply described in terms of distinct systems of education (e.g., BIA schools, public schools, federal programs, Native government operated schools). Rather Native education is a complex interrelationship of systems at the national, state/local, and Native community levels. State and local public schools are not isolated systems, but are impacted by various Federal/national initiatives, local constituent concerns, and educational/professional movements. Native education involves all three systems of providers as well as the various Native stakeholder groups served through the systems. Thus, evaluation of Native education can no longer look only at federal policy or programs, or state/local initiatives. In order to be effective, the evaluation of Native education must examine the total *world* of Indian education as a complex system of interrelationships.

Heterarchy: Change and effect in Native education moves not only up and down the spectrum, from the federal level to the local or Native community level, but also responds to other simultaneous factors such as political and educational/professional concerns. The evaluation of Native education cannot focus only on a hierarchical ordering of federal policy and program impacts, but must also take into account these other factors. For example, the local political climate affects how much input Native communities have into local as well as federal initiatives. Similarly, research on how students learn, new national initiatives, the professionalization of Native communities also simultaneously affects how Native education is implemented. Evaluation must take into consideration all of these factors in order to be responsive and valid.

Holographic: Native education involves the multiple realities of many stakeholder groups. A given change in one part of the system, e.g., federal program regulations, will have several different interpretations by different stakeholders. The accuracy of each interpretation is facilitated by the amount of information sharing and interaction among the stakeholders. This sharing and interaction in turn changes the respective perspectives of the stakeholders. Evaluation must take into account these evolving perspectives and changes. There are multiple realities of what constitutes problems and what constitutes appropriate solutions. These multiple perspectives must be taken into account.

Indeterminate: The future of Native education cannot be simply determined; it must be monitored to ensure that all anticipated and unanticipated factors -- inputs, outputs, sideputs -- are regularly accounted for and analyzed in order to assure a true picture of Native education.

Mutual Causality: Native education does not involve a simple push-pull of the various forces and stakeholders involved. Changes in Native education involve an interactive and simultaneous movement of influences. Evaluation must describe how these influences interact.

Morphogenesis: As time passes, new educational, technical and administrative solutions arise and are used to address Native education problems. These new solutions can affect the ways in which Native students learn as well as how services are delivered. Berg and Ohler (INAR Supplement Volume, Commissioned Paper 11) present a comprehensive discussion of the possibilities for Native education through accessing and utilizing advanced techniques.

Perspective: The continuous evaluation of Native education should represent the diverse values and points of view of the various stakeholders including the educational concerns of teachers (both Native and non-Native) of Native students, the cultural and social concerns of Native Elders and parents, as well as the political concerns of Native governments, and the efficiency concerns of the various government educational service providers. Decisions are never value free or neutral; thus, decision-making must consider the extent to which the competing values of the various stakeholders groups can be included.

Using the framework of the emergent paradigm offers the various stakeholders involved in Native education a systemic approach to identifying what is not working, determining what does work, and how and why certain approaches to Native education work. The emergent paradigm offers us a view of Native education much more in line with the intergovernmental, multiprogrammatic and culturally diverse realities and conflicting goal orientations of Native education. Instead of viewing the *organism* of Native education as chaotic and unplanned, the paradigm offers us a way of explaining this complex creature.

B. A Model For Continuous Evaluation

It is important to examine how complex organizations like the Department of Education and BIA *really* function in order to see how these functions affect the way research, especially evaluation, are implemented and used. Again in the language of the Old-New Paradigm, we must understand that viewing the evaluation strategies only in terms of classic bureaucratic models (Old Paradigm) only serves to make any potential strategies ineffective. This is to say that by examining only changes in policy, programs and programmatic inputs like appropriations and regulatory mechanisms, we are doing ourselves a disservice.

Naturalistic inquiry or "fourth generation" evaluation presents us with step-by-step strategies for ensuring that the interests of the various Native groups represented at the INAR Task Force are dealt with equitably in future evaluation and research of Native education. These strategies are outlined in capsule form by Guba and Lincoln (1989); the basic components they present are:

1. Identify the full array of stakeholders who have an interest in or will be impacted by the projected evaluation. Some of these have been identified in the previous section, however, the way must be open to the inclusion of any new stakeholders.
2. Elicit from each stakeholder group its concerns and interests regarding the object of the evaluation and the range of claims and issues the group wishes to raise in relation to the evaluation. This process must be open-ended in order to guarantee that it is an insider's view that emerges rather than an outsider's view.
3. Provide a context and a methodology ... through which different perspectives and different claims, concerns, and issues, can be understood, critiqued, and taken into account.
4. Generate consensus with respect to as many perspectives and stakeholder claims, concerns, and issues, as possible. These attempts at gaining consensus should be undertaken within groups ... and between groups.
5. Prepare an agenda for negotiation on items about which there is no, or incomplete, consensus. Failure to reach consensus implies the continuation of competing perspectives, which ... can be changed only through new information or increased sophistication. Because more information may be required than is possible to obtain, given constraints of time and/or resources, the evaluator must devise some means ... for prioritizing the unresolved items. Stakeholder inputs are essential in this determination, lest this need be taken as an opportunity to disempower selected stakeholders.
6. Collect and provide the information called for in the context for negotiation. It cannot be guaranteed that needed information can be provided, but every effort must be made to do so.

7. Establish and mediate a forum of stakeholder representatives in which negotiations can take place. Unresolved differences, as well as resolved claims, concerns, issues, should be reviewed in the light of the new information in the hope that their number can be considerably reduced. Some items will likely remain unresolved, thereby setting the stage for later rounds of evaluation. Outcomes of this step must include definitive actions if the negotiation is to be regarded as successful.
8. Develop a report, probably several reports, that communicates to each stakeholder group any consensus on perspectives and findings and any resolution regarding claims, concerns, and issues that they or other groups have raised.
9. Recycle the evaluation once again to take up still unresolved perspectives and findings and questions and their related claims, concerns, and issues. New aspects may also be explored as they emerge as a result of the first-round evaluation. Fourth generation evaluations are never completed.

Native education is a complex organization, involving several stakeholders -- the many systems of educational service providers and the Native students, parents and Elders served. Each of these stakeholder groups has differing perceptions about the goals of Native education as well as the best ways in which to meet those goals. The emerging paradigm and the fourth generation evaluation model recognize the diversity that the *world* of Native education represents.

Policy making within this world involves several competing goals and priorities. Adaptive program implementation strategies are the most appropriate for organizational systems with conflicting goals and where many stakeholder groups are involved. Within the world of Native education, many adaptive strategies can be brought to bear on creating change. Beaulieu (INAR Supplement Volume, Commissioned Paper 20) presents strategies on how public education can be compelled to be more responsive to Native students needs and the goals of Native education. Similarly, in evaluation, recognition of the disparate goals of Native stakeholders and those who provide for Native education can be accommodated through the use of the naturalistic inquiry or fourth generation strategies. Such evaluation strategies can more accurately reflect the various perspectives and give us a truer and thus, more useful picture of Native education.

Naturalistic evaluation is designed to resolve conflicting claims, concerns and issues and to move stakeholders toward a consensus of critical issues. Naturalistic evaluation methods rely heavily on the collection and dissemination of information as descriptions of experiences related to key claims, concerns and issues relevant to as many stakeholder groups as possible. As noted earlier, the case study approach is an important element of naturalistic evaluation.

Regarding the use of the case study as an evaluation approach particularly appropriate for Native education, this author would suggest that the reader obtain a copy of the Fall 1981 issue of Daedalus: Journal of American Academy of Arts and Sciences. The issue, entitled "America's Schools: Portraits and Perspectives," presents case studies of several different schools representative of (1) the range of schools attended by American students, and (2) particular types of schools serving particular subgroups in American society. Similar descriptive studies of Native education programs, claims and concerns would be a step forward in presenting evaluation as useful to Native stakeholders.

The use of the naturalistic evaluation model would allow for the continuous exchange of information, reactions and responses to the cycles of information dissemination. The process results in awareness of changes, perspectives and movements toward consensus. The INAR hearings have served as one cycle of information gathering; the INAR Final Report and individual commissioned papers in the Supplement Volume serve as an analysis step in another cycle; and the dissemination of the INAR report will serve as another cycle of continuing movement toward resolution of conflicting Native education goals. In the future, the White House Conference on Indian Education can serve as another cycle in the evaluation process. The continuing communication and review of information is critical. The future willingness of the various providers of Native education to be responsive to these perspectives is critical. Perhaps, the INAR report as well as the White House Conference on Indian Education will result in the publication of more research on "what works" in Native education, just as the *A Nation At Risk* report generated several more reports and evaluation efforts.

Conclusions

The many studies that have documented changing policies and programs in Native education have had positive impacts albeit in some cases incremental, insufficient or inadequate. The INAR report provides an opportunity for furthering a truly representative Native view of what needs to be done to improve Native education. By directing further evaluation efforts on specific cases of what works and focusing on how and why "it" works, we can ensure that the INAR report is not viewed by Native people as "just another study."

By providing for continuing evaluations that will be able to (1) address a number of stakeholder groups, (2) provide appropriate formats for reporting, and (3) facilitate effective exchange of data and findings among Native Elders, educators, parents, and leaders, we can perhaps begin to form consensus on a new direction for Native education.

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Early Childhood Education in American Indian and Alaska Native Communities

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Introduction

Early childhood education for American Indians and Alaska Natives has not been a financial priority among the vast needs of health, housing, drug abuse, school dropout, and building an economic base among most American Indian tribes and Alaska Native communities. Early childhood education, however, has not been a federal financial priority for the country at large until recent times when the increased need for early care and education has literally forced an expansion because of the changes in American life that have forced more women into the work force.

If it were not for Head Start programs on many reservations, there would be minimal, if any, organized effort of early childhood education and child care. Reservations have reflected the larger society's trends.

The growing need for early care and education in today's society has also forced a refocusing on the importance of quality child care and effective preschool programs. In November, 1990, the 101st Congress passed legislation addressing early childhood issues — the first in 50 years (NAEYC, 1990a). In addition, Head Start programs have been reauthorized at the highest funding level ever. The attempt is being made to provide full funding to serve all eligible three through five-year-olds by 1994 (NAEYC, 1990a, p. 1).

The President of the United States and the Governors of each of the states met and proclaimed six national performance goals for education. Their first goal has strong implications for early care and education: "Goal 1 — Readiness for School: By the year 2000, all children in America will start school ready to learn" (National Governors' Association, 1990).

As the larger society moves forward in its efforts to improve conditions for child care and education for all children, there are deeper issues that must be considered by the American Indian and Alaska Native.

First among them is the long history of forced assimilation and attempted acculturation of Native Americans into the mainstream society (Paul & Van Otten, 1990). Schools and other institutions have participated in this process which has been singularly unsuccessful. Statistically, the American Indians and Alaska Natives have been the least successful academically of all U.S. minorities. The Native American groups have also experienced the highest school dropout rates, suicide rates, and teen pregnancy among all non-majority populations (Reeves, 1989).

The retaining of their culture has always been a critical concern for Native Americans. Historically, the educational institutions have treated the American Indians and Alaska Natives as if they were a part of the immigrant groups settling the country. However, it is a different issue from that which was faced by immigrants who intentionally came to this country and were anxious to be assimilated into the larger society. These groups wanted to come, rebuild their lives, and become part of what is called the melting pot. Immigrant parents encouraged their children to speak English and adopt the ways of the mainstream culture, thus the young people lost many of their traditions. American Indians and Alaska Natives have never been a part of this immigrant movement. Instead, they were forcibly relocated throughout this country. As part of their history, they were isolated on reservations and have endeavored to salvage their cultural integrity. Forced assimilation continued in the boarding schools, where children were sent to schools with different tribes and mixed together in an effort to assimilate them into the mainstream society.. Because schools have failed to "recognize the importance and validity of the Native community, both the community and its children retaliated by treating the school as an alien institution" (McDonald, 1989c, p. 12).

As Native people, we are at a point in our history where we must join together, review, and make changes that will give our children a more positive self-image which is necessary for success. It is time for Native American people to collectively insist that their children be allowed to maintain their identity as American Indian and Alaska Native tribal members with unique strengths embedded in each culture. The acceptance by decision-makers that early intervention is better and that reaching children at an earlier age will make transition into a public school more successful must be questioned in the light of its costs to Native families Programs for young Native children need to be designed within the context of each child's culture, home language and family. This cannot be done without community input and support.

"The first years of a child's learning experience must be connected to that with which he or she is familiar in order to build a foundation for a successful school experience" (Alaska Hearing, Sakeagak, 1990, p. 11).

To support the future of American Indian and Alaska Native children, we must establish this foundation for their development. The foundation for each person begins with one's own self-acceptance.

> I agree with other Native educators that self-esteem is a key to healthy, well-adjusted Native students. I am strongly convinced that a pre-requisite to self-esteem is a strong tribal identity, and tribal identity has to do with language and culture. (Plains States Hearing, Hart, 1990, p. 40)

Culture influences behavior and it affects how the world is viewed.

All children go through similar but critical developmental phases which reflect specific knowledge and skill held as milestones by each culture for their children. Early childhood education literature supports the interdependence of the child's physical, emotional, social, and intellectual development. The development that takes place for each child evolves from the influences he/she receives from family and environment. What actually happens to children as they respond to their environment and the people around them has already been influenced by how a woman cares for herself before the baby is born and what we as adults do after a child is born. Parents recognize that there are individual differences among their children. Some of their children learn to talk earlier than others. Some of them learn to walk before others. Some children start doing things later than others, but all children develop human skills, if there is nothing dramatically wrong, and children do so at their own rate.

A very important developmental phase for American Indian and Alaska Native children is social development. It is through social development, children learn about themselves and their relationship with other people. They learn how to behave toward other children as well as the adults around them and the expectation of them in different settings. These behaviors are learned within the context of their culture. Children learn at a young age the expectations of relationships such as in relating to Elders.

A child's emotional development is greatly affected by how safe and secure he/she is made to feel with the adults with whom they live and learn. The love and support that is shared with children is critical to their sense of belonging to and acceptance by their family and community.

The intellectual development of children is also influenced by a child's environment and the people around them. The way in which children perceive their world and how they understand and learn about their world will depend on the adults around them. One of the most important factors in this phase of development is the learning of language. It is through language that we express our thoughts, beliefs, values, and culture (Plains States Hearing, Hart, p. 40). It is through language that children come to understand the social expectations of their culture.

As children move from the home to wider social settings, such as the neighborhood and the school, the number of influences on the child has grown and may become different in view, practice, and language. Up to now, the beginning experiences with the transition from home to school for Native children have, at best, been marked by very limited success. Efforts to provide the child with a strong foundation for later school success have also been largely unsuccessful. The goals parents have for their children have not been realized nor has the school been able to provide adequate preparation for future school success or for later life productivity.

The Formative Years of a Child Are Critical

Parents must begin to ask what is going to happen to my child as they leave home at a younger age and go to someone else for care? The developmental phases continue for young children, and if we regard the formative years of children's lives as being very critical, they become even more crucial when we begin to look at Native children who are coming from their culture and moving to a culture, which may be different from that of home. As children leave home, and this is more true for younger children, they will encounter increasingly more influences from outside of the family. The kinds of cultural values the family has may become lost.

A Native American community must consider the critical nature of the formative years for their children. Early childhood development must become a priority focus for parents and educators —

whether the child is in the home or is in an organized setting. What we must acknowledge is that what happens to a child in the early years creates the foundation from which he grows. If we make the analogy in thinking about the foundations for buildings: the stronger the base or foundation is the stronger the building is going to be. Likewise, for a child, the stronger the foundation of the formative years, the stronger individual he or she is going to be. We must then as parents and as a community raise the question of what kind of an individual we want our children to become. The attitudes and the values and all of the ways that a child thinks and accepts people and accepts his view of life has to do with the kinds of seeds that are planted early on. As Native people, each community must decide what kind of adults they want their children to become and then evaluate the goals of the educational system that exist to see if they serve their purposes. If not, it is time to intervene.

As Native people within a larger society, we must also remember that our children must be able to live in two worlds and not become caught in between as has happened to too many of our tribal people. If we want to build tribal identity within our children, so they may grow knowing traditions, culture, history, and language, we must instill and maintain the tribal language both in the home and at school.

What schools have been doing is forcing children from their own Native language into the English language, then leaving the responsibility to the home to maintain the Native language. This becomes a very critical issue when you talk about early childhood because children must have a strong grasp of their Native language by the time they are three years old. If not, they may lose it as they move into an English-speaking world, especially if the Native language is not supported, encouraged, and used by the school or in the home. Traditionally, parents of school-aged children have been discouraged from using their Native language at home, in favor of English. Losing the home language moves children away from their Native-speaking Elders and their traditional practices and beliefs.

The school has been sending the message that children must change and must learn the language of the school. It has been reinforcing this message by favoring children who do that. Instead teachers could be saying to a child:

> I wish I could speak two languages like you do. You have a language at home and you have so much information in that language, learning from your parents and grandparents. I only have this one language that I use in school.

A teacher can help children to understand that they come from a rich cultural background, and that their Native languages are different, but that they are equal. Children need to know that it is advantageous to have more than one language (Plains Hearing, Alred, 1990; Hart, 1990). They need to know that knowing two languages gives them two ways to view the world.

Strategies for Developmentally and Culturally Appropriate Early Childhood Education

In every early childhood setting, research supports the active involvement of young children with their environment. Research also supports that it is important to make things relevant to children as illustrated by moving from the familiar to the less familiar. Adults caring for young children should help children explore their surroundings as well as help them use the many creative arts which all children enjoy. All of these activities and more like them can take place in both the Native language and the language of the school. Ideally, the younger-aged children should be taught in their home language.

- Young children profit from being talked with, read to, and being permitted to explore their world. There is no reason why such activities cannot take place in the context of home and school in their Native language.
- Young children need to hear about the important events which constitute the history of their family and tribe. They need to understand the origins of and experience their own traditions before learning about Halloween or St. Patrick's Day.
- American Indians and Alaska Natives share a long history of oral tradition through legends and folklore. This has historically been the means of preserving information. Oral storytelling by Elders, parents, teachers, and other community members is still a way of sharing values and traditions with young children by the adults who care for them.
- Young children possess a natural curiosity that can be nurtured through their senses by studying their physical surroundings such as the plants, rocks, and vegetation within their immediate surroundings.

- Every culture also has its unique art and music form which young children can be introduced to and come to appreciate.
- Even very young children can come to appreciate, respect, and take pride in their own culture, this effort will later help them to understand others who may have different cultural traditions.
- In multicultural settings, young children can also be helped to expand their cultural understandings through sharing their own unique experiences.

Early intervention for American Indians and Alaska Natives should not result in the loss of the child's home language and culture.

> Cultural-based curriculum can be introduced at any grade level, although it is best to introduce such information early in a child's development. ... It is more natural for children to learn positive or at least neutral facts about American Indian\Alaska Native groups on an ongoing, preferably daily, basis than to study them for but one day or one week out of the school year. (NEA, 1983, p. 15)

Parents Aid in Bridging the Gap between Home and School

One of the most important issues in Native education in general and in early education in particular is the nature of the relationship between the parents and the educators. However, Dr. Swan, a Native American educator from Rocky Boy School in Montana, states that, "Parent involvement seems to be the #1 problem that surfaces in any survey of Indian Education" (High Plains Hearing, 1990, p. 6).

The whole issue of early childhood education cannot be discussed without consideration of the family. The notion of education being what happens in school and not what happens at home has to be modified. The parents response to school reflects their acceptance or rejection of what happens at school.

Successful programs such as Head Start and Follow Through encourage parents to become involved in the school. One of the biggest issues, however, is, "How can we get parents, many of whom work full time, involved in their child's school program."

Unfortunately, there are very few success stories of parents and educators working together effectively which we can point to for guidance and insight. As Polly Greenberg,, the editor of the NAEYC Journal, in reporting on parent programs observed of this issue, "Nationwide there are only a handful of schools that exemplify maximum feasible parent participation or even approach significant levels of involvement" (1989, p. 74). There are a handful of exemplary American Indian and Alaska Native programs where we can learn the lessons of the power of parents as a resource and the ways in which this resource can be harnessed.

One such exemplary program is the Wounded Knee School in Manderson, South Dakota. At their elementary school, the attendance rate of 1989 was 97.8 percent. Charlotte Black Elk, a school board member, claims that, "We have done this by including parents as a key part of the programs. Each parent is required to spend a certain amount of time in their child's classroom" (High Plains Hearing, 1990, p. 6). She goes on to explain that such a high rate of parental participation is possible because of the compactness and smallness of the community which allows them to "draw on the talents within the community and do innovative programs" (p. 6).

Another example of a successful program which draws on the parents as a resource is the Red Lake School in Minnesota. The high school has an in-school day care and pre-school for the children of the teen parents. This program has not only been successful in keeping young parents in school, but it has also successfully adapted the extended family model to the school setting. Grandparents are hired to work in the day care center an the preschool where the teaching is in both English and Ojibwa. The young parents are required to take at least two courses related to family and parenting and the Elders are used to help teach these courses. This is truly an example of using the parents and grandparents as a resource in a way that is culturally compatible with the traditional extended family learning model of this Native American community.

The need to bring home and school together is important and needs to be considered so by parents and employers. Most jobs on and off the reservation grant parents sick leave and time off to vote. Parents should be able to initiate a day off which will allow them to visit their young children's school without penalty. This is of high value and an important investment. Not every parent has to visit at the same time, but the value of visiting school should be supported and/or mandated in the community.

A key underlying tenant of American Indian and Alaska Native culture is the importance of family relationships. The majority of families have very strong family ties. Some of this strength has been lost because of the forced relocations and economic associations that American Indians and Alaska Natives have had to make, but when maintained to any degree, there is a very strong extended family tie that exists. Nurturing this concept must become a priority.

If, as Native people, we want children to grow and to value their immediate and extended family, then we must continue to support family experiences outside of the home. This can be done by developing a parent connection with the school. The parent and the school, both, must not see themselves as a separate entity, but they must work cooperatively and collaboratively in rearing and educating young children. The school and parents must work in concert with each other rather than at cross purposes. Communities must insist upon and initiate such a relationship if quality early care and education is to happen outside the home.

A related issue to the efforts of utilizing parents in early schooling and regular school programs is the policy of desegregation. For Native Americans living in urban settings, the civil rights initiatives to desegregate our city schools has often had the effect of isolating Native American students. In Minneapolis, where there are only approximately 600 Native American students, the number of students at any one school became so small that the students and families felt isolated and the delivery of educational services intended specifically for Native American students became difficult. As Charlotte Black Elk pointed out, the concentration of a community makes it possible for parents and community experts to participate in the educational program of their children in a more consistent and meaningful way. Not surprisingly, some of the most successful urban educational programs are Native American magnet schools which have been able to assemble a critical mass of Native American students and families for the purposes of shaping, influencing, and participating in the educational process (Great Lakes Hearing, Tanner, 1990, pp. 57-58).

There is ample evidence that involving parents of children in school increases their chances of success (Burgess, 1982; Henderson, 1987; Nation At Risk, 1983; Wells, 1986). This evidence supports a position of the school respecting the home culture and asking the community to participate because they see the community as a resource of information that the teachers perhaps don't have. The child then recognizes that the home culture is valued and respected. In this context, schools and teachers, in particular, need to examine what kind of messages they are relaying to children, particularly very young children. "There is a lack of understanding of the Indian ways, which in turn leads into a problem with parental involvement" (Plains Hearing, Huston, 1990, p. 24).

The gap that has existed for too long between home and school must be closed in order for American Indian and Alaska Native children to successfully move back and forth between home and school. The following strategies will help build the links between home and early childhood education programs.

- It must be acknowledged that parents are their children's first teachers, and the home is the first center of development. Bridging school experiences with home experiences is a cornerstone commitment to early childhood education. (TEEM, 1989, p. 1)
- Parent participation in decision-making regarding educational, health, or community policy for their children must become a collaborative effort with the school.
- Parents must be involved in both planning and implementing school programs by becoming full partners with the school.
- Parents must become resources and community participation must be encouraged in order to maintain cultural influence on their children and to preserve tribal traditions.

Finally, it seems that not only do preschools and public schools have to successfully solicit parent involvement, but they must also offer the parents educational and self-improvement opportunities (Eastern Regional Hearing, Fowler, 1990, p. 26). Many early education literacy researchers are pointing to the critical factor of parent literacy level in predicting the literacy success of the child as support for parent literacy school programs (Burgess, 1983; Leler, in press; Swift, 1970). The Colville Tribes of Washington State have used Title V funds to increase their parents literacy skill levels and also to train the parents in specific strategies for helping their children with school work. This has helped them bring many of their students up to grade level (Aripa, 1990).

Challenge for the Early Childhood Education Programs: Accommodating Diverse American Indian and Alaska Native Children

In helping the home and school to come closer together, teachers need to be reeducated. In the past, schools have often been patronizing toward parents. Teachers have been led to undervalue the knowledge of parents and the importance of the parents' role in the educational process. There are many missing pieces in the teacher's education regarding some of the strategies that they can use to encourage parent participation. It is important, for instance, for teachers to meet parents; to walk home with a child; to want to meet and get acquainted with the rest of the family; to be able to go into a home and be welcomed as a person who is sharing in the education of their child.

In urban areas where a teacher does not always live in the community, it is more difficult for this to happen. But even in city neighborhood schools, inservice days or release time should be set aside so that teachers can visit the homes of their students. When the teachers live in a reservation community, they need to become part of that community. It is up to the school then to have an ongoing process, to make it a viable option for teachers to become members of the community. The schools should actually encourage support of and participation in community activities by their teachers. In the past, the teachers have not really been encouraged to participate in some of the activities that the community holds.

In an urban setting teachers may have only one or two Native children who may not even live in the same neighborhood, but nonetheless are in the class. They may be from different tribes, but the teacher still needs to also find out what kinds of resources those children have access to and what kinds of experiences they have had. The teacher must find out about them, not necessarily to teach the whole class, but to help herself and the children to become closer, so that she can reach out to meet their needs. Their needs are going to be different from students in the mainstream culture. There are also Native children who have only been raised in an urban setting and who may have only limited experiences and knowledge of their culture's traditional lifestyle. Conversely, other children are actually continuing the trek back and forth from urban settings to the reservations to maintain their traditions. The parents of these children may take the time from work, take the children out of school, and participate in certain critical traditional activities or ceremonies. They feel that it is valuable enough to remove the child to do this and the school needs to respect their actions. When this traditional upbringing is valued by the parents, it should be encouraged by the school. For the child who may not have much information about his/her own cultural traditions, it is very critical that the teacher begin to find and introduce information and cultural resources to the child. Material is available about tribal groups and about the various tribal traditions. Teachers may consider taking field trips to visit a school setting with a high Native population, inviting groups from the reservation to visit a class, or exchanging letters with a reservation class.

On the reservation it would be helpful for new teachers to be able to meet with parents of young children and do some exchanging of information before a child comes to school. The parent does not always have to come to the school. The school could go to the parent. Meetings could be set up with two or three people at a time for sharing and exchanging. This will help both parties decide what is needed for their children. Conferencing informally on a small group or one-to-one basis can be profitable. Robert Jones of the BLM Partnership program stated, "Our experience with one-to-one work with parents of Native students has been very successful" (Alaska Hearing, 1990, p. 40).

A kindergarten teacher in the Juneau testimony discussed why a strong outreach effort is needed from the teachers and the school. Many times schools expect the parents to make all the effort. Elizabeth Hope says, "It is the teacher's job to play a larger role in the public outreach" (Alaska Hearing, 1990, p.51). By simply endorsing the use of the school site for community events and meetings, the school would become more linked with the community (NEA, 1983). Where this kind of commitment occurs, the community sees the school more positively.

One difficulty in hiring and keeping good teachers on reservation schools is culture shock for the teacher. The reservation is a different world for non-Native teachers. It would help teachers if they became a part of the community, because they would get to see and know the parents. Instead, reservation teachers often live in a compound where they actually isolate themselves from the community. The Native families must in turn accept teachers into the community. Sometimes there are barriers that are built unintentionally. Many well meaning, talented people who have gone on reservations to teach, have not been successful because they have not taken advantage of the opportunity they have to really get to know the people.

Too often teachers begin teaching without the orientation and information they need to work within a reservation school system. Their own set ideas regarding the educational process may not take into consideration the cultural values of the community, nor are they familiar with seasonal activities of the children and the community. When teachers don't feel comfortable, they tend to isolate themselves within their own teacher cliques. This presents a dilemma for parents who would like to meet them. One suggestions from the hearings included that: "All teachers in villages receive intense cross-cultural training, like the Peace Corps, so that they can understand the Native language, culture, and history (Alaska Hearing, Wulf-Shircel, 1990, p. 15).

The school will never really know if there is a discontinuity between what they are teaching and what the children bring with them unless they really know what the community is about, what the people are about — what the values are (Northwest Hearing, Hampton, 1990). Only this kind of effort will help to do away with the discontinuity between the value systems and the different views that people have who come from outside (Cazden, 1982; Hartle-Shutte, 1988).

Sometimes teachers see their job narrowly, only in terms of school achievement, as opposed to thinking about building a future for young children. It is critical to the growth of students for teachers to realize that there are resources in the community and that bringing in the community to share some of their legends and some of the traditions with the children is vital. Teachers need to take advantage of the community resources. Schools need to identify and tap what Luis Moll has labeled the "funds of knowledge in the community" (1988). Most people are willing to come and help, if schools would go to them and say, "I know that you can do this. I know that you have this information. I know that you have a skill or talent. Would you come and share it with my class?" Most Elders and parents are willing to do that (Alaska Hearing, Armstrong, Wulf-Shircel, 1990). The elderly are an especially rich resource (Alaska Hearing, Anderson 1990; Plains Hearing, Onco, 1990).

Within the context of the setting of day care or Head Start preschools or public schools, particularly for reservation children, school personnel must bring the community into the preschool. Ideally, you could go into the classroom and know what cultural groups are represented within that group of students. You should be able to look at the classroom and the children and know you are on the Apache Reservation or the Hopi Reservation or that you are on the Tohono O'odham Reservation. The school should reflect the culture of the children through pictures and traditional kinds of artifacts that say these are the things that are valued by the people in this community. You should be able to go into the classroom and view a science table that has the things that grow locally and the things that are out in the community that can be used. Anything can be used for scientific purposes if you are going to look at it, break it, and examine it closer. The children's work should be displayed. Whatever pictures are in the classroom environment should have some resemblance to what is happening at home or in the community. There needs to be a balance in the classroom environment between what the community is about, what the teacher is teaching, and its relatedness to what is happening to the children involved.

This is especially important for younger children in preschools when there are very few content areas that are covered in school which do not or cannot relate to what the children's experiences are. Teachers should be able to use a guide book and take the suggested example and translate it to relate to children in the community. If this is done by teachers and child care givers, along with providing models of the people like them for their children, children will be more successful in building a positive self-awareness and be more accepting of what we give them in school.

The National Association for the Education of Young Children maintains that, "Every child, except in the most severe instances of abuse, neglect, or disability, enters school ready to learn" (NAEYC, 1990b, p. 1). The NAEYC statement on readiness goes on to identify the following three areas which early childhood programs must address:

1. The societal inequities which affect the nature and quality of the child's early life experiences must be balanced so that all children will have experiences which will lead to school success.
2. The individual differences inherent within any group of children must be recognized and fostered.
3. Age appropriate expectations for and understanding of children's capabilities when entering school must be established.

Our current definition of readiness focuses the blame for early school failure on the child through a deficit model. It neither takes into account the differing range of experiences which children have had nor the individual differences in aptitudes and interests of children. Frequently this becomes a case of blaming the victim, who may have had limited opportunity to engage in school readiness experiences. The measures used to assess readiness have been faulty also, because of sometimes inappropriate identification of the essential readiness skills and the failure to allow for normal individual variation in the rate of maturation and learning. The NAEYC instead advocates that schools do what Dewey suggested (Dewey, 1916), and meet the students where they are, developmentally and experientially, and then provide them with the experiences and guidance necessary to help each child reach his or her full potential.

Perhaps the biggest readiness issue of all in Native American education is the ethnocentric nature of how we have defined and measured readiness. Our assumptions about which experiences are valuable, which skills are necessary and what knowledge is important for the young child are cultural ones, which may not have much validity for cross-cultural and multi-cultural populations. Robert Lake, a member of the Cherokee and Seneca tribes and an associate professor at Gonzaga University, makes the point when writing about his own son's kindergarten experiences that culturally different is by no means the same as culturally disadvantaged (Lake, 1990). Unfortunately, his son's school and by, extension, our public education system tends to label children as "not ready" or "slow learners" because the knowledge and skills which they enter school with are different from that which a middle-class child brings to kindergarten. In Mr. Lake's and my opinion, it is the school's definition of and understanding of readiness which must be changed and broadened and not the culturally specific knowledge and skills which Native American preschoolers have acquired. Schools, beginning with readiness, should not be in the business of compensatory education, but instead they should be designed to enhance and support the culturally bound and individually determined readiness skills with which all children come to school. It is the readiness skills and knowledge of the schools that must be assessed, expanded, and improved.

At the Plains Regional Hearing (1990), Karen Onco presented a list of school readiness concerns with the following suggestions for strategies to address these concerns:

- We need to prepare for school readiness through home support.
- We need preventive health screening for young preschool children.
- We need transportation provision to help get Indian children to Head Start programs.
- Children need more manipulative experiences as well as concrete-operation learning using culturally-related curriculum.
- We need the school environment to reflect the nationality of the students in the classroom as well as teacher education in multicultural education.
- We need Elders and parents to volunteer in preschool environments.
- We need culturally-related books and material for home use. We also need provisions for financial support to purchase materials and loan them for home-use. This would be a means of outreach to parents. (1990, p. 16)

The following are additional strategies for providing successful early care and education:

- Link home learning with school learning.
- Use Elders, parents and community members as a resource.
- Educate non-native teachers and administrators about the local tribes.
- Strong outreach efforts must be established by the schools.
- Assist teachers in becoming aware and participating community members.
- Train more Native teachers and administrators by using alternative certification procedures.
- Promote, maintain and encourage Native language use, particularly with younger children.
- Establish a culturally-based curriculum relevant to the children being taught.
- Include cultural awareness courses in teacher training.
- Hire Native aides as language and cultural models but also train them in child development principles.
- Increase Head Start availability for all who wish to participate. "Parent income level eligibility requirements for Head Start should be less restrictive ... but should be based on the community needs of the tribe/reservation" (Hearings Summary, 1990, p. 11).

- Have communities involved in the development of curriculum.

The Community's Contribution to Strong Early Childhood Education

Exploring the community is a very important aspect of any kind of teaching process that children go through. Parents initiate observation of their environment, but the school needs to continue this process.

> As a tribe, we pay tribute to the wisdom and vision of our Elders. They are our link to the past, and they fought for our future. We also love and cherish our youth, for they are our link to the future. We think of ourselves as a whole, as a unified body, as a tribe, and that is how we address our problems. (Alaska Hearing, Anderson, 1990, p. 16)

A common theme in the testimony and writing is the importance of developing more Native teachers and administrators (Great Lakes Hearing, DeCramer, 1990, p. 53; Northwest Hearing, Egawa, 1990, p. 27; Southwest Hearing, Nelson, 1990, p. 29; Swisher, 1990, p. 9). Programs are needed to encourage young people to go into the field of education to be teachers. Also, alternative programs for teacher certification, or certifying the Elders for the knowledge that they have and letting them work with the children would be beneficial to preschools especially (Great Lakes Hearing, Gipp, 1990, p. 13; Nerburn, p. 18).

Another critical element of a successful educational program is helping children to understand that they have choices. Occasionally there are some extremes when we talk about consequences, but it is not usually in relationship to good or bad; instead it is more often a case of looking at alternative ways of approaching some sort of a task. A very important strategy in working with Native Americans is that teachers must develop more than one approach to any kind of task. Teachers must see children as being unique, as being individual, and having different styles of learning. Thus, there will to be alternative ways for children to complete a task, no matter how small a task may be: "... Incorporate a variety of teaching styles and methodologies that coincide with American Indian and Alaska Native students background" (NEA, 1983, p. 39, 42; Northwest Hearing, Davis, 1990).

Choice is something that is a part of the unwritten curriculum which is essential for people to master so that they can succeed as part of the larger society. This process begins in a child's home. An example is with children at mealtime. Parents say, "You may have corn flakes; you may have Cheerios; or you may have shredded wheat." What they are really saying to the child is "You're going to have some cereal this morning, but your choice is among these three." Thus the child is able to decide, "Okay, I want Cheerios," and they have made a choice. They have practiced making a choice, and the parent still has had jurisdiction over what that child is going to eat. Food may not be the best kind of example if there is not much variety available, but you can practice in other situations with children, such as at bedtime. For instance, reminding a child that it is close to bedtime and bathtime and they may choose to have a story read or maybe a snack before bathtime or after bathtime, then off to bed is the expectation that is set.

One consequence affecting the role of parenting is the experiences many American Indian and Native Alaska parents had attending boarding school. There students were told when to get up, when to eat, when to study, when they could leave campus, and when they could have visitors. Basically, all decisions were made for them. At the end of their stay, students were turned loose and told, "Now, you're on your own." As students they had limited opportunity to make many decisions. One does not easily make big decisions wisely unless opportunities have been provided to exercise judgment while making choices and looking at alternatives. In many cities where there are large Native populations, Native Americans have developed Indian Centers (Great Lakes Hearing, 1990; Northwest Hearing, 1990, p. 2). Within the context of that Indian Center they have chosen to share some of their experiences as members of different tribes and have discovered the commonalities among them. In these urban settings, inter-tribal communities are formed through the sharing of potluck dinners, talking about recent visits home, or discussing what is happening to them as a family in the context of the city. These relationships and alliances can serve as stabilizing factors. The Indian Center is one place where different age groups can get together. They have programs for very young children, for the adults, and for the elderly. Adult interaction can be directed at training for specific skills or simply gaining needed information, in terms of exchanging information about raising children, health issues, or nutrition.

The Circle of Learning, located in Denver, is a children and family services program that focuses on nurturing the Native child, parents and family (Harjo & Russell, 1990). Client services include early childhood education classes for children ages

2 1/2 to 5 years old, in-home instruction for children 0-5, and parent education classes. The project was developed in response to the expressed need of the Denver Native community for an opportunity to participate more fully in the larger society and still retain their roots and cultural heritage (National Advisory Council on Indian Education, 1989, p. 127).

Just as traditions were relayed orally in the past, Natives still come together to share information and tradition through talking together. Sharing does not necessarily have to be in a formal institutional setting. It is vital for parents to have opportunities for this supportive interaction in the urban centers, particularly, because the extended family support system is less likely to be present.

The meeting of specific Native community needs is often affected by the overlapping jurisdiction of various agencies that exists on a reservation. When asking parents to take part in making decisions, we need to think about the economy in personal terms: where parents are making a living; what it is they are doing with their children in trying to get them educated, i.e, whether the state or the tribe or the government has made the provision for the schooling of children; and what kind of messages are being sent to them by multiple agencies as a family.

The economic resource, such as a BIA school or government agency does provide positive economic contributions to the reservation. On the other hand, the same agency may be a destructive force in terms of maintaining the culture; the community has to weigh these benefits against the costs when considering what is best for the tribe, particularly the future of young children. The people are reluctant to change the status quo, because it is their source of income. However, the economic support might be from an institution that is working to eliminate the language and culture or exert force in that direction in order to facilitate some of the changes that as an agency it is trying to make (McDonald, 1989b).

The goals set by Native communities, however, will not be reached without help, support, and commitment. The schools must come to acknowledge, respect, and understand the child's language, culture, and community. Through parental insistence there must be incorporation of cultural information and values in the curriculum. American Indian and Alaska Native communities must contribute to the development of policies and practices. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, at this point, is turning over its responsibility to some of the different tribes. The tribes are taking over some of the functions or policy setting roles that the Bureau has had in the past. This is a step in the right direction. Tribes are beginning to build community and tribal schools and implement some of the policies that they want for their children and tribal group. Community schools are what many Native parents view as a possible answer to their frustration with the public school system. It is here that they view a better system of "Indian" education. The expectation must be there for a culturally congruent curriculum, caring and nurturing staff, individualized learning, and an environment where the Native student will want to succeed and develop their full potential (Martin, 1990). A major way to accomplish this task is by helping young American Indians and Alaska Natives to become teachers, leaders, and administrators (NEA, 1990). This can only happen if from the beginning of their schooling the young children are taught the language and traditions of their culture.

Another way of providing continuity is for the community is to take charge of the school. It will then be the community providing the continuity, and the teacher will be a resource or specialist who comes in to teach in the community's school. The continuity will exist if it is the community which designs the curriculum and if the curriculum reflects the community's vision of what the children are to become. In this model it is not as critical for a teacher to stay a certain length of time, because the community will be the backbone of the school. Communities must recognize that they, and they alone, have this power and are the ones that either exercise it or do not. Successful Native American educational programs are found only in the places where communities have exercised this power (NEA, 1983, p. 49).

There must be trust between the community and the teachers so that the teachers can consider themselves the advisers and the parents will be the ones who should be deciding the curriculum (Great Lakes Hearing, Christensen, 1990, p. 52). The teachers are the specialists with some knowledge, but the parents and community should be controlling the process and asking for the advice that they want for their purposes. "Explore what Native Americans see as the purpose of education. What are the aspirations that communities have for their children" (Alaska Hearing, Arnold, 1990, p. 46).

Various service agencies that are funded to help families, often become entities into themselves, and do not necessarily serve families as a whole. Often parents have a complex, confusing network they have to go through instead of being able to go to one agency and say, "These are the kinds of things that I need for my family." Needs may be in terms of financial assistance, whether it be clothing, medical assistance, or pre-natal care. In the rural areas, in particular, there ought to be one place where families could go and request services. When there are people specializing in specific areas, they ought to be available to serve a family. This combined effort could reduce administrative costs, and the money could be spent to help provide service people. Differing needs of the community and the families must be considered in this decision-making (Eastern Hearing, Johnson, 1990, p. 24).

Services are provided in Head Start for preventive efforts, so that children are diagnosed early if they need assistance, i.e., vaccinations, hearing aids, dietary needs. Parents who do not have these services for their children should be alerted as to where their children may receive these services.

Pre-natal care, especially for teenage girls in high school, is crucial for the baby as well as the mother. If they do become pregnant, young women should not be left to fend for themselves. The family or an agency should bring them in, rather than wait for the pregnant teen to come, and the community must say, "You need to take care of yourself. Here are some things that you will need to do." There are enough organizations that every young person should know another adult who could find someone to fulfill critical needs. In addition to the need for prenatal care for young parents, the importance of teenage Native parents receiving training in parenting skills must also be recognized (Hearings Summary, 1990, p. 11). Using Elders to work with young parents can be beneficial to all involved.

Whiteriver Elementary School in the Apache community of Whiteriver, Arizona, has linked social service agencies and schools from Head Start to high school with parent involvement and parent education programs. A unique component of this comprehensive program is a special parenting class for high school students. This program offers parenting skills to teenage mothers and to young women, who as a result of participation in the program often decide to wait a few years before having children (White, 1990).

In the Alaskan testimony it was mentioned that one of the main reasons communities want early childhood care is so that the young teenage parents can go back to school and finish their education (Anderson, 1990, p. 17).

Every community is different, so that it is very important that every community take a look at who they are, what services they have, and how they might work together. Because funding is generally being reduced, the services could be maintained with a careful collaborative effort among agencies.

A Promising Model for Evaluation

In a 1989 report by Native educators titled, *Our Voices, Our Vision*, the effects of research and publication on American Indian and Alaska Native culture is discussed.

> As a result of racism, greed, and distorted perceptions of native realities, Indian culture as an economic commodity has been exploited by the dominant society with considerable damage to Indian people. Tribal people need to safeguard the borders of their cultural domains against research and publishing projects. (1989, p. 6)

There should be a similar safeguard for evaluation of early childhood education. As Tigges and Zastrow say:

> Evaluators frequently find themselves in a social context different than the one in which they were trained to be evaluators, and occasionally, very different from the social context in which the concepts of social science research were developed. However, this difference is rarely accounted for in the evaluation they are asked to do. ... Evaluators are asked to do acceptable social science evaluation of programs whose participants are from a culture with basic assumptions different than those of Western science. At the very least, this poses problems in communication. More seriously, it may lead the evaluators to inadvertently violate certain tribal customs, which results in the failure of the study and a loss of trust from the tribal (sic) for them and other outsiders. (1981, p. 11)

A more promising model for evaluation would be for researchers to become knowledgeable about child development principles and how they apply to the milestones held by a cultural group. Evaluators must develop "more democratic, culturally appropriate means of evaluating and incorporating parental input into their children's educational futures. Researchers must free themselves from the traditional hard science model of research and formulate a more qualitative collection of information designed to feed back to communities — families and educators — rather than to continue to violate or undermine family primary rights to the education of their children. Integrity must be maintained in data collation, yet underlay the information with new considerations as to the implications for families from varying cultural backgrounds. The advantage of this kind of evaluation is to help establish a kind of "paradigm" in which the use of data collected empowers the primary participants" (Schlessman-Frost, 1990). In "Alternative Model for Program Evaluation of Cultural Based Communities: An Evaluation of the Santa Clara Pueblo Head Start Program," the evaluators designed and implemented "an evaluation to suit Santa Clara's needs, fitting it into the context of the Pueblo culture yet maintaining certain standards of objectivity and respect for the cultural sensitivity of the people" (Tigges & Zastrow, 1981, p. 4).

Strategies for Culturally Appropriate Evaluation of Early Childhood Education

The following strategies suggest a set of policies, which would give direction for culturally appropriate evaluation of early childhood education in American Indian and Alaska Native communities. They have been adapted from the policy recommendations suggested by Schlessman-Frost in "Multicultural Educational Evaluation: A Democratic Model and Some Policy Recommendations" (in press).

- Participants (parents, children, child care providers) in a democratic evaluation process should use their language of choice when providing input.
- The perceptions (criteria for worth) of those affected by the early childhood education process should be incorporated into the evaluation goals.
- Cultural values should be given high priority and not violated by the evaluation procedures. The worth of these values does not have to be "proven" or justified to some funding agency or to the mainstream educational research and evaluation elite.
- Ethnoscientific studies to establish cultural relevancy for early childhood education goals should be incorporated into the evaluation categories.
- The methods and instruments of the evaluation should be developed by or in collaboration with those participating in the educational process.
- The design of the evaluation; its goals, methods, instruments; should be formulated in and run parallel to the group processes being evaluated.
- Results of educational evaluation, which are generated by culturally biased assumptions and instruments, specifically standardized test score, should not be published as negative reflections on those communities involved (Williams, 1990). There should be a community privacy of information rule.
- Shared, cultural values among American Indians and Alaska Natives should be used to identify the enlightened self-interest procedures for community education.
- Evaluations, which open options and contribute to shared futures for multiple cultures, should set guidelines for "new" educational evaluation and research paradigms.

The exciting possibility for everyone involved (evaluator, educator, parent, child) is to turn the evaluation process into a contributing part of the growth for the community. The purpose should not be research for research sake or evaluation for evaluation, but should be to contribute directly back to the community. Unfortunately, community re-information has been rare.

Summary

Looking at formative years, we have to consider who is it that the community wants their children to become when they leave? What kinds of values are held by that community? What ideas are planted in children during these early years? Historically, children being taken from their homes at an early age and taken to a boarding schools was a tragedy. Some dysfunction of the family stems from the different conditions imposed upon Native Americans. Children have sometimes been given limited information and sometimes they make their own interpretations, but nonetheless an idea has been planted. It should instead be a positive idea, such as accepting of the elderly as a rich resource. That is a very important concept. It may be their understanding of their role as a part of a family. That also is a very important concept. These values that are instilled early need to be fostered by the school so the child will retain them.

The American Indian and Alaska Native population is growing above the national average. This means there are going to be more children, thus the community needs to be very conscious of what kind of adults it wants these children to become. Among the values that should be preserved are tribal history and culture, because it is so important for a people to know who they are, where they come from, and what they have because of who they are. It can be very detrimental not to have this sense of identity. In helping our children maintain, or at least be aware of their Native culture, we are nurturing self-identity and building a foundation for secure adulthood.

The decisions regarding the early care and education of young American Indians and Alaska Natives are of a serious nature. The issues are complex and challenging.

The goals which are established for young American Indian and Alaska Native children must not be limited to short term benefits such as getting a child ready for school or getting him/her ready for the next grade. A more important priority is the long-range goal of assisting our young people to become productive individuals who practice their thinking skills in decision-making. Individuals are needed by the tribes who will be capable of providing leadership, management, and models for maintaining the strengths of their tribal identity.

In making provisions for early care and education for younger American Indians and Alaska Natives, we must reflect on the dangers of losing Native language through which Native speakers share rules for what Barbara Bowman refers to as "making meaning." She also states that "Culture forms a prism through which members of a group see the world and create 'shared meanings'" (Bowman, 1989, p. 118).

The National Association for Bilingual Education (NABE) No Cost Study on Families released a press brief at a recent conference , which indicates that:

> In a nationwide survey of families, volunteer researchers have found evidence of serious disruptions of family relations occurring when young children learn English in school and lose the use of the home language. This finding supports other research that documents the benefits of native language preschool programs. The study revealed that while language minority parents recognize the importance of English and want their children to learn it at school, they do not want it at the expense of loss of the home language. Many of the parents expressed a concern that their children will lose their language and become estranged from their families and cultural heritage. Others reported that their children had already lost or were losing the language.
>
> ... The study is a reaction by children's and family advocates to current efforts to get non-English speakers as young a three and four years of age into preschool programs where they can be taught English before kindergarten. Language learning theorists contend that such preschool programs are linguistically and culturally unsound, and may have negative consequences on the language, social, and intellectual development of children. (Wong Fillmore, 1990, p. 1)

President Bush in October of this past year signed into law the Native American Language Act which reverses a 104-year-old federal policy on the destruction of Native languages (Locke, 1990). The effects of this policy have resulted in 40 to 60 Native languages being exterminated and only 160 Native languages remain alive out of an estimated 600 languages that were spoken by American Indians and Alaska Natives at the time of Christopher Columbus' arrival.

Federal law Public Law 101-477 has been passed and provides us the right to preserve, protect and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native languages.

Every tribal chairman must request copies of this law and plan ways to implement the eight provisions included (Locke, 1990).

The door has been opened if we as American Indians and Alaska Natives accept the challenge to maintain the integrity of our tribal identity. Instilling the home language in young children is one of the keys for American Indian and Alaska Native children to grow knowing traditions, culture, history, and most importantly take pride in who they are. It is vital to give young children this strong foundation which will assist them to be successful throughout their schooling so they may be able to choose where their future contributions will be.

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Plans for Dropout Prevention and Special School Support Services for American Indian and Alaska Native Students

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Abstract

American Indian and Alaska Native students have a dropout rate twice the national average; the highest dropout rate of any United States ethnic or racial group. About three out of every ten Native students drop out of school before graduating from high school both on reservations and in cities. Academically capable Native students often drop out of school because their needs are not being met while others are pushed out because they protest in a variety of ways how they are treated in school.

As the psychiatrist Erik Erikson has pointed out, positive identity formation is an ongoing, cumulative process that starts in the home with a trusting relationship established between mother and child and develops through the child's interaction with other children and adults. To build a strong positive identity, new adults that the child interacts with need to reinforce and build on the cultural messages that the child has previously received. However, too often in schools today teachers are not reinforcing what Native parents show and tell their children producing cultural discontinuity between home and school and forcing Native children to choose between their Native heritage and school success with disastrous results. Many of the problems faced by students such as drug and alcohol abuse are symptoms of the poor self concepts of Native students who have unresolved internal conflicts resulting from educators asking students to give up their Native culture. Teaching methods and school curriculum need to be changed to reduce cultural conflict between home and school. In addition, the underlying causal factor of internal identity conflict in many Native teenagers needs to be treated at a community as well as an individual level through community-based counseling programs.

In order to help Native students form positive, mature identities and to reduce the number of Native dropouts, large schools need to be restructured to allow teachers to get to know and interact with their students. Caring teachers (especially Native teachers) need to be recruited who will spend the time and effort to learn from as well as teach their students. These caring teachers need to use active teaching strategies with their students to keep their students motivated and Native curriculum needs to be developed and used in Native schools to reduce cultural discontinuity. Testing needs to be used in schools to help students learn rather than to track them into non-academic programs. And parents need to have the power to demand that schools give their children an education that will strengthen Native families rather than separate Native children from their parents. Academic student advocacy programs such as the ones sponsored by the American Indian Science and Engineering Society and by tribal colleges need to be encouraged.

Both on and off reservations many schools are not providing an appropriate education for Native students. They are denied teachers who have special training to teach Native students, they are denied a curriculum that includes their heritage, and culturally biased tests are used to push them out of academic programs. The supplemental add-on programs such as Indian Education Act, Johnson O'Malley (JOM), bilingual education, special education, and other federal programs of the last two decades have had a limited success in improving the education of Indian children. However, add-on programs are only a first step to making schooling appropriate for Native children. Native education must be viewed holistically rather than fragmented with basic skills, Native studies, and other classes taught in isolation from one another. In addition to treating the curriculum holistically, dropout prevention needs to be treated holistically. Students do not drop out of school just because of academic failure, drug and alcohol abuse, or any other single problem. Too often well meaning add-on remedial programs focus on finding the reason for failure in students and their homes, "blaming the victims." These programs treat the symptoms of the cultural conflict going on between students and teachers in school rather than the root problem. The idea that Native students are "culturally disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived" reflects an ethnocentric bias that should not continue. When schools

do not recognize, value, and build on what Native students learn at home, they are given a watered-down, spread out curriculum that is meant to guarantee student learning but which often results in their education being slowed and their being "bored out" of school. The "traditional school system" has failed dropouts rather than they having failed the system.

Beyond correcting these problems to prevent future dropouts, more needs to be done to help current dropouts through retrieval programs such as the General Educational Development (GED) program and community-based drug prevention programs. In addition, the negative tinge of vocational programs needs to be removed, and these programs opened to all students. In particular, vocational programs need to be tied to real jobs through partnerships with business, labor unions, and government.

Dropout prevention starts with caring teachers who give students every chance for success in the classroom through interactive and experiential teaching methodologies, and culturally-relevant appropriate curriculum. At risk students need peer support through cooperative instructional methodologies and peer counseling programs. Dropout prevention also includes support services outside of the classroom from school administrators and counselors who work closely with parents.

If teachers and school administrators continue to not get appropriate training in colleges of education, local training programs need to provide school staff with information both on what works in Native education and information about the language, history, and culture of their Native students. Parents and local school boards also need on-going training about what works in Native education and what schools can accomplish. Head Start, elementary, and secondary schools need the support of tribal education departments and tribal colleges to design and implement effective educational programs that support rather than ignore Native heritages.

Introduction

The National Center for Education Statistics (1989) reports that American Indian and Alaska Native students have a dropout rate twice the national average; the highest dropout rate of any United States ethnic or racial group reported. About three out of every ten Native students drop out of school before graduating from high school both on reservations and in cities (see Table 1). The research reported in this paper shows that academically capable Native students often drop out of school because their needs are not being met while others are pushed out because they protest in a variety of ways how they are treated in school. The studies reviewed in this paper show that both on and off reservations many schools are not providing an appropriate education for Native students. They are denied teachers with special training to teach Native students, they are denied a curriculum that includes their heritage, and culturally biased tests are used to label them failures and push them out of academic programs.

The Native student dropout problem is not of recent origin. Only a small percentage of students attending the famous Carlisle Indian School in the Nineteenth Century actually graduated (Eastman, 1935). The 1969 Senate report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, also documented dropout rates for American Indians at twice the national average. That report led to the passage of the Indian Education Act. Many Native people testified in the Indian Nations at Risk (INAR) Task Force hearings to the success of Indian Education Act, Bilingual Education Act, Chapter 1, and other supplemental, add-on programs. However, ethnographic studies done of classrooms across the country since 1969 show that supplemental programs are not enough to solve the problem. The need for school-wide reforms is pointed out by the recent Department of Education (ED) sponsored study on dropout prevention (Sherman & Sherman, 1990).

As reported by Estelle Fuchs and Robert J. Havighurst from the National Study of Indian Education in the late 1960s, "Many Indian children live in homes and communities where the cultural expectations are different and discontinuous from the expectations held by schoolteachers and school authorities" (1972, p. 299). Many Native students are forced to choose between their Native heritage and schooling. If they choose their heritage, they can fall further and further behind and eventually be pushed out of school. If they choose school, they can suffer serious psychological problems resulting from the rejection of their homes and families which can lead to drug and alcohol abuse. In the INAR Task Force hearings, much testimony was given on the need for Native teachers and Native curriculum to reduce the cultural conflict between home and school.

Positive identity formation, as the psychiatrist Erik Erikson (1963) has pointed out, is an ongoing, cumulative process that starts in the home with a trusting relationship established between mother and child and develops through the child's interaction with other children and adults. To build a strong positive identity, new adults that the child interacts with need to reinforce and build on the

TABLE 1
Summary of Recent Dropout Studies

Study	Comparison Location	Grades	Dropout Rate	Native Dropout Rate [1]	Number of Native Dropouts
Deyhle (1989)	NE Utah	9-12		36.0%	181
Eberhard (1989)	10 Urban Schools	9-12	12.0% (State Average)	29.0%	106
National[3] (1989)[2]	National	10-12	14.8% (White) 17.3% (Total)	35.5%	1161
Office (1988)	Chinle Agency	10-12		30.0%	
Platero, et. al.[3] (1986)	Navajo Nation	7-12 [4]		31.0%	1000

1. Cohort Dropout Rates. Studies by school districts sometimes school only the dropout rate for one year which gives dropout rates almost two-thirds less than the above studies. One year studies such as reported by Borgrink (1987) ignore students who will drop out in subsequent years before graduating or who have dropped out in previous years. Longitudinal studies are those that follow students through high school or studies that go back to look at previous school records and then try to trace students forward through school The above studies ignore students who drop out before the first grade level inluded in the study.
2. Data from "High School and Beyond" survey conducted by the National Center for Educational Statistics from 1980 to 1986.
3. Approximate figures
4. Twenty-five percent random sample from most reservation schools

cultural messages that the child has previously received. If teachers give growing Native children messages that conflict with what Native parents show and tell their children, the conflicting messages will confuse the children and hurt the formation of strong self-concepts.

A long-term study of Native Hawaiian students showed conventional schools force Native students to choose between their home culture and the culture of the school with disastrous results (Jordan, 1984; Tharp, 1982; Vogt, Jordan, & Tharp, 1987). When teaching methodology was changed to reflect how students were taught in the home, students showed greater academic achievement. Cultural mismatch between home and school often starts a cycle of failure for Native students (Spindler, 1987).

Too often, well meaning remedial programs focus on finding the reason for failure in students and their homes, "blaming the victims." The idea that Native students are "culturally disadvantaged" or "culturally deprived" reflects an ethnocentric bias that should not continue. When schools do not recognize, value, and build on what Native students learn at home, they are given a watered-down, spread out curriculum that is meant to guarantee student learning but which often results in their education being slowed and their being "bored out" of school. As a Denver adult education teacher summed it up in the INAR/National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) Joint Issues Session in San Diego the "traditional school system" has failed dropouts rather than they having failed the system.

Two major studies (Deyhle, 1989; Platero, 1986) of Native dropouts found that a traditional Native orientation was not a handicap in regard to school success. In addition, the Navajo Dropout study found that "the most successful students were for the most part fluent Navajo/English bilinguals" (Platero, 1986, p. 6). Lin (1990) found Native college students who had traditional orientations outperformed those with modern orientations.

Dropout prevention

To prevent students from dropping out of school, it is necessary to know why they drop out. Many studies have focused on the supposed deficits of students who drop out, including their parents' income, their intelligence, and their school attendance. Less attention has been given to the deficits of the schools and teachers pushing Native students out, but this is an even more important topic for Native parents and educators.

TABLE 2
Distribution by Quartiles of Eighth Grade Native Student Achievement

Subject	Percent in Quartile
History	
Lower quartile	43.1%
Lower middle quartile	31.0%
Upper middle quartile	18.4%
Upper quartile	7.4%
Mathematics	
Lower quartile	46.3%
Lower middle quartile	29.1%
Upper middle quartile	16.3%
Upper quartile	8.3%
Reading	
Lower quartile	44.9%
Lower middle quartile	30.0%
Upper middle quartile	18.5%
Upper quartile	6.6%
Science	
Lower quartile	46.9%
Lower middle quartile	27.4%
Upper middle quartile	17.4%
Upper quartile	8.3%

SOURCE: Table 106, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics 1989, 25th Ed. (NCES 89-643). Washington, D.C: Office of Education Research and Improvement, U.S. Department of Education using data from "National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988" survey.

Recent studies (see Table 1) show that Native students continue to drop out of school at twice the national average. The National Center for Education Statistics reports dropout rates for American Indian students at 35.5 percent in 1989. The largest detailed recent study done in 1986 by the Navajo Division of Education reports a 31 percent dropout rate (Platero, Brandt, Witherspoon, & Wong, 1986). This rate is confirmed by a smaller detailed study done on the Utah portion of the Navajo Reservation (Deyhle, 1989). Other smaller studies give similar rates. The 1989 Northern Cheyenne educational census also shows 31 percent of Indian adults without either a high school education or a GED program (Ward & Wilson, p. 26).

All the above figures are only slightly higher than the 27.1 percent of Native teenagers between the ages of sixteen and nineteen living on reservations that were found in the 1980 census to be not enrolled in any school and who were not high school graduates. However the census figures also showed wide variation among reservations as to how many Native teenagers were not in school. One New Mexico Pueblo had only 5.2 percent of those teenagers not getting a high school education while several small Nevada, Arizona, Washington, and California sites had no students completing a high school education (Bureau, 1985).

Research indicates a number of factors associated with higher student dropout rates. Factors that are particularly critical for Native students include:

- Large schools
- Uncaring teachers
- Passive teaching methods
- Irrelevant curriculum
- Inappropriate testing
- Tracked classes
- Lack of parent involvement

Each of these factors is explained in detail below [see also Weis, Farrar, & Petrie (1989) for a general discussion on dropouts describing some of the factors discussed below].

Large schools help create dropouts

There is evidence that the increased size of American schools, especially the large comprehensive high schools with more than one thousand students, creates conditions for dropouts. Recently, the National Study of Schooling (Goodlad, 1984) criticized large schools for creating factory-like environments that prevent teachers and other school staff from forming personal relationships with students. The recent ED sponsored study on dropout prevention (Sherman & Sherman, 1990) found small class and program size, low pupil-teacher ratios, program autonomy, and a supportive school environment associated with successful dropout prevention. It found that "many students who have not met with success in the regular school program have been alienated by a large, bureaucratic system that does not respond to their unique needs" (p. 49).

Smaller schools also allow a greater percentage of students to participation in extra-curricular activities. Students participating in these activities, especially sports when excessive travel is not required, drop out less frequently (Platero, et al., 1986). Many reservation schools do not have drama clubs, debate teams, and other non-sport extracurricular activities which would help develop Native student leadership and language skills.

Another negative feature of large schools revealed in the Navajo Dropout Study (Platero, et al., 1986) is that in rural areas students are often required to take long bus rides to school. Students who miss the bus often cannot find alternative transportation, thus increasing their absenteeism. Long distances between homes and school also discourage parents from taking a more active role in school activities. Anita Tsinnajinnie, an educator from Cuba (NM) High School, in the INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions in San Diego testified on how some students had to get up at 5:00 am to catch the school bus at 6:30 am so they could start class at 8:50 am.

Unless large schools are restructured to create schools within schools and larger blocks of time that individual teachers can form human relationships with individual students, it is difficult for caring teachers to interact with any one student long enough to know a student personally and to form the kind of supportive relationship described in the section on teachers below which will help a student stay in school. Another approach to this problem has been the creation in large urban areas such as Buffalo, New York, of Native magnet schools to provide both the closeness and culturally appropriate curriculum that Native at risk students need to succeed.

Uncaring teachers

The importance of warm, supportive, and caring teachers is documented in the Native student dropout research (Coladarci, 1983; Deyhle, 1989; Platero, et al., 1986). Caring teachers are willing to learn about their students and their students' cultures as well as to teach students. From what they learn, caring teachers adjust their teaching to fit the cultural background of their students. Fewer Native students report that "discipline is fair," that "the teaching is good," that "teachers are interested in students," and that "teachers really listen to me" than other racial or ethnic group (National, 1990, p. 43). Two General Educational Development (GED) instructors note in supplemental testimony before the INAR Task Force hearings in Seattle that:

> Those students who study for the GED examination often are experiencing for the first time instructors who are Native American themselves, and who truly acknowledge that they are intelligent human beings who are capable of learning and deserve to be treated with dignity and respect. For many, this is a new concept. (Document 191, p. 5)

In testimony at the INAR/NACIE Joint Issues Sessions in San Diego, an educator testified,

> Students who have dropped out have indicated to us that their reasons include not being able to identify with what is going on in the classroom, teachers not really explaining what needed to be done, teachers going too fast, insufficient time to complete class assignments. They felt that they had been put on a schedule with no flexibility. If they needed more time on a test, it wasn't allowed. They also felt defeated because teachers and other school staff members didn't seem to understand them. The easy way out was just to leave school.

Ms. Michelle Credo who served as a duty aide at Juneau Middle School testified,

> I have seen discrimination in the treatment of students. There is too much emphasis on punishment, and the same kids are being punished over and over. My role in discipline was to supervise in-school suspension, and I was supposed to discourage them from any infraction. I was learning a lot from listening to them. Many came from dysfunctional families or families that feel powerless against the school system. Many were very bright, but teachers would tell me that I could get more work out of them because I had fewer to supervise. These young people had leadership capacity that was not being nurtured at all. I tried to suggest providing a counseling program rather than simply resorting to punishment (sit and do homework or nothing). I wanted the school to look at why these problems kept occurring. (INAR Alaska Regional Public Hearing, Juneau, AK, August 2, 1990)

Whenever possible students should be involved in making and enforcing school rules. The success of this approach was found by Albert Kneale in a Native school ninety years ago (1950) and were described by William Glasser in his book *Schools Without Failure*, first published in 1968.

The most complete account of how caring individual attention to Native students leads to academic success is given in Kleinfeld's 1979 study of an Alaskan school, St. Mary's. St. Mary's, a Catholic boarding school, was successful despite what would be generally considered inadequate funding. Kleinfeld concluded from her study of the school that,

> The most important kind of education happening at the school is not happening through subject matter instruction or through teaching technical skills. It happened through the communication of values, of principles for organizing one's life despite the disorganizing pressures of cultural change. This system of values is communicated only in small part by direct teaching. Rather, it is lodged within the structure of student and staff relationships at the school. These standards are communicated above all through the intimate associations that develop at St. Mary's between teachers and their students. (1979, pp. 27-28)

St. Mary's volunteer teachers interacted with students both in and out of the classroom. The school was "a village society with a structure of social relationships similar to that of the students' own communities" (p. 32) and "most classes taught by the volunteers were a mixture of factual information, personal experiences of the teacher, references to Eskimo village life, delightful in-jokes, and broad humor" (p. 34). St. Mary's students did not score higher on standardized tests than graduates from other schools, but the experience and self-confidence gained from interacting with caring adults allowed them to master the college environment better.

Another successful Native school reinforces some of Kleinfeld's conclusions. Rock Point Community School in Arizona draws many of its non-Native teachers (about half the high school teaching staff) from returned Peace Corps volunteers. These teachers care about the community as well as their jobs and see education in a more holistic way. Teaching subject matter is only a part, and not necessarily the major part, of their jobs (Reyhner, 1990).

An ethnographic study done on Navajos and Utes, including both interviews with students and classroom observations, reports that students "complained bitterly that their teachers did not care about them or help them in school" (Deyhle, 1989, p. 39). This study also reports that "a little less than half of the Navajo and almost two-thirds of the Ute [students] felt school was not important for what they wanted to do in life" (p. 42). She also finds that "When youth experienced minimal individual attention or personal contact with their teachers, they translated this into an image of teacher dislike and rejection" (p. 39).

Time and again in the INAR Task Force hearings Native parents testified about the need for more Native teachers both to provide role models for their children and for the unique cultural knowledge they have to offer. Unfortunately, in an attempt to improve the quality of teaching in the United States, changes have been made in teacher preparation programs and certification standards that aggravate rather than solve problems for Native education. Increased certification standards are preventing Native students from entering the teaching profession because the National Teachers Examination and other tests used are culturally biased and fail to measure Native student strengths. The Winter 1989 issue of the *Fair Test Examiner* reported how nearly 38,000 Black, Latino, Native and other minority teacher candidates are being barred from classrooms by teacher competency tests. In addition, teacher preparation and certification programs are culturally and linguistically "one size fits all," and the size that is measured is a middle-class, Western-European cultural orientation. Recent research has identified a wide body of knowledge about bilingual education, Native learning styles, and English-as-a-second-language (ESL) teaching techniques that teachers of Native students need to know. In addition teachers of Native students should have a Native cultural literacy specific to the tribal background of their students. But teachers often get just one generic multicultural course in accredited teacher education programs.

An additional key factor previously mentioned that is not evaluated by either tests or course grades is teacher personality. Studies (Kleinfeld, 1979; Coburn, 1989; Deyhle, 1989; Platero, Brandt, Witherspoon, & Wong, 1986) clearly show the Native student's need for warm, supportive teachers. These teachers need to use active teaching strategies, described by Cummins (1988) as experiential and interactive. Teachers of Native students cannot assume that their students will be automatically interested in academic subject matter. Teachers must constantly draw connections for their students between academic knowledge and its application to the real world. The Indian Education Act Applied Literacy Program at Rock Point Community School is an excellent example of academic instruction in a practical environment. As students develop their literacy skills, they get to use them on a low wattage television station and in an award winning school newspaper (Reyhner, 1990). Basic skills must be taught in a context of meaningful student activity, and *meaningful* means meaningful for the student as well as the teacher.

The structure of secondary schools needs changing to allow for more teacher-student contact. The present reliance on the "Carnegie Unit" produces a fragmentation of the curriculum. Examples of Native schools that have worked to solve this program include Crazy Horse High School in Wanblee, South Dakota, and Monument Valley High School in Kayenta, Arizona. At Wanblee, English and social studies classes are integrated in the high school across grade levels. At Kayenta, subjects are blocked together so that students change class less and stay longer with each of their teachers. The recent ED sponsored study on preventing dropouts found block programming was successfully used "to create a 'family' environment for students" (Sherman & Sherman, 1990).

All students face difficult transitions as they enter and proceed through their school days. At fourth grade when teachers traditionally tend to move toward more formal textbook-oriented instruction and textbook descriptions change from what students hear daily to abstract narrative descriptions, too many Native student fail to bridge the gap, and it is only a matter of time before they drop out. Again, at either sixth or eighth grade, students often transfer from working most of the day with the same students and teacher to a working with many different teachers and students in a large factory-like secondary school. Dropout prevention must start in the home, continue in early childhood education programs, and continue into high school and beyond as a community-wide effort. Only caring teachers can help students successfully bridge the many transitions they face as they proceed through their schooling.

I do not mean to suggest that we have a lot of evil teachers who do not care about Native students. What I do suggest is that teacher training programs do not recruit and value caring individuals, teacher training programs do not particularly prepare teachers to teach Native students, and, once hired, teachers often get little in-service training on Native curriculum and teaching methods. If the educational system does not nurture and value caring teachers, it will not get them. Much of the emphasis in recent educational reform movements has been on the better academic preparation of teachers for students who for one reason or another are determined to learn in school. Many of the recent reforms point at getting rid of students who are bored and uninterested in school through tests and more rigorous discipline. Nationwide, our emphasis on more rigorous discipline rather than prevention has made our country first in number of prisoners. We have a greater percentage of our citizens in prisons than either the Soviet Union or the Union of South Africa. Teachers of Native students need greater access to specialized training and Native curriculum materials and support services. The Great Falls Public School System in Montana was commended in the INAR Task Force hearings for its "very diversified and comprehensive learning resource center that could serve as a model for other such centers."

One witness at the hearings suggested that non-Native teachers teaching in Native communities should be given Peace Corps type training before starting their jobs. The success that Rock Point Community School in Arizona has had with hiring returned Peace Corps volunteers to teach in their high school indicates the validity of that suggestion. However, the current emphasis on academic versus a holistic view of teacher training is leading our nation away from this type of training. More and more states are making tests such as the National Teachers Examination (NTE) the final requirement for a teaching certificate; however, the NTE cannot measure how much a teacher cares about students and does not measure whether the teacher knows anything about Native language, history, or culture. In addition, the timed nature of standardized tests hurt bilingual students who need to translate English questions into their Native language in order to understand them. States have even taken steps backward from the proper preparation of teachers of Native students. For example, in 1973 the Montana state legislature mandated Indian studies for teachers working on or near reservations, but this law was later repealed.

It seems insane, but it is true in this country that a Native person can successfully complete four or more years of college and receive a Bachelors Degree in education at an accredited college or university and be denied a license to teach Native students on the basis of one timed standardized examination that does not reflect Native education at all. At the same time, a non-Native who has never seen a Native student, never studied native history, language, or culture, and whose three credit class in multicultural education emphasized Blacks and Hispanics can legally teach the Native students that the Native graduate cannot.

Passive teaching methods

It is popularly assumed that students who drop out are already failing, but research on Native students shows that the academic performance of dropouts is not that different from students who remain in school. Navajo students gave boredom with school most frequently as their reason for planning to drop out or having dropped out. Forty-five percent of the Navajo dropouts were B or better students (Platero et al., 1986; Platero 1986). This lack of interest in education needs to be further examined, but other studies point to the fact that it is the way children are taught in school that produces this boredom (see Cummins, 1988).

This is not a new issue, The Meriam Report in 1928 reported that almost all schools had locked rooms or isolated buildings used as "jails" for unruly students and that in some schools Native children were forced to "maintain a pathetic degree of quietness" (pp. 329 & 332). McCarty and Schaffer (in press) advocate an "explorer" curriculum for Native students based on the work of Freeman and Freeman (1988). In such a classroom, students "interact with their environment, their peers, and their teachers as they learn about the world" (Freeman & Freeman, 1988, p. 4). Ovando (1988) describes a similar type of problem-solving curriculum for science, and gives an example of its successful application with Alaska Native students in Gambell, Alaska (see also Guthridge, 1986). These types of approaches fight the problems of boredom and lack of interest prevalent in classrooms that are focused on students listening to teachers lecture, reading textbooks, and memorizing information.

Cummins (1988) contrasts the traditional transmission method of teaching which focuses on students sitting passively in class and memorizing information with more experiential and interactive teaching methodologies which focus on actively involving students in learning. His review of the research indicated teachers who used transmission methods caused minority student failure while experiential and interactive methods created conditions for minority student success. Other studies of Native students show the same need for teachers to know more about the home culture of their students. Swisher and Deyhle (1989) have analyzed a number of these studies to show how teachers can improve the instruction of Native students, unfortunately most teachers are unlikely to receive this type of instruction in their teacher training programs unless certification requirements are changed.

Native and other minority students are least likely to receive active teaching strategies as they are shunted to low track classes as documented previously. High track students have more active learning activities and high prestige subject matter, for example, Shakespeare in English classes (Oakes, 1985). Low track English classes, where Native students are more likely to be found, had popular, rather than classic, literature and more "alienation, distance, and authority than" high track classes (p. 133). Savage (1987) gives a similar description of Chapter 1 classrooms, and Smith (1988) describes generally how instruction, especially in reading, is often segmented into a series of discrete "basic" skills which are taught mechanically with the results that students are often bored. In Deyhle's dropout study students "spoke of the boredom of remedial classes, the repetition of the same exercises and uninteresting subjects" (1989, p. 44). Testimony was also given at task force hearings for more cooperative learning activities in classrooms where students learn together rather than individually. Glasser (1986) sees cooperative education as the method to get potential dropouts to become interested again in what schools have to offer. In a study of Alaskan education, seniors included the following reasons for their classmates dropping out of school: not being good at memorizing facts, boredom, larger class sizes, and unsupportive teachers (Senate, 1989).

Teachers who are not trained to teach Native children, as most teachers are not with our present teacher training system, tend to experience failure when they start teaching Native children. While these teachers often become discouraged and find other jobs, the students are left to suffer from continued educational malpractice. Changes in certification requirements for teachers of Native students to require specialized training in Native education is supported by data from the *Report on BIA Education*. This data shows an extremely high turnover rate of Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) professional staff, fifty percent in two years, in comparison with nationwide figures, and Native students thinking worse of their teachers than any other group (Office, 1988). Previously, the Kennedy Report, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge* (Special, 1969), found that one-fourth of the elementary and secondary teachers of Native children admitted not wanting to teach them. Proper training and screening of teachers could solve this problem, especially the training of Native teachers.

Inappropriate curriculum

In addition to poor teaching methods, Native schools are characterized by inappropriate curriculum (Coladarci, 1983; Reyhner, in press). The vast majority of textbooks are not written for Native students. In the INAR Task Force hearings, many Native educators pointed out the need for teaching materials specially designed for Native students. Despite vast improvement in the past two decades, there are still reports that "too many textbooks are demeaning to minorities" (Senate, 1989, p. 28). Michelle Stock, education director of the Seneca Nation, in the INAR Task Force public hearings called for a "concerted effort ... to promote and provide accurate depictions of Indian people, past and present" and criticized the negative images of Native people given by textbooks and the media (INAR Eastern Regional Public Hearing, October 2, 1990, Cherokee, NC). At the INAR Task Force's Great Lakes Regional Hearing (St. Paul, MN, September 20, 1990), Cheryl Kulas of the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction testified that of 1,369 teachers who took a North Dakota American Indian Studies course, ninety-nine percent of the teachers indicated they did not have books about Native Americans in their classroom and seventy-two percent had not developed or used methods that work successfully with Native American students.

Testimony from the INAR Task Force hearings indicates that too often superficial attempts are made in schools to provide Native curriculum through a Thanksgiving unit or a Native American Day rather than developing a culture-based, culture-embedded curriculum that permeates both the school day and the school year. Extensive material exists to produce elementary and secondary culturally appropriate curriculum for Native students, however, there is little incentive for publishers to produce material for the relatively small market that Native students represent. The wealth of information that could positively effect Native students understanding and self-concept is indicated by books such as Jack Weatherford's (1988) *Indian Givers: How the Indians of the Americas Transformed the World*; however, this information does not seem to be reaching Native students at the elementary and secondary level.

Not only are American textbooks largely inappropriate in cultural content for Native students, they are also over-relied on in most classrooms. There is evidence that teaching methods that rely less on textbooks work better with Native students. In mathematics, this means more use of manipulatives, in science it means a laboratory approach including using the natural environment as a laboratory, and in reading it means Whole Language methods where students can read and study literature from both the mainstream American society and their Native culture (see also Chapter 14, this book). Deyhle (1989) in her dropout study notes how teachers too often tell their Native students to read the chapter and answer the questions at the end of the chapter. An uninteresting task even when students can read well, but an impossible one for many Native students who cannot read well.

Schools also need to develop curriculum that deals with racism in schools. At the INAR Task Force hearings there was repeated testimony about Native students facing racial prejudice in their schools. John Beaulieu, chairperson of the Minneapolis public schools Indian parent committee testified that,

> students felt threatened or ashamed to be identified as an Indian in schools with few Indians or supportive services for Indian students. Other students, who cannot hide the fact that they are Indians, often face merciless teasing and ridicule from others who openly make fun of their names and appearances. Too many Indian students are often forced to defend themselves from such racial and physical harassment and are suspended and expelled from school as a result. (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, St. Paul, MN, September 20, 1990)

Inappropriate use of tests

The emphasis on standardized testing in this country produces built in failure from the way the tests are designed (Oakes, 1985, Chapter 2; Bloom, 1981). In addition to the built-in sorting function of standardized tests, they have a cultural bias that has yet to be overcome. Some of the changes made to improve education in American schools recommended in *A Nation at Risk* (National, 1983) and other studies have hurt rather than helped Native students. For example the academic emphasis that uses tests to measure school success has led to more Native students being retained in grade, and retention leads to dropping out as overage students reach high school. The National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 reports that 28.8 percent of Native students have repeated at least one grade, the highest percentage of any racial or ethnic group reported (National, 1990, p. 9). The research on failing (retaining students in grade for another year) students indicates that it only creates more failure. Even retention in kindergarten does not help students who are having academic problems. Countries such as Japan do not practice grade retention (Shepard & Smith, 1989). With current practices, schools can even make themselves look better by pushing out Native students since they are evaluated on their average test scores. The more "at risk" students they push out, the higher the schools' average scores (Bearden, Spencer, & Moracco, 1989).

Unthinking school administrators and teachers use the BIA mandated California Test of Basic Skills (CTBS) and other standardized test scores to show that their present curriculum is not working without realizing they are comparing bilingual and culturally different student test scores with monolingual English student norms. The result is that they keep changing the curriculum in a futile attempt to get Native language speaking students in the early grades to have English language test scores that match the test scores of students of the same age who have spoken English all their lives. They also are driven to "teach to the test" in order to show success with the result that the curriculum becomes based on whatever the standardized test covers rather than on the real needs of Native students. Research indicates that it takes about six years for non-English speaking students to get an academic proficiency in English which will give them a chance to match the English language test scores of students whose native language is English (Cummins, 1988).

It is also only fair that achievement tests given to Native students be aligned with what they are being taught in their schools (and not vice versa!). Testimony given at the INAR/NACIE Joint Issue Sessions in San Diego give instances of the use in BIA schools of tests designed for state mandated curriculums on students who were not taught using those curriculums. The report of the National Commission on Testing and Public Policy, *From Gatekeeper to Gateway: Transforming Testing in America*, (1990) focuses on the issue of both too much standardized multiple choice testing in our nation's schools and on how the results of that testing are used inappropriately. As the title of the National Commission's report suggests and Cummins (1988) maintains, tests should be used to pinpoint student weaknesses in order to help them rather than being used to fail students, give them inferior high school "attendance" diplomas, or keep them out of the teaching profession as is done now.

Negative effects of tracking

"Tracking" is the common practice in secondary schools of dividing the student body into high achievers, average achievers, and low achievers and providing separate classes for each group. This tracking is often based on the questionable results of the standardized testing that is described above and by racist attitudes towards minorities. Oakes (1985) describes the negative effect that tracking has in our nation's high schools and how Black, Hispanic, and Native students are disproportionately represented in the lower tracks where they receive a substandard education. She documents how in tracked classrooms "lower-class students are expected to assume lower-class jobs and social positions as adults" (p. 117) and that "students, especially lower-class students, often actively resist what schools try to teach them" (p. 120). Statistics from the National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 reported in Table 2 show that less than ten percent of Native students are in the upper quartile of achievement test scores in history, mathematics, reading, and science while over forty percent are in the lowest quartile. The low expectations of teachers for low track students, already unsuccessful in school, make an already serious problem worse. The differential treatment high and low track students receive from teachers are described below under the heading of "teaching methods."

Useem (1990) describes how many students, including many Native students, get tracked out of advanced mathematics classes. However, she found some schools with more advanced mathematics classes and more flexibility in allowing students into these classes. She emphasizes the need for counselors and teachers to take an advocacy role in encouraging students to try advanced mathematics courses. The American Indian Science and Engineering Society located in Boulder, Colorado, does an excellent job of working with schools and colleges throughout the country to encourage Native students to pursue science careers. Their magazine *Winds of Change* contains excellent articles on Native education.

The experiences of Jaime Escalante, as portrayed in the movie "Stand and Deliver", illustrate how teachers who have high expectations for their students and who can bring their subjects alive for their students can produce high achievement in minority students who are normally written off in our schools. This supports the research of Bloom (1981) that, given proper teaching, ninety percent of students can master classroom subject matter. The film also portrays some of the negative aspects of standardized testing, as when Educational Testing Service officials assumed cheating when Hispanic students succeeded beyond the officials' expectations.

Lack of parent involvement

Last but not least of the changes that need to take place in schools to decrease dropouts is greater parent involvement. Often school staff say they want parent involvement, but what they really want is parents to get after their children to attend school and study. In the words of one hearing witness in San Diego,

> They [school officials and teachers] really want parents as cake bakers and cops. That is their idea. They send home recipes and say "This is what we want your kid to look like. You feed him and clothe him, you bathe him — make sure he doesn't have any lice — send him to school on time, pick him up, come to back-to-school night and open house, and let us do our song and dance. We will send home the homework and you can sign off. You are the cop." So your kid is on probation at home. This sets up a very negative relationship.

While getting parents to get their children to school is important, parent involvement also means educating parents about the function of the school and allowing parents real decision-making power about what and how their children learn. The best way to get schools to reflect parent and community values and to reduce cultural discontinuity between home and school is to have real parent involvement in Native education. At many successful Native schools, the school board, administrators, and teachers are Native people. Parents need to have effective input as to how and what their children are taught. This is best achieved through Native control of schools. However, restrictions on curriculum placed by states on public schools, and even the BIA on BIA-funded schools, limit the effectiveness of Native parent involvement. State and BIA regulations force Native schools to use curriculum and textbooks not specifically designed for Native children and to employ teachers, who though certified, have no special training in Native education.

Native Student Retrieval and Re-entry Strategies

The few good studies of Native dropouts such as the Navajo Dropout Study (Platero, et al., 1986) point out the nationwide need to systematically keep track of the number of Native dropouts since retrieval programs can only be designed when the extent of the problem is known. The new Montana TRACKS program indicates how states can begin the process. Many studies seriously overestimate and other seriously underestimate the extent of the dropout problem because schools do not know how many children have never entered school or whether a student who appears to have dropped out has actually just transferred to another school without notice.

The importance of knowing the extent of the problem is indicated by the Navajo Dropout Study which found that.

> Fully 46% of all dropouts expect to return to school and graduate, while another 45.1% say "maybe" when they are asked if they expect to return to school and graduate. Only 8.8% have no hope or expectation of returning to school or graduating. (Platero, 1986, p. 33)

A regular school based retrieval program is most desirable, but alternative schools, and General Educational Development (GED) programs also provide effective means to further the education of "at risk" Native students.

Role of GED, Young Mothers, Tribal College, and Other Programs

The importance of GED programs in helping dropouts finish a high school level education can be seen in the 1989 educational census of the Northern Cheyenne Reservation where 19 percent of the Indian adults had GED certificates. Twenty-seven percent of Indian adults on the Northern Cheyenne reservation with a high school education had received GED certificates (Ward & Wilson, p. 26). Young Mother programs that allow students with babies to continue their high school education in school and at the same time teach parenting skills, allow both teenage mothers to complete their high school education and to better raise the next generation of Native students.

The Indian Self-Determination and Assistance Act of 1975 has allowed Native organizations to set up alternative schools for students that have been pushed out or who have dropped out of BIA and public schools. Sometimes, upon entering these alternative programs is the first time Native students experience Native teachers and a Native curriculum. BIA-funded Native-controlled alternative schools and urban magnet schools for Native Americans are uniquely able to provide an environment with all the things this paper has shown Native students need. Small untracked schools with Native teachers, culturally appropriate curriculum, and active parent involvement provide a haven for Native students who cannot or will not adapt to large impersonal education systems.

The Tribal community colleges also play an important role in sponsoring locally controlled GED programs for Native youth. Tribal community colleges actively recruit dropouts and work with local high schools. However, Native students are often unprepared for college work and need to take developmental, non-credit classes. These extra classes use up government aid eligibility with the result that students who need the aid the most run out of eligibility before completing a bachelor's degree. This is especially true in teacher training programs as these programs often spell out every course the student must take and any deviation extends the students time in college. Tribal community colleges also play an additional important role in spearheading local dropout studies and other much needed Native educational research.

Nutrition, medical, and drug abuse problems

Reservation, rural, and inner-city poverty effect Native students disproportionately. In addition, the medical problems associated with alcohol abuse, most notably fetal alcohol syndrome, impact Native communities. The need for programs such as WIC, Head Start, and National School Lunch is great. In addition, there is a continued need for boarding schools to take in Native youth from dysfunctional homes. However, despite the bleak picture of reservation life sometimes portrayed by the media, recent Indian Health Service statistics indicate that Native people are winning the war on drugs, but they still have a long fight ahead of them.

The age-adjusted alcoholism death rate for Native people decreased 61 percent from 1973 to 1987, but it still remains 4.3 times the rate for all races in the United States (Indian, 1990). From the beginning of Native-white contact, Native people's lack of experience with alcohol has been taken advantage of. The United States Government was unable to consistently enforce laws against selling liquor to Natives, and, despite many reservations being legally "dry" today, bootlegging continues. In addition, bars are built as close as possible to dry reservations. Former Education Secretary Cavazos pointed out that alcohol is the "number one drug of choice for America's youth" (United States, 1989, p. v). The National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988 found that 16.4 percent of Native students reported that "someone offered to sell me drugs" in school, the highest percentage of any racial or ethnic group (National, 1990, p. 45).

In addition to the problems, possibly genetic, of inexperience with alcohol, the Native drug abuse problem is aggravated by the cultural conflict between Natives and the mainstream culture. Students do not drop out of school just because of academic failure, drug and alcohol abuse, or any other single problem. Many of the problems faced by Native students such as drug and alcohol abuse are symptoms of the poor self-concepts of Native students who have unresolved internal conflicts resulting from educators asking students to give up their Native culture. The underlying causal factor of internal identity conflicts resulting from cultural conflict between Native cultures and the mainstream American culture needs to be treated at a community as well as an individual level.

As Gerald Grey, principal of Chemewa Indian School, noted in his testimony at San Diego, getting students sober was just the start of treatment. Once the student returned from treatment, the underlying problems that led to drug abuse must be addressed. Much clinical drug abuse treatment is aimed at the individual and does not have a high success rate. Native drug abuse is a community problem needing community approaches to treatment. Treating the individual and sending him or her home or back to school usually leads to relapse. The community, especially the student's peer group, needs to be worked with. Based on their review of the research on Native alcoholism, Edwards and Edwards (1988) recommend a community approach for adolescent treatment and give seven recommendations:

- Utilize Native Elders to act as role models and to provide support services.
- Provide for alcohol education programs that include counseling.
- Have first offender programs that require attendance at group counseling sessions and teach problem-solving skills. Requiring attendance of parents at these sessions is also helpful.
- Provide early prevention programs focusing on improving parenting skills and child self-concept.
- Provide identification and intervention programs for "at risk" students.
- Train adolescent peer counselors.
- Provide employment opportunities for Native youth.

Professional school counseling too often is restricted to academic matters. Counselors, as certified teachers, are unlikely to have a real knowledge of the Native community and are unlikely to have the time to give in-depth help to troubled youth. This weakness of the professional counseling program can be overcome, at least in part, through the training of peer counselors. An excellent example of giving students a reason for learning is the peer counseling program at Chinle High School that two students described at the

INAR/NACIE Joint Issue Sessions in San Diego. These students volunteered for a class where they learned about the effects of drug and alcohol abuse and learned leadership and peer counseling skills. The students then applied what they learned by helping students with problems. Cheryl Kulas, assistant director for Indian education for the North Dakota Department of Public Instruction, also described a Peer Facilitator Training Program sponsored by her department that teaches peer support techniques, decision-making skills, and offers alternatives for substance abuse as part of a Youth Leadership Institute (INAR Great Lakes Regional Public Hearing, St. Paul, MN, September 20, 1990). The non-profit Native American Development Corporation has also published a number of booklets on how Native youth and communities can fight drug abuse.

In addition to Native efforts, the nation as a whole has to do more to control alcohol and other drug abuse among youth. The banning of advertisements of alcoholic beverages on commercial television would be a major step in deglamorizing alcohol. Also, the linkage of sporting events with the promotion of alcohol and tobacco products needs to be discouraged. For example, the linkage of smokeless tobacco products with both professional and amateur rodeo events aggravates a growing health problem among Native students.

One of the greatest tragedies of Native drug abuse was recently brought the attention of America in Michael Dorris's book *The Broken Cord*. This book describes the tragedy of children born with fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS). If these students survive to school age, teachers can do little to help them become as academically successful as non-FAS students. The problem of FAS highlights the need for community prevention programs that discourage drug abuse for all Native people and which provide counseling and alternative recreational activities on a community-wide level.

Another major drug problem among Native children is inhalant abuse. With the current crisis over the use of "hard" drugs, not enough attention is given to how students, often in elementary schools, abuse common products such as Liquid Paper, rubber cement, and gasoline. Like the FAS child mentioned above, a child who abuses inhalants can suffer brain damage that the best intentioned and trained teacher cannot overcome.

Vocational programs

Historically, vocational programs for Native students have had a racist tinge. The Jesuit priest, Father Palladino, wrote that "a plain, common English education, embracing spelling, reading and writing, with the rudiments of arithmetic, is booklearning sufficient for our Indians" (1922, p. 113). Father Palladino and others felt Indians were lazy and an academic education would encourage their "natural indolence." The vocational education of students was also an excuse to employ Native children in the upkeep of their schools as a cost-cutting measure. Vocational education in government boarding schools even led to the possible violation of state child labor laws (Meriam, 1928). This trend continued after World War II when Native workers were considered as suitable for "close, tedious, repetitive work requiring great dexterity and fortitude" (Senese, 1985, p. 76). Gloria Kootswatewa, vice-chair of the Kickapoo Tribe, testified at the INAR Task Force hearings how,

> All Indians students are geared toward vocational education, they are never counseled for college-bound courses. I had a problem with my son and asked the school to change his courses. I was told all Indians go to vo-tech. (INAR Plains Regional Public Hearings, September 18, 1990, Oklahoma City, OK)

Oakes (1985) documents how vocational education for poor and minority students "*limits* their future opportunities and, in fact, relegates them to low-level occupations and social status" (1985, p. 150). Her review of the research "strongly suggests that participation in vocational programs has not enhanced the employment opportunities of participants," rather vocational education segregates Native and other minority students "in order to preserve the academic curriculum for middle- and upper-class students" (pp. 152-153). In addition, she found that schools in upper income neighborhoods had vocational programs that prepared students for higher income jobs than vocational programs in low income schools, for example, bookkeeping versus cosmetology. Rather than specific job training, employers want to know if potential employees are trainable. This is especially true in this era of rapidly changing technology. Students who are able to read, write, compute, and reason are trainable.

In addition to the inability of high school vocational programs to keep up with rapidly changing technology, there is a problem with the low status of vocational programs. The importance of Native student self-concept in school success was brought out again and again in the INAR Task Force hearings. Unless vocational education is something for all students and is part of a pervasive/integrated K-12 career education program, it is likely to remain a second class education for second class citizens. The INAR Task Force hearings also brought out problems that Native students have had with vocational education provided by proprietary schools. Some of these schools are only interested in the financial aid Native students can qualify for, and students do not get the training they need for actual employment.

Partnerships with business

Whereas Native students can get the skills and confidence they need to be employment trainable in high school, there is still a need to encourage businesses to provide on-the-job training for Native students. But these job opportunities must not just be minimum wage, assembly-line type jobs. Too often in the past Indian reservations had been treated like third world countries, to have their natural resources and cheap labor exploited by both big and small businesses. Federal funding for partnership programs needs to fit in with tribally specific economic development plans which insure that Native communities and individual employees benefit from the partnerships as well as the employers. Partnerships with businesses are difficult to develop in reservation settings because few businesses exist. In urban settings more can be done. Individual schools need encouragement and guidance to seek out business partnerships even at a distance.

Partnerships with businesses, labor unions, universities, and government agencies such as the Indian Health Service need to:

- Provide mentors who act as role models, advisors, and paraprofessional counselors for at-risk students.
- Provide vocational experiences for at-risk students including field trips, short-term summer programs, and internships.
- Work with schools so that schools provide the academic preparation necessary for employment in the partnership organization.
- Develop a spirit of volunteerism and self-help within businesses and among students to provide community-wide development.
- Provide employment for graduates.

Conclusions

The supplemental add-on programs such as Indian Education Act, Johnson O'Malley (JOM), bilingual education, special education, and other federal programs have had a limited success in improving the education of Indian children. However, add-on programs are only a first step to making schooling appropriate for Native children. There is a need to view Native education holistically rather than fragmented with basic skills, Native heritage, and other classes taught in isolation from one another.

In addition to treating the curriculum holistically, dropout prevention needs to be treated holistically. As the research reported in this paper shows, students do not drop out of school just because of academic failure, drug and alcohol abuse, or any other single problem. Dropout prevention starts with caring teachers who give students every chance for success in the classroom through interactive and experiential teaching methodologies and relevant curriculum. In addition, at risk students need peer support through cooperative instructional methodologies and peer counseling programs. Dropout prevention also includes support services outside of the classroom from school administrators and counselors who work closely with parents.

If teachers and school administrators continue not to get appropriate training in colleges of education, local training programs need to provide school staff with information both on what works in Native education and information about the language, history, and culture of the Native students. Parents and local school boards also need on-going training about what works in Native education and what schools can accomplish. Head Start, elementary, and secondary schools need the support of tribal education departments and tribal colleges to design and implement effective educational programs that support rather than ignore Native cultures.

Much testimony was given in the INAR Task Force hearings on the importance of self-esteem for Native students. It is sometimes not made clear that self-esteem is not an independent variable, but is rather a reflection of how competent a Native child feels. Having students memorize material to show success on standardized tests is a poor way to develop self-esteem. However, if students interact with caring, supportive adults, if students are allowed to explore and learn about the world they live in, including learning about their rich Native heritage, if they are allowed to develop problem solving skills, if they are given frequent opportunities to read and write and to do mathematics and science in meaningful situations, and if they are encouraged to help improve the world they live in through community service, the consequence will be that Native students will feel good about themselves and will be successful in life.

While much of the attention given to dropouts focuses on high schools, students are deciding in the primary grades whether school is something for them. If they are failed, if they do not find school interesting, if their school is something alien and foreign to them, they are "at risk." Teachers need to build on the cultural values that Native parents give their children if teachers want to produce a strong positive sense of identity in their students. Attempts to replace students' Native identity with a mainstream American cultural identity confuse and repel Native students and force them make a choice to either reject their family's values or their teachers' values. Neither choice is desirable or necessary. Students can be academically successfully and learn about the larger non-Native world while at the same time retaining and developing their Native identity. The solution to the current problem Native students often face is to change schools with Native students so that the Native cultural values are reinforced rather than ignored or depreciated.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made to implement effective dropout prevention programs:

1. Special programs for students such as provided by the Indian Education Act need to be continued. However, more needs to be done to integrate these special programs into a culture-based curriculum rather than as add-on curriculum. The new school-wide Chapter I programs are a step in the right direction.
2. Teachers of Native students should be provided with and required to have training in cooperative, holistic, experiential, interactive, bilingual, and ESL teaching methodologies that have shown to be effective with Native students. In other words, the suggestion of Fuchs and Havighurst "that teachers of Indian children should be systematically trained to take account of the sociocultural processes operating in the communities and classroom where they work," drawn from *The National Study of American Indian Education* completed in 1971, needs to be finally implemented (1972, p. 305).
3. School boards and administrators should be encouraged to limit the size of new schools. When this is not possible, or in existing schools, restructuring should be encouraged that produces schools within schools, magnet schools, and similar programs that reduce student anonymity and alienation.
4. School boards and administrators should be encouraged to decrease the negative effects of tracking on Native students through the use of heterogeneous grouping.
5. Advocacy programs such as carried on by the American Indian Science and Engineering Society should be encouraged to promote Native students taking more science and mathematics classes. Challenging students academically in classrooms alleviates student boredom, a major reason for students leaving school.
6. Schools should be encouraged to explore alternatives to failing students in grade, suspension, and expulsion.
7. Some Native students still must attend boarding schools far from their homes. All Native communities that want them should be provided with K-12 day schools. This applies mainly to the Havasupai and Navajo reservations. If the State of Alaska can provide village high schools, the BIA should be able to make an equal effort without requiring lawsuits.
8. The BIA and ED should do more to promote development of Native Education Departments to help them develop (1) site-based cooperative tribal teacher training programs operated by tribal community colleges and four year colleges, (2) tribal curriculum guidelines and materials, and (3) reservation-wide dropout prevention programs which track students and provide community based intervention, support, and treatment programs. The mandate of Public Law 100-297, Section 5106, for both Native curriculum development and developing and strengthening tribal education departments needs to be carried out. So far the BIA has refused to implement this act or its predecessor 25 CFR 32.4.
9. As the "fifty-first state," the BIA should provide a Native teacher certification and school accreditation program, and Native government education departments should provide specific language, history, and culture endorsements and standards. This certification and accreditation would then be acceptable in all BIA funded schools.

10. There is a need for more funding of educational research in conjunction with Native Education departments and tribal colleges on what works for Native education.
11. There needs to be a publication program for tribal curriculum and textbooks sponsored by ED and BIA in conjunction with Tribal Education Departments and in cooperation with Tribal Colleges and University Native American Studies Programs.
12. A national initiative needs to be made to deglamorize the use of alcohol and tobacco including the banning of beer and wine advertisements from television and a program to discourage the linkage of athletic events with advertisements for alcoholic beverages and tobacco products.

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Dr. Reyhner edited editions of *Teaching the Indian Child: A Bilingual/Multicultural Approach* for EMC in 1986 and 1988, edited the proceedings of the 1989 Native American Language Issues Institute titled *Effective Language Education Practices and Native Language Survival*, co-edited *Teaching the Native American* for Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company in 1988, and co-authored *A History of Indian Education* for EMC in 1989. He is currently editing a book, *Teaching American Indian Students*, for the University of Oklahoma Press which is scheduled to appear in the Spring of 1992. He is also editing a regular column on Native bilingual education for the newsletter of the National Association for Bilingual Education and is serving on the editorial board of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Rural Education and Small Schools.

Improving Parental Participation in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indian and Alaska Native Students

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Introduction

The notion that home and family are important predictors of student attitude and achievement is well documented in research and emphasized repeatedly by hundreds of Native people testifying nationwide at the Indian Nations at Risk (INAR) hearings. Surfacing as one of the most universal themes, improving the participation of Native parents provides one of the greatest opportunities for success in Native educational endeavors; requiring strong administrative commitment, limited financial resources, significant staff training, and a variety of options to ensure that participation is meaningful. This paper will: summarize *historical barriers* for Native parents, explore ***key issues***, highlight *significant research*, describe *successful models*, and recommend *strategies* for improving Native parental support and Native parental involvement.

Transformational Leadership

A prerequisite to Native parental participation is transformational leadership. Historically education has been a process through which one was supposed to be changed or perhaps enhanced. Education needs to become a process through which one feels empowered. Native children cannot become empowered unless educational leadership understands the implications of what empowerment really means.

Empowerment means equipping one's self to be responsible and self-regulating while exercising positive regard for others. There is no way one can empower others. Empowerment is a personal matter.

Native education desperately needs transformational leadership, leaders who are empowering and changing themselves. Instead of attempting the impossible -- trying to change others -- high performing leaders change the way they interact with others. They recognize that people have the capacity and competence to grow and to function from an internal self responsible locus of control.

In schools and Native communities transformational leaders provide growth-producing climates of openness, acceptance, and participatory power-sharing. The transformational leader provides a context in which people tap their own power and move toward self-transcending behavior.

Distinguishing Between Parental Involvement and Parental Support

There is a distinction between the terms *parental involvement* and *parental support*. *Parental support* includes such activities as sending children to school, attending parent-teacher conferences, encouraging the completion of homework, doing math games, or reading to children. *Parental involvement* not only supports the educational process of each individual child, but includes additional activities which impact school systems, such as: serving on Johnson O'-Malley Committees, Indian Education Act Committees, or tribal culture committees; participating in parent teacher organizations; or serving on local school boards or state, regional or Native education organizations or associations. Participation of Native parents is critical at all levels, but *parental support* is within the capabilities of all parents, and according to research, has the greatest impact on the achievement, behavior, and attitudes of students.

A Native parent at the National Indian Education Conference, Parental Involvement Issue session summarized the following:

- I would like to distinguish between parent involvement and parent support. Parent involvement requires parents to be involved as committee members, policy makers, Title V advisors, and even tutors. On the other hand, parent support programs such as Family Math and Family Science build upon what parents can do for a child. Because our parents haven't come through the system with the kind of skills that they need in terms of parenting, we haven't been very good at giving them concrete things they can do with their children. When you actually get parents and children together having fun around a content area like Family Math or Family Science, you start breaking down some of the barriers and fears that parents grew up with. They want to be there for their children but nobody has even shown them how to in very concrete, enjoyable, supportive kinds of ways. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 1)

- Parents who participate in our schools, who come to parent-teacher conferences, who come to basketball games and music concerts, who support all of the extracurricular activities that their children participate in, generally do not have children who are at risk. The parents of at-risk children are those we do not see in the schools. They are usually involved in so many other things and issues of their own that they do not have time to come to school. Other life issues make it hard for them to support education... When parents are not available, we need to work with whoever is key in that child's life, whether it is the grandmother or grandfather, the sister or brother, aunt or uncle. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p.15)

The New Jersey Department of Education publication entitled *Effective Practices for Successful Bilingual Parent Involvement Programs: An Administrator's Handbook*, identifies the various roles parents can play in the education of their children.

Parental *support* encompasses the roles of parents as learners, parents as teachers, parents as counselors, and for some, parents as resources. Parental involvement includes parents as resources, parents as decision makers, and parents as agents of change.

- *Parents as Learners*: This role focuses on increasing a parent's own educational experiences to improve the home environment for the child in areas related to success in school. In the case of parents of limited English proficient children, learning may involve orientation to the language of school, the school system, child development information, and other kinds of support for school.
- *Parents as Teachers*: This role focuses on the fact that parents are the child's first teachers. Special training and education are given to parents so that they become a means of working with the child at home to foster good study habits and reinforce learning.
- *Parents as Counselors*: In this role parents provide emotional support to their children in setting goals and in understanding the goals of the American school system.
- *Parents as Resources*: This role uses parents as a resource with special talents and skills in the actual classroom situation. It increases communication between the parents and the school, and demonstrates a school's responsiveness to the local needs of the community.
- *Parents as Decision Makers*: In this role parents participate in the whole educational process from the needs assessment and program planning to the evaluation of the entire program.
- *Parents as Agents of Social Change*: Parents work with agencies outside the school to help them attain the goal of home-school partnership.

Once these distinctions of parental roles are clarified, it is easier to discuss the kind of participation which is essential and realistic for most Native parents, versus participation which is desirable but, perhaps in some cases, unrealistic for many Native parents. Due to the concerted, intentional omission of Native parents historically, much needs to be done to rebuild both Native *parental support*, and Native *parental involvement*. With Johnson O'Malley and Indian Education Act programs, Native parental *involvement* has become a means through which schools can redefine the role of education given in the uniqueness of Native communities. These programs have significantly increased the quantity and quality of Native parental *involvement*. Native parental *support*, however, has not received nearly as much attention. The *support* aspects of Native parental participation in schools needs to be boosted tremendously. All schools need both parental *support* and *involvement*, but little has been done to date about *support*.

Historical Barriers to Native Parents

I am a parent of six children and have dealt with the public school system for twenty four years. I have taught my children to respect all people, like I was taught by my grand mother. But I have learned that the school system does not understand American Indian children or their culture. I believe the school system needs to have respect for American Indian children. When I sent my children to school they were feeling good about themselves, their culture, and their heritage, but they came home feeling inferior about themselves and full of questions about our value system. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p.10)

The sentiments expressed so eloquently by a veteran Native parent during the issues forum at the National Indian Education Association Conference in San Diego summarizes hundreds of others' deep concern that schools in America are failing American Indian/Alaska Native children, families, and communities. Inclusion of Native parents in the educational process has the potential of transforming a system which historically imposed values and expectations on communities rather than supporting, reinforcing, or empowering them. True parental participation is the most critical element necessary in order to radically reverse the downward trend in achievement and improve the dismal Native student dropout statistics.

- Parents are not to be blamed. You need to look at the parents' parents and the parents before them to find out what the influences have been and how they have impacted students today. In my education and in educating these American Indian students, I had to take a very hard journey back to the boarding school conflict that was placed upon us by the United States of America. Indian students today have no understanding of this and both they and non-Indian teachers are like sponges once they learn about what might be the root of many of the problems they encounter today. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Ojibway, 1990, p. 16)
- The first reality I wish to address is that of educational expectations. While most of us today recognize the harmful and sometimes devastating effects that the boarding school experience had on previous generations of Indian people, we seldom consider the educational legacy bestowed on future generations by this one single action. The purpose of the boarding school was, after all, cultural genocide, and there are few Indian families who managed to escape its reaches. The boarding school was for many Indian people the first encounter with formal institutionalized education, and the relationship that was established was oppositional. Indian parents, forced to relinquish their children without recourse, hoped for two things: that their children would be returned to them and that in the process of being "civilized," their children would not be destroyed. The oppositional relationship established between Indian people and institutionalized education has been reinforced through subsequent generations of educational failure in public schools. Educators speak in flowery terms of quality educational outcomes, and yet many Indian parents of today are not unlike those of previous generations — expecting only that in the process of education, their children will not be destroyed. As a distinct group, Indian people have learned to expect little from education and, unfortunately, their expectations have been fulfilled. The first reality we must then confront in the education of Indian children is that there is a tremendous difference between the rhetoric of education and what many Indian people have learned to realistically expect from public schools. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Salinas, 1990, p. 24)

One tragedy in the history of Indian education is that originally education was used by the federal government as a weapon to estrange Indian children from their culture, their parents, their people. Education was an intentional act of intellectual genocide as it was originally introduced into Indian country. This is no longer the intent of education planners dealing with Indian education. But the scars of this shameful legacy remain. They remain in the estrangement of many Indian parents from the school environment. They remain in the persistent tendency of too many federal education officials to try to go around the grassroots Indian people in planning education—to decide for them what should be done with their children. The Navajo Nation is committed to overcoming this tragic legacy. We are committed to building with our Navajo people educational programs and structures that educate our children to the highest levels of competence by building upon all that is strong and good in our Navajo people. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Haskie, 1990, p.45)

- Indians do not necessarily want to become part of the melting pot. Historically, Indians have been used as the kindling to

> heat the melting pot, and they do not necessarily want to be assimilated into the dominant society and be forced to adopt its values. Our community needs assessments have told us repeatedly over the years that Indian parents strongly want to retain their Indian language, culture, and values within their educational programs. Unfortunately for Indians in the schools today, it is like looking in a mirror and not being able to see your own reflection. The shockingly high dropout rates are a testament to this feeling of alienation that Indians feel in a non-Indian setting. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieu, 1990, p. 29).

Parents' interest in school, attitudes about education, amount of time spent reading to their children, and positive expectations about learning are the kinds of things that influence their own children's school achievement. Many times, attitudes of parents are rooted in their own experiences with school. If parents have had negative experiences themselves, they may consciously or even unconsciously transmit their negative feelings to their children. *These attitudes are not likely to change without intervention.* Clearly American Indian/Alaska Native education abounds with justification for parental fear, caution, and open hostility towards schools and educators. As one Indian Nation at Risk (INAR) testifier explained, "The BIA has had a record of taking our Indian children away from their communities and sending them to schools 100 miles away. That was a deliberate effort on the government's part to assimilate and indoctrinate these children. We need to turn this around and let the family and parents assume more responsibility." (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 1).

It has been well documented that the separation of Native children from their families was the accepted strategy used to assimilate the Native. When children were removed from their families, whole generations lost access to Native parenting models, culture, language, and traditional values. Not only were bonds between children and their fathers and mothers broken, but those with others who had parenting responsibilities as well. In more traditional Native communities, the extended family shared responsibilities for discipline, nurturing, guidance, and skill building. "As early as 1744, an Indian elder described tribal members who returned to tribal life from schools of the white man as being unfit for tribal life, not able to speak the tribal language well, unfit to be counselors, and hence were unable to make a worthwhile contribution to the tribe." (Christensen, Demmert, 1978, p. 139). Early on, these ties were intentionally severed by missionaries and by government policy. For example, the treaty negotiated in 1867 with the Comanches and Kiowas clearly described this intent:

> Article 7. In order to insure the civilization of the tribes entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted . . . and they therefore pledge to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of 6 and 16 years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every 30 children between said ages, who can be induced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided, and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished . . .the provisions of this article to continue for not less than 20 years. (Hagan, p. 99).

It is understood that the culture of a people is reflected in and passed on through their educational system. Serious attention to methods and content of education ensures that the values and the lifestyle of a culture are passed on to children. Separated from that system, other values and lifestyles begin to dominate the child. "A major conflict between cultures occurred when the federal government attempted to bring American Indians into the mainstream of society following the 1871 conclusion of the treaty-signing period. The boarding school was the primary institution encouraging acculturation of American Indian/Alaska Native youth due to the schools' adherence to a regime that reflected the military fortifications in which schools were housed. Different conceptions of time and history were taught in boarding schools, and Indian students were confronted with a school culture and curriculum vastly different from their own tribal reality. Students were asked to study history as a progressive development of societies as expressed by the European thought processes rather than a cyclical experience of nature as taught by their elders." (Bill, 1987, p. 37)

Our Voices, Our Visions: American Indians Speak Out for Educational Excellence succinctly describes the coercive assimilation policy aimed at destroying Indian culture.

> Architects of assimilation targeted Indian children for radical resocialization as a means of destroying tribal life. Traditionally, parents, clan members, and religious leaders taught children tribal values, religious precepts, political ideology, and other skills to live a well-balanced life. Under white

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> authority, Indian children frequently suffered a torrent of abuse. Government officials sent children to distant boarding schools where they were punished for speaking their own language, taught to believe that their Indian ways were evil, and inculcated with values antithetical to tribal life. In the 1950s, when the federal government sought to cancel its trust obligation to Indian tribes, federal budget cuts shifted emphasis from boarding schools to local public schools. Although most Indian students thereafter lived at home and attended local schools, the aim of state administered education remained essentially the same: assimilation. (AISES, 1990. p.1)

Numerous investigators have documented the imposition of education upon Native people, one in 1928, commonly called the *Meriam Report*, and the other most notable, in 1969, entitled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge.*

> The major findings of the Meriam Report were that (1) Indians were excluded from management of their own affairs, and (2) Indians were receiving a poor quality of services (especially health and education) from public officials who were supposed to be serving their needs. These two findings remain just as valid today as they were more than 60 years ago.

The report was highly critical of boarding schools, both because of their inadequate facilities and the manner in which they were operated. It condemned the practices of taking children from their homes and placing them in off-reservation boarding schools. It stressed repeatedly the need for a relevant instructional curriculum adapted to the individual needs and background of the students. It chided the schools for failing to consider or adapt to the language of the child. It asked why Indians could not participate in deciding the direction of their schools. And it suggested that public schools, with their traditional curriculums, were not the answer either.

"The most fundamental need in Indian education," according to the report, "is a change in point of view."

The Indian family and social structure must be strengthened, not destroyed. The qualifications of teachers in Indian schools must be high, not poor to average. The Federal school system must be a model of excellence. (Kennedy, 1969, p. 83)

> At the heart of the matter, educationally at least, is the relationship between the Indian community and the public school and the general powerlessness the Indian feels in regard to the education of his children. A recent report by the Carnegie Foundation described the relationship between white people, especially the white power structure, and Indians as 'one of the most crucial problems in the education of Indian children.' The report continued: 'This relationship frequently demeans Indians, destroys their self-respect and self-confidence, develops or encourages apathy and a sense of alienation from the educational process, and deprives them of an opportunity to develop the ability and experience to control their own affairs through participation in effective local government.' (Kennedy, 1969, p. 24)

The conclusions of these studies echoed that the attempts by the federal government to educate Native people has dramatically eroded both the life style and economic position of tribes and individuals. Historically, American Indian/Alaska Native people, through the intrusion process of education, have *learned* to fear schools and educators, while at the same time understanding the necessity of their existence. In the summary of historical findings the report entitled *Indian Education: A National Tragedy, A National Challenge,* described the policy of coercive assimilation, national attitudes, and the failure of education.

The coercive assimilation policy had disastrous effects on the education of Indian children. It has resulted in schools which fail to recognize the importance and validity of the Indian community. The community and child retaliate by treating the school as an alien institution.

"As public opinion became more tolerant of cultural pluralism during the 1960s, Congress authorized funds for Indian education and cultural retention programs. Numerous tribes and communities took advantage of the opportunity by contracting with Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools, establishing local school boards, and setting up alternative schools." (AISES, 1990, p. 1) Federal budget cuts during the late 1970s and 1980s, however, eliminated or weakened many of these self-determination initiatives in education.

The process of rebuilding communities, nurturing and educating or re-educating Native parents will require tremendous time, energy, and commitment on the part of schools and tribal communities. Given the potential for success and the substantive impact that Native parental participation could have on the educational outcomes of Native students, inclusion of Native parents is critical. Therefore, the re-education process must begin, must be supportive, accepting, and participatory, and must allow Native parents opportunities to learn and build skills necessary for themselves; skills which, in turn, they can pass on to their children.

> Education cannot be treated as an institution separate from communities. It is part of us, just as the sun, moon, stars, rain, snow, and wind affect us as we walk on Mother Earth.

The recommendations address key elements for holistic integration. This will lead to cooperation from tribal leaders and elders, improve self-image and analytical skills among Indian children, and ensure that accurate cultural portrayals are integrated in the teaching of academic competencies and subject areas. Ultimately, the recommendations are offered in the interest of self-respect and partnership—self-respect for educators and Indians alike—so that a partnership of cultural equality can be fostered. (AISES, 1990 p.8)

Key Issues For American Indian/Alaska Native Parents

This section will highlight contemporary attitudes of American Indian/Alaska Native people shared during the regional hearings and issue forums sponsored by the Indian Nations At Risk (INAR) Task Force. Comments have been organized around two general headings: those over which educational *institutions* have control or influence, and those which describe dynamics operating in Native communities.

School Focused Issues

A large number of concerns expressed during the INAR hearings described and criticized the attitudes, practices and environments of schooling institutions. Testimony in general did not always distinguish between Bureau of Indian Affairs schools, public schools, tribally controlled, or contract schools. These contemporary opinions continue to reinforce historical documentation which maintains that schools appear to be cold, inhospitable institutions, unwilling to actively reach out to communities, acknowledge differences in culture and values, and promote educational excellence validated and supported by Native people.

Staff Attitudes

Native people continue to have concerns about the attitudes and behavior of educational staff who seem uninformed about Native cultures and unwilling to change behavior. Native teachers are too few in number.

> Most tribal youth are attending public schools that are Euro-American dominated and controlled. In a recent article entitled *American Indian Nation Demographics for 1990*, John Tippeconic reports that 82 percent of Native Americans attend public schools and the enrollment in BIA schools is decreasing. Therefore, more and more students are taught by non-Indian teachers. At a time when there is an increase in the cultural diversity of students, there is a decrease in the cultural diversity of teachers. According to the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, only .6 percent of the public school teachers are of Native American ancestry. (INAR Plains Hearings, Bradley, 1990, p. 11)

The vast majority of teachers must learn about traditional Native culture. Though much has been done in recent history to re-educate teachers and principals, many still remain abysmally ignorant about how best to acknowledge cultural differences and how best to reinforce those cultural differences in the classroom. When Native students experience problems, schools tend to blame parents and community.

Native parents, however, expect schools to be responsible for correcting problems on their own and view educators as the professionals. Robbed of the opportunity to influence education, generations of Native parents have never learned how to be an advocate for their children. Many Native parents will say they want their children to be educated, yet do not understand which behaviors, on their part, reinforce that opinion. As a result, schools perceive Native parents as unsupportive. "There is lack of parent involvement. Almost all of our parents want their children to get an education, but they do not know what education is. They do not have Readers Digest, National Geographic, or even a dictionary in their house." (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Academic Performance, 1990, p. 15)

Interaction with Native parents tends to focus on the negative, initiated most often when there is a problem with a student. "Often we think in negative terms about parents coming to school and being involved. When parents come to school, you wonder why they are there. Are they there because a child is in trouble? Are they there because they are upset and angry with the school or the teacher?" (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 4)

- We, as parents, don't feel welcome in public schools. In fact, when I go to schools, it's always because my child was not listening or some small reason, and I'm sure there are bigger problems faced by other parents. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 4)
- We can all pretend that there is a wonderful partnership between schools and parents, but there is not. When you come

in with a problem, you can bet that the institutional response is that your child has been a problem. Then they start focusing in on your child because this is how many institutions protect themselves. If you are educated and know how the system works, you can respond to that. If you are not, the school shuts the door and pegs you and your child as troublemakers. I think it's asking a lot to expect parents, who aren't comfortable in this foreign setting anyway, to go in there and assert themselves and demand change. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 4)

- I regret to say that the public school system has been abusive to my children physically and emotionally. I've tried to work with the school system, and I've talked to many other Indian parents who have tried to work with them. Most of the time when they ask you to work with them, it is regarding a discipline problem. Sometimes a death in the family occurs, and my children have to be out two or three days, and they are punished for supporting their family and its values. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 4)

Native people repeatedly express concern about staff attitudes, behavior and lack of knowledge. Because of these perceptions on the part of Native parents, they are reluctant to approach the school.

- We need to encourage non-Indian teachers to work with Indian parents so the children can see that the Indian parents and the non-Indian teachers have the same ideas about education. This is important so children will have confidence in their teachers and teachers can recognize that these children are just as important as other children in the school. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Partnerships of Schools, Tribes, Communities, Parents and Businesses, 1990, p. 5)
- I am a parent and was involved in Head Start because of the parent involvement component written into that program. However, when our son when into kindergarten, our involvement tailed off. I don't know if that was because we were intimidated by the teachers, if we were somehow discouraged from participating, or if we were made not to feel welcome. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, p. 2)

Ignorance certainly influences staff, but Natives also report blatant racism as a contributing inhibitor for student success and Native parental participation. "I come from a tribe that has two public schools within a seven-mile radius on each side. Why do we need a tribal school when we are so close to public schools? It is because we suffer a lot of racism in the State of Washington." (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 9)

- Our kids going into ninth grade at the high school are facing institutionalized racism and cultural insensitivity. This is especially true in areas where there is competition between the non-Indican and the Indian communities for a treaty resource, such as in the Pacific Northwest where the tribes are fishing tribes. Some of the teachers are commercial fishermen themselves, and thus there is a lot of antagonism because they are competing during the summer months for money. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 9)
- Students face blatant racism in their classes. In one district in Northwest Washington, high school students were required to take a class in Pacific Northwest history. Because teachers could use supplementary materials that did not have to be reviewed by a curriculum board, some teachers were using materials that were extremely racist and sexist. One teacher showed a movie and clapped every time an Indian got killed.

This school imposed an attendance policy that was extremely punitive. If a student missed ten days of school within a semester, he or she had to petition for academic credit for that semester, regardless of academic standing. The school doesn't consider whether you might be sick, attending ceremonials, or helping your family fish. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 9)

- Three years ago I had traditional people and parents come to a meeting. They began to discuss some of their problems and I couldn't believe what I heard. Indian children were not allowed to hang their coats with the white students, they were never chosen for classroom help, they were chosen last to do anything, and they were never chosen to be student of the month.

> One of the biggest problems is the prejudice of teachers. They only acknowledge Indians on Thanksgiving or when it is time for filling out funding papers. All Indian students are geared toward vocational education, they are never counseled for college-bound courses. I had a problem with my son and asked the school to change his courses. I was told all Indians go to voc-tech. (INAR Plains Hearing, Kootswtewa, 1990, p. 83)

Reluctance to change on the part of some school personnel is a major issue in too many Native communities.

- Lower Kuskowim School District in Bethel, Alaska has 23 schools serving 3,000 students, 19 of which provide instruction in the Native language up to grade three, when the transition to English begins. We have 270 teachers, 200 of whom are Anglos. We are looking for some kind of academic preparation by the teachers to fully understand the Native students and what we've been going through the past couple of years has been very troublesome. In teacher negotiations we asked that teachers become academically prepared with at least six credits of our Yipik language and culture before they become permanent.

There has been severe teacher resistance to doing this, while the board and parents feel it is absolutely essential. Teachers argue that they can become familiar with our language and culture just by being there. Our stand is that they need formal academic preparation in these areas. We have added incentives to the negotiations by (1) offering every teacher a $1,000 across the board raise, (2) offering a one percent increase over three years, and (3) offering to pay for all of the courses and materials. But the teachers said absolutely not, so it has been very difficult and I am not sure how you formulate a successful policy. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Native Language and Culture, 1990, p. 7)

Another aspect of school related issues, relative to teachers is the concern for high staff turnover rates in rural, isolated Native schools. "The turnover rate of non-Indian teachers on reservations creates a lack of continuity in staff development and systematic planning of high quality instructional delivery. Many non-Indian teachers have the empathy, understanding, caring, cultural awareness, and sensitivity that is necessary to teach Indian students; the important point was that they quite often do not stay in rural/reservation areas where they are sorely needed." (INAR Southwest Hearing, Swisher, 1990, p. 10)

School Environment

The physical location and condition of school buildings also influences perceptions of Native parents. Many times schools resemble compounds enclosed within fences. Still others are set apart from the community in inaccessible places. Off reservation schools are so remote that access for most Native parents is not only unlikely but impossible.

- This is particularly true of Indian students living in rural settings like the Navajo and Hope reservations. Extreme distance between high schools in the Navajo Nation necessitates boarding schools for these young people. Unfortunately, this form of isolation from home and community creates emotional hardships for Indian youth. The resultant problems most often cited by staff at these boarding facilities are disruptive behavior, lack of motivation and career goals, drug and alcohol abuse, and teen sex and pregnancy. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Sakiestewa, 1990, p. 5)
- In one area, students are traveling 60 miles to attend public schools when there is a boarding school nearby. Nothing could be done about this situation because public school policy overrides the desires of the tribes and parents have a choice of where to send their children.
- Our Indian students are isolated from the world at large and are subject to print and media poverty, as well as low income. Teachers commute from long distances--Phoenix, Tucson, Ajo, and Santa Rosa Boarding School-- and must commute 35-130 miles and have a lot of car problems. San Simon School has high retention of staff and teachers. The school needs a satellite dish and cable hookups for access to educational TV and university programs. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Mason, 1990, p.27-28)

Many schools are closed and unavailable during evenings and on weekends. Grounds and structures too often are not maintained, giving schools a run down appearance. Tribally controlled schools often are relegated to the most dilapidated buildings. This implies that education occurring in these types of facilities is not as good as that which occurs in "the real" school building.

If Native parents make it through the school door, they rarely see evidence of culture in the halls or on classroom bulletin boards. Simple validation of the community in which the school sits is severely limited. For example: In a school on the Northern Cheyenne Reservation during March, every classroom had shamrocks and little green leprechauns except for one. That classroom alone had displayed a Native in regalia reaching out to a cavalry officer with a caption designating March as a time when Cheyenne people ceded land to United States government.

The exclusion and intimidation of parents may occur because of subtle things.

- I went to visit Chemawa with my mother because my grandmother had gone there. We walked into that place and the secretarial area was built up at least a foot, maybe two feet, off the floor from the reception area so that when the secretary came up and talked to us, she looked down over this counter. And my mother, this adult person whom I always thought of as being forward, could not talk. That, I think, is a trained, learned response. When schools are all designed that way, how do you expect Indian people to come in, take control and develop policies and curriculum? There are horrible breakdowns in communities that need to be regenerated. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 4)
- The parents just got tired of putting up with the racism and bigotry in the public schools and decided to start their own school. One of the schools, Circle of Life at White Earth, was funded and started with a Title IV grant. The other schools joined in the contracting route and got on a two-year funding cycle. All of the schools have very poor physical facilities.

Chief Bug-o-nay-ge-shig is probably the best school around. They have a brand new building and they keep adding as they grow. Nay-Ah-Shing started out in a trailer house and eventually moved over into the tribal headquarters offices. Fond du Lac is in a building that was originally designed as a Head Start facility for little kids. So it has little bitty sinks and little bitty desks. The building was really inadequate even for Head Start because it is so small.

We have an Ojibwe school that is wood frame construction. It is not very good in terms of fire safety or having water. Circle of Life is in a building that was at one time turned over to the state to serve as a public school. A clause in the contract stated that when the state returned it to the tribe it would be in the same condition as when it was originally turned over to them. The state has never lived up to that contract, if it isn't up to standard. We are now in the process of trying to remodel those buildings, but the money we have received is not adequate to bring them up to standard. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Tanner, 1990, p.57)

Schools which do not integrate Native culture into the core curriculum, give the message that education has little to do with the everyday life of Native people. Rather than ignoring Native cultures, schools should be celebrating them. It's difficult for parents to be part of something which appears to be so alien.

- In order for Western education to be a part of the value system of Indian communities, Indians have to see the worth of education. After several hundred years of having education imposed upon them, it's never really been a part of the value system. It's been a long, hard, struggle, but I think that a lot of parents are beginning to realize that there is value in education. However, there are still people who are punished for speaking their Native language and who experienced Christianity coming in and saying that their culture was the devil's work. It has to take a whole re-education of Indian people to make them committed to this kind of education. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Partnerships of Schools, Tribes, Communities, Parents and Businesses, 1990, p. 5)
- It would be very nice to think that the teaching of culture could occur at home, but that's not always the case. A lot of our traditional language and culture is being lost right now and it can't be taught in the home. That is why we reinforce it at school. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 9)

One Chickasaw educator from the University of Alaska, Fairbanks, summarized eloquently that schools should be *Indianized.*

> So my belief is that we need to *Indianize* Indian Education. We need to Indianize the philosophy, the texts, the approach, the methods, the content, etc...We also need a different yardstick and we need to raise the standard for Indian education. Indian education maintains a continuity with tradition. Our traditions define and preserve us. It is important to understand that this continuity with tradition is neither a rejection of

the artifacts of other cultures nor an attempt to *turn back the clock.*

Indian education demands relationships of personal respect. Respect between different age groups, between humans and the rest of nature, and respect for different cultures and beliefs is an essential value of Indian people. This emphasis on respectful relationships recognizes that the quality of individual life depends on the quality of group life. Similarly, a respectful relationship with nature means that we are not the conquerors but nature's equal. In education the respect between students and teachers is a personal relationship that recognizes the knowledge and worth of each. (INAR Northwest Hearing, Hampton, 1990, p. 34-35)

Declining Native Parent Participation

Schools tend to involve parents less and less as children progress through the grades. Interestingly enough, achievement and attendance tend to drop as students progress through the grades. As research suggests, parental support has powerful affects at the early childhood level, yet it should be sustained throughout the schooling years. Since Native students begin dropping out at the junior high school levels, involvement and support of Native parents should increase, not decrease.

The departmentalization of junior high and high schools further isolates and alienates not only Native students, but their parents as well. Rather than having to communicate with one teacher, Native parents must interact with half a dozen teachers in many different classroom settings.

In many Native communities, urban and reservation alike, parental involvement starts during Head Start but deteriorates by the end of middle school. The middle school years are extremely crucial times; times when Native parents really need to give support and assistance to the youth who are facing adolescence.

- At the same time it is important to prepare students and parents by telling them that they are going to find these kinds of people at the high school and they may be grouchy and give you a hard time. This way they will know what to expect when they get there. In our Indian education program we try to cushion and buffer this process as best we can, but we can't be everywhere at once. If students know what to expect, it may be easier for them to take and they will be willing to put up with a little of it to stay in school. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p. 8)
- It would help if there was a way to enable parents to go and visit their children in college. I know it would have helped me when I was struggling through my first year of school. When a relative shows up and sees that you're really trying, it makes you try harder. (INAR/NIEA, Issue Session on Postsecondary Education, 1990, p. 3)

Native Community Issues

The other side of the school-community partnership is the Native community. The Native community itself is a contradiction; offering tremendous strength and pride yet struggling with inordinate abuse, alcoholism, poverty and dysfunction.

- We are a distinct and proud people with a heritage which is as old as time and as new as tomorrow. Our culture and our unique view of this world and man's place in it have much to give to the larger society of the United States and to the world community. In this age of nuclear threat and environmental crises, the Navajo perspective on man and his world is being looked to in order to bring Man into harmony with his world once again. We want to be equal to this challenge. We want our children to be so strong in their educational attainment and so solid in their Navajo heritage that they can bring to the world some of the wisdom and insight that it will need in the 21st century. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Haskie, 1990, p. 6)
- When children are born into dysfunctional families--whether it be alcohol or drugs, a parent with mental illness, or the absence of a parent--this is the beginning of victimness. They are unconscious of becoming victims as they get caught up in compulsive behavior and replay their victim role. These people make negative choices that negatively affect self-esteem. In other words, self-esteem is damaged by the dysfunction students are brought up in. (INAR Plains Hearing, Young, 1990, p. 20)

Issues Which Apply to Most Native Schools

Many factors continue to inhibit Native parental participation with schools. Dynamics over which large numbers of Native parents have minimal control include illiteracy, low socio-economic status, poor parental self-esteem, dysfunctional family relationships and poor health conditions. These issues exist across communities whether on the reservation or in the cities.

Illiteracy

The lack of educational role models continues to plague Indian communities. Evidence that Native people can get a good education and still maintain a traditional lifestyle are needed. The ability to read directly impacts the ability of Native parents to chart their own course.

> I teach adult education at the Denver Indian School. We are all educators speaking here today, and we are all into pushing our children into education. I am educating people whose academic grade levels are zero through three or eight. One of the reasons they want to learn is so they can teach and work with their children. They want to be able to read to their children. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Academic Performance, 1990, p.15)

- Family illiteracy keeps Indian youth from mastering basic literacy skills. Therefore, the Adult Basic Education and GED preparation classes offered at Seattle Indian Center are critical to achieving literacy for the Native American community as a whole. When the children acknowledge that education is important to their parents, it then becomes more important to them (INAR Northwest Hearing, Egawa p.48)

Economic Conditions

- Sixty-six percent (66%) of our Indian families in St. Paul live in poverty. By the free lunch program guidelines, we are talking about a family of four living on $452 a month, a family of six living on $675 every two weeks. I know that this high incidence of poverty is not news to you. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Gagnon, 1990, p.59)
- The economic situation of approximately 69% of the enrolled members is well below the poverty level, as the 69% are unemployed. Therefore, the Colville Indian children of this area are entering schools with a low esteem of their families, as well as of their communities which have little extra curricular activities available for school-aged children. Our goal is to educate and keep the children in school, providing technical assistance in any way possible through the school system. (INAR Northwest Hearing, Aripa, 1990, p.50)

Lack of Parental Self Esteem

Certainly, parent's perceptions of their own personal worth and influence will in some way impact their children. Many Native parents are strongly grounded in Native culture and feel good about themselves. Yet far too many others have severe self-esteem problems, resulting in behaviors of alcoholism and abuse.

- The Nespelem Elementary School District has 99% of enrolled Indian children being served in grades K-6. The children in the elementary school system do not progress academically as expected in a non-Indian situation. The majority of parents did not have an opportunity to integrate socially, therefore, children have developed the attitude that to integrate with other races is demeaning to their heritage as the aboriginal habitants. There are occasions when students can excel if motivated to the point where their self-esteem regarding their Native American Heritage has been developed by parents, school teachers, as well as the community leaders. (INAR Northwest Hearing, Aripa, 1990, p.50)

Dysfunctional Families/Drugs and Alcohol

- We do a disservice to our people when we always stress the families that are dysfunctional and abuse alcohol. We need to also give credit to those families who do raise their children well and are providing support for their education and personal growth. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p.1)
- Our tribal council passed a resolution stating that our tribe would be alcohol and drug free within the next year or two. Consequently, there has been a lot of study on the addictive and dysfunctional communities and families. We discovered that even if you don't drink now, you may have inherited dysfunctional behaviors, and this is one of the reasons that we as adults can't help our children. I think that federal agencies have to better coordinate the programs and the resources that we have to educate our tribal leaders and parent committees because then this information will filter down to the communities.
- With the recent emphasis on the identification and treatment of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) and Fetal Alcoholic Af-

fects (FAE), we are expecting a significant increase in the number of special education students served due to these conditions. We have discovered that we are beginning to serve FAS students who have one or both FAS parents. Fourteen and nine tenths percent (14.9%) of our students have been identified as needing special education. With ongoing efforts to identify and treat FAS and FAE children, we anticipate that this number will increase significantly. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Thacker, 1990, p.3)

Parental Choice

Movement within urban areas from school to school is a real issue which can detrimentally affect student achievement and parental participation. Movement between schools may be due to parental choice, family dysfunctioning or poverty.

- However, it is actually not the parents making choices, but the students. Consequently, the mobility rate is high and these students are not achieving because they spend a lot of time transferring from one school to another. The students enter one public school and are not able to identify with the curriculum so they go to another school. This goes on throughout the year. (INAR/NIEA, Issue Session on Partnerships of Schools, Tribes, Communities, Parents and Businesses, 1990, p.6)
- My area of concern is in the realm of parental rights, and according to the Code of Federal Regulations (CFR), code 25 CFR states that parents have the right to send their students to whatever school they deem appropriate to meet the needs of the child. We are a tribal boarding school--and I must underscore *tribal* in that we feel we are not in the realm that we were 30 to 40 years ago as far as boarding schools go. As day schools go, we are among the top in Indian education and many parents would like to send their children to Marty School, but they are denied this option because we are not "an approved BIA facility." This determination by BIA officials is contrary to CFR and should no longer be practiced or allowed. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Wright, 1990, p.30)
- Educators across the nation seem to be using parental choice as a front or a reason to allow students to go to schools of their choice, but many times those students will go to no less than two schools in a year. We have three BIA schools within a radius of 50 miles that are surrounded by a public school system and we have kids leaving our school within the first three months to go elsewhere. However, they end up coming back to our school because it is close to their home and their community. We end up receiving those kids back in late March or April, and we don't know if we should promote them.

I agree that parents should have a choice of where to send their children, but the problem is that the students are the ones making those decisions. We need to form a partnership with parents so they trust the schools and don't leave the choice up to their children. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 1)

- Parents have a role to play in dropout prevention, especially as advocates for their child's education. Sometimes parents have to make a choice between living in an urban setting where you may lose touch with your language and culture. These are hard choices, but to me it is important that parents maintain their sense of direction. When you do have your culture and your language, it is a big plus and something you can resort back to. But my two children are going to a prep school, by my choice, so they will be prepared for a better life. As parents we do have a choice of preventing our children from dropping out by saying, "Hey, this is the direction I want you to take." Most children are looking for direction from their Elders, from family, teachers, counselors, and other adults. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p. 15)
- In support of a statement made by Lauro Cavazos at the Alaska NIEA meeting last year, I believe that Indian parents should have a choice of education. If they feel that their children could be provided a higher quality education in another district, they should be free to send them there. Again, specifying the State of New York, we have the unique situation where the state provides funds to schools that have a large Indian population on a per student basis, which is used by the schools to cover school expenses, including transportation. Although improved from 20 years ago, Indian input on the spending of these funds is limited, and Indian parents would prefer to have a direct voucher system whereby

they could enroll their children in the district of their choice. (INAR Eastern Hearing, Stock, 1990, p.6)

Extended Family

Unlike the other issues addressed in this section, issues related to the nature of Native extended families is not a deficit. It is a dynamic which is often not acknowledged, or is misunderstood by educational staff. Extended family relationships have significant implications for parenting in Native communities. Extended family members may be very effective supporters of education for Native children. When biological parents are not available, grandparents and aunts or uncle should be utilized.

- The traditional extended family provides Ojibwe communities with a balanced division of tasks and workers for generations. This natural support system provided roles for individuals of all ages. Elders were a particularly important part of the extended family and were revered for their experiences—in individual and family life, child rearing, history, music, and crafts—but especially because they were the link with the past and the bearers of tradition, culture, and spirituality. One of their key functions was the transmission of Ojibwe cultural heritage to the young... Today, a breakdown of the extended family unit and a de-emphasis on cultural traditions is very evident on the Lac Courte Oreilles Indian Reservation, and the role of the Elders has been diminished in the community. As a result, the community is weakened and traditional cultural beliefs, values and Ojibwe language are not being passed on to children and families as they were in the past. Many factors leading to instabilities operate in a complex way to exert pressure on families, but the following areas can be singled out as large contributors to the breakdown of cultural values systems and traditions on the Reservation. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Benton, 1990, p.63)

Issues of Reservation Schools

Reservation communities because of isolation and unique funding requirements for schools, face additional hurdles over which Native parents must negotiate.

- The South Dakota Department of Education ranks school districts in the state regarding the number of "needy" students. They rank Todd County School District as fifth (88.32%). The top four are districts serving a majority of American Indian students. We are a rural and isolated district. We transport 81.45% of our students, which ranks eighth in the state. We rank third in the state for the percentage of dropouts. Numbers one and two are also districts serving a majority of American Indian students. Our FY 90 expenditures per student, $4,098.24, ranked 55th of 191 public school districts in the state. Because of our taxable land, we are able to generate only $406.95 of our expenditure per student at the local level. In this regard, we rank last in the state. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Thacker, 1990, p.3)
- It is our strong belief, and one that is shared by the Governor of the State of South Dakota, that the education of an American Indian student is more costly than the education of the majority student. Governor Mickelson estimated that the cost is about 65 percent higher for the American Indian student. To name a few areas of need which cause our expenditure per child to increase: We need smaller classes, more instructional aides, support for the cafeteria fund to provide breakfast and lunch, support for the transportation fund, more varied materials, more supplemental programs, remedial programs, programs to help students lean and retain culture, programs which help with language deficiency problems found in isolated bilingual cultures, support for parents to purchase school supplies and clothes, support for parents to be able to participate in school functions, programs which provide personnel who help improve the communication between the home and the school, programs which provide incentive for students for improved attendance, behavior, and grades, and many other programs which are too numerous to mention. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Thacker, 1990, p.3)
- Many very young children serve as the primary care providers for their younger siblings while their parents are on a binge. Less than half of the families have transportation. Less than 30% of the households have a telephone. The average age on the Rosebud is approximately 26. Over 50% of the population is under 20. This portends an increase in school-age

population. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Thacker, 1990, p.3)

Impact Aid and School Funding Issues

- School districts that receive Impact Aid should have a board of Indian education commissioners comprised of parents, school district employees, and tribal representatives to address problems or improvements that need to be made. This board should have clout with the federal government to make recommendations for sanctions against school districts so that districts can't get Impact Aid unless they respond to the needs of our students. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 10)
- My recommendation... would be that the federal government stop providing any funds whatsoever for any kind of Indian education programs or aid to public schools unless and until there is a way to tie that aid to programs that are directly controlled by Native Americans themselves. The other approach has not worked and in fact has given people an excuse to point to all the efforts that have been made as a way of excusing the virtually worthless results they bring about. My recommendation suggests a radical approach, but I think that the public education system in our country is so entrenched and bureaucratized that good teachers, administrators and parents feel handcuffed when it comes to making change. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Wallace, 1990, p.10)

Issues of Urban Schools

Natives who live in urban communities undergo many hardships which make it difficult to maintain a stable home environment. American Indian/Alaska Natives who leave their rural reservation settings for the city are confronted with different problems and needs than those Natives who remain on the reservation. The move to the city puts a strain on families, especially families with traditional ways. " We're not trying to take away from the reservation people at all," the Urban Indian says. "But the needs are as great for Indians in the city as they are for Indians on the reservation —perhaps greater because they are away from friends and family in what amounts to a foreign world."

- While statistical data regarding Indian education is limited, what is clear is that public institutions in Chicago fail Indian students at a level greater than that of any other racial minority. Currently, Indian enrollment in Chicago Public Schools is 689; 510 are in elementary school, and 179 are in high school.

Based on statistics provided by the Chicago School Board 65.9 percent of these students will not graduate from high school. While the specific data in regard to achievement is sketchy, what appears to occur is a sharp decline after the fourth grade. By the eighth grade, most Indian students are about two years behind in their reading level.

For those students who do make it to high school, informal statistics indicate that they are three years below grade level in reading by the time they enter the tenth grade. The largest dropout rate appears to be after the tenth grade. Of special concern is that the dropout rate for American Indian students in Chicago Public Schools is increasing in contrast to all other minority groups who are experiencing slight improvements.

The Chicago Panel of Public School finance reports that a primary indicator for success in school is family income level. The 1980 U.S. Census indicated that Indians represented the poorest group in the city, with 40 percent at or below the poverty level. Low family income would indicate that these children attend schools in poor neighborhoods in schools already plagued with problems of drugs, gangs, and limited resources. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Eichhorn, 1990, p.44)

- The second reality, closely tied to the first, is that the future of Indian education in our area is intrinsically tied to the future of public education. While we are fortunate to have non-public alternative Indian schools in our cities, the funding needed to expand these alternatives is not available at the state or federal level, nor from the private sector.

The education of the majority of Indian children in our urban area will continue to be carried out at the mercy of the public schools. I say "mercy" because good things happen for Indian children in public schools. At the discretion of those in power. At times, our very activist Indian community is able to influence the outcome, but too often we are not. As urban Indian people we do not have sustained access t those who make educational decisions, so we do what we can when we can to advocate a more responsive educational system for our children.

The third reality we must face, and one which I think makes the Minneapolis situation different from others, is that our young people are increasingly assuming the profile of other disadvantaged intercity youth. We have at least two organized Indian gangs in Minneapolis ranging in age from 12 to the late 20s. During the past summer, we have experienced increased inter-gang rivalry between Indian gangs and more sophisticated groups like the Bloods and Crips. Drive-by shootings, long common in other large urban centers, are beginning to routinely occur in Minneapolis and increasingly involve innocent Indian community victims.

Young people are afraid on their way to school and afraid once they get to school that they or someone close to them will be the next victim of the violence. Many of our young men routinely carry weapons in the community and into our schools. During the past year, there were reports of Indian children as young as third grade carrying guns to school.

While both the Minneapolis and St. Paul school systems are making what I believe to be legitimate attempts to become more responsive to Indian students, urban Indian people actually have less influence in broader educational policy decisions than at previous times. Due to the resettlement of large numbers of Southeast Asian refugees in Minnesota, we are now the smallest minority group in the metro area and possibly in the state. We are, based on racial identification, subsumed under policies designed to respond to the needs of other groups of color. And because we are urban Indians, decision makers are less willing to accept our arguments for distinct legal/political status. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Salinas, 1990, p.25)

American Indian/Alaska Natives in urban areas live in the middle of other cultures and environments that are foreign to them. They may face unemployment or minimum wage jobs and lack of help from welfare. They may feel lonely, frightened, and fear losing their cultural identity. They may be confronted with impersonal behavior, attitudes and values and a different type of poverty from that of the reservation. They may encounter a physical environment of concrete walls, and social organizations that turn a deaf ear.

- There are no programs available for urban Indians. The Indian Head Start money goes to reservations and it does not go the urban areas for Indian children. Furthermore, Indian children and families do not usually participate in urban programs run by the region. Either they don't know about the programs because the recruiting isn't right, or they don't stay in programs because they don't feel wanted. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Early Childhood Education, 1990, p. 8)
- Indian children who are unaffiliated with a tribe are being denied services. We need unaffiliated Indian early childhood education monies available because currently we are recognized as Indians on the state level, but because we are not affiliated with a tribe, we are not granted federal status. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Early Childhood Education, 1990, p. 8)

American Indian/Alaska Natives living in urban areas usually rely on other urban Indians for mutual aid, and develop a system of exchange goods, services, and emotional support. However, they may have limited means of communicating with other Indians in the urban area. Many may have limited means of having their needs and demands heard by social service agencies.

Urban Native families face the lack of workable,culturally sensitive services and they face rapid social change. There is a gap between the needs of urban Native families and available service. However, not all Native family systems experience these problems at equal levels.

When working with Native families, the worker often falls into the trap of working on ill-defined, symptomatic issues or needs. These issues or needs are often translated into objectives for educational projects. Then the service agency lays the *blame directly* on native parents for lack of discipline and guidance and *indirectly* on Native families by *blaming* Native students. In this scenario each side may blame the other. It is the tendency of the dominant society to blame those who suffer from a problem as causing the problem. They seldom, if ever, look at agency behavior.

One of the most devastating aspects of Native life in the urban area is the use of alcohol and drugs. Alcohol is the principle social and medical problem of the Native population. This, in turn, leads to other devastating problems such as low self esteem, domestic violence, unemployment and a multifaceted range of compounded social problems. These problems cause many Native families to become dysfunctional. For the 15 to 44 year old Native, the death rate is twelve times higher than for any other race.

Native life in the urban area is highly mobil. Trucks, vans, and cars are more than a means of transportation. They provide Natives access to Indian ceremonies and pow-wows, visits to other Native gatherings, and reservations.

Acculturation plays a large role in a family's sense of identity. The style of communication in the traditional Indian family is one of patience and respect. The acculturation process motivates urban Native families toward belonging, wanting to be part of the whole in order to contribute. Native families may try to socialize their children to be able to survive in a majority culture by training them to deal with racism through anger. They may feel they have to fight to belong in order to overcome the social and economic obstacles placed before them.

The educational system of urban life provide one more institutional hurdle over which Native parents must learn to negotiate. Because of their isolation, insecurity and fear, many urban Native parents require exceptional support, reassurance and assistance. On the other end of the spectrum, however, are many urban Native success stories; individuals who have completed their formal education process and have learned a great deal about how to impact institutions. There are Natives from all social, economic, and educational levels who are Urban Natives by choice. Many natives migrate to the cities, stay and raise their families. They represent a *successful Native* in a modern world.

Many Urban Native youth feel the need to identify and assert their culture and maintain or reestablish weakened connections with tribes, tribal life and reservations because only through tribal enrollment is one technically validated as an Indian. This dichotomy, or other extreme, tends to fragment the possible community cohesiveness in urban areas, culturally bringing people together, yet keeping them apart.

Desegregation in Urban Schools

Desegregation has been viewed as harmful to Native education. It has hurt Native students by scattering and isolating them from their peers and making it costly and difficult to provide effective cultural programs and support services. *Brown vs. Board of Education* has been a benign weapon with a disastrous impact on Native American students.

- The specter of metro-wide desegregation is a frightening one for me. I hear horror stories from middle class Indian families who have children attending suburban school districts, and those of predominately white districts seem even less tolerant of a diverse student population than those schools in the inner city. American Indians are tribal people. Our social system, cultural values, and interdependence have been essential to our survival in the face of systematic attempts to exterminate us. Successful Indian education programs affirm this tribal membership, and use group approaches and a culturally relevant curriculum to help Indian students survive the gauntlet of the majority educational system.

Because of the tribal nature of Indian students, they need to be gathered together to survive in a non-Indian system. An Indian school would also help to counteract the discriminatory effects of desegregation toward Indians. After all, what is the value of espousing the values of diversity and integration if the result is that there are few Indians left to contribute to its diversity?

Choice is meaningless unless you allow access to those choices. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieau, 1990, p.30)

- Historically, to isolate and ostracize a member from their tribe in a hostile environment was to sentence that person to certain death. Currently, to isolate an Indian student in the hostile environment of the public school system without the support of the group or respect of their cultural differences is to sentence that student to certain failure in school and a future without hope.

No two minority groups share the same experience. Neither have all minorities been discriminated against in the same manner. A remedy to redress the injustices suffered by one minority group can be, unintentionally, a further form of discrimination when applied to "help" a different minority group. Such is the case with the public school's desegregation policy when applied to American Indians. In implementing such policies, each distinct group must be examined in light of its own unique set of circumstances, and not simplistically lumped together as "minorities." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieau, 1990, p.29)

- Even in cities with strong Indian activist/advocate groups and responsive politicians and school administrators, Native people are a small enough minority that their needs are subsumed under policies designed to serve the needs of other groups of color. When the impact of these policies can be demonstrated to be negative, waivers and other alternatives must be allowed to reverse this impact.

American Indian/Alaska Natives are a tribal people and Native students learn best when there is a "critical mass" together in one site. Therefore, urban Native children should be brought together in schools of choice, such as magnet schools.

I am here today to call out on behalf of Indian parents who have children attending urban public schools. From my experience, school desegregation, as it has been practiced in Minneapolis and other cities, has been harmful to Indian education, and I feel that we must allow Native American students the option of an "Indian choice" as an educational opportunity.

Over the past 10 years the Minneapolis School District has drastically reorganized to achieve racial balance. Phillips Junior High, a school in the heart of the Indian community with one of the largest Native populations in the state, was closed. Racially controlled enrollment was enforced, attendance boundaries were manipulated, magnet schools were started, and suddenly, Indian students found themselves scattered to all corners of the city and isolated from their peers and Indian support services. The adverse effects of desegregation were immediately and keenly felt by Indians. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieu, 1990, p.28)

- In advocating an Indian school choice for Native American children, we are not trying to undo all of the hard-fought gains that have been made in civil rights in the past. Indians have a unique status different from all other minorities in this country. Our unique legal and political status, as well as our special educational and cultural needs, have been acknowledged on federal and state levels. Statistics have made clear that the system has failed Indians, and we want the opportunity to utilize our unique status to allow Indians to be educated together.

The purported purpose of desegregation is to make financial and educational resources more equally available to all. However, the desegregation methods used in Minneapolis have actually diluted supportive services funded for Indians. For example, one Indian support program went from working in four schools with 85 students before the district reorganized to following the same students to fourteen different locations afterward. As a result, delivery of service to Indian students suffered, staff burnout and turnover increased, and Indian students were and continue to be isolated, alienated, and drop out at a much higher rate than non-Indian students. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieau, 1990, p.29)

Review of Research and Literature

The following section will present a synthesis of research primarily on parental *support* but will include to some extent information relevant to parental *involvement* as well. The studies cited are not necessarily specific to Native education but have implications which could impact American Indian/Alaska Native education. Following the citations of research with major finding, will be a section discussing relevant topics in the literature on parent participation.

Research

Using the publication *Parent Involvement: A Review of the Literature*, prepared by the Appalachia Educational Laboratory, one can see that parent-school partnerships can facilitate better education for children. Also included in this section is a summary of the success of Native parental involvement activities in Indian Education Act Programs.

Research on Parental Support

According to the research, parent participation in almost any meaningful form affects student behavior, achievement, attendance and attitudes about self and school in general. Achievement gains are most significant and long-lasting when parents are an integral part of the teaching-learning process in preschool programs. But parents who receive some direction from the school about specific ways to help their children can also be effective at the elementary and secondary levels. Gains in basic student skills are reported when parents directly teach their children and when they are involved in supporting and reinforcing school learning.

Changes in Parental Attitudes

All parents communicate important values about school and learning. These parental attitudes toward learning help shape children's attitudes. From some parents, children may learn that school is fun, reading is important, and learning is exciting. From others, children may learn that school is necessary, but they will probably fail (as their parents did), and that they should do their best but should not really expect to be successful or to be treated fairly by the system. Native education abounds with this latter message about schooling.

- Schaefer reports that Douglas, in a sample of 5,000 children in England, found that parent "interest and involvement with the child's education were far more important than the quality of the schools, even after statistically controlling for family socioeconomic status" (Schaefer, 1971, p. 19).
- Linney and Vernberg review Rankin's findings that children who are high

achievers are much more likely to have active, interested, and involved parents. Some of the parental behaviors associated with high-achieving students are: providing a wide variety of experiences for their children, showing an interest in school activities, helping children develop an interest in reading, and taking the initiative in contacting the school. (Linney, 1983, pp. 78-79)

- Dobson and Dobson report Gallup's findings that "70 percent of high-achieving first-graders were read to regularly in their early years, while only 49 percent of low-achieving first-graders were read to by their mothers" (Dobson, 1975, pp. 50-51). They further report findings by Ware and Garber that parental "press" for reading and the availability of materials in the home are predictive of school success, concluding that certain home-centered activities could improve school performance.
- Nafziger discusses research by Hansen that parents' reading to children, parents' own reading habits, and having books in the home all have a positive effect on the child's IQ, school achievement, and reading readiness. (Nafziger, 1982).
- Mize cites research by Hicks that students whose parents have positive attitudes about school have higher academic achievement, social adjustment, and emotional stability. The study concludes that if parents become involved in school activities, not only will their own attitudes improve, but their children's attitudes and achievement will likewise improve. (Mize, 1977, p. 76)

As these citations indicate, parents' attitudes, demonstrated by their behaviors, change student performance when parents participate with schools. As parents become more familiar with the school, they become more supportive:

- In surveys, parents who participate more in schools express higher levels of satisfaction with both the school and their own children's achievement. (Herman, 1983, pp. 11-17) (Stough, 1982)
- Parents who are trained as tutors have significantly more positive attitudes toward school after their involvement in the program, and differ from control group parents who are not trained as tutors. (McKinney, 1975)
- In Houston, the Computers Can Project made home computers available for loan to low-income families who participated in 12 hours of training in computer use. After involvement in this program, 96 percent of the parents rated the schools responsive to their children's needs, in contrast to 15 percent of parents prior to the computer program. (Lloyd, 1984, pp. 1-2).

Clearly, parental attitudes and behaviors are influenced by how they participate with schools. It is logical that these positive attitudes get communicated to their children. Studies of preschool programs report that long-term gains occur when parents are involved. Over time, not only are parents' behaviors and attitudes influenced in positive ways, but also these parent values and attitudes serve to shape a child's school performance.

Since there is another INAR paper focusing on Early Childhood Issues, this paper will not dwell on this area other than to stress that research suggests the greatest benefits for students can be seen when parents are supportive early in the educational process.

Parental Impact on Student Achievement

Student achievement is the most frequently reported benefit of parental support. Other factors correlated with achievement are also reported, including improved student attendance, increased motivation, higher self-concept, and a reduction in behavior problems.

Some programs have involved parents directly as home teachers or tutors. Other programs utilized parents in a support role (parents as counselors) rather than in a direct teaching role. Although parental support in almost any form seems to improve student achievement, the research indicates that *student achievement is greater with high levels of support and with support that is meaningful.*

Studies show that when parents of low-performing children are trained as tutors, their children make significant gains in both reading and mathematics. (Hoffmeister, 1977); (McKinney, 1975); (Shuck, 1983, pp. 524-528) This "parent as teacher" role is, however, most effective with young children. Through grade three, parents are able to master the content. Children at these ages still view their parents as teachers. Beyond grade three, parents are not as comfortable with direct teaching. Not only does the content get increasingly sophisticated, but children seem less willing to take instruction from their parents.

Some studies suggest that parents do not have to be involved directly in the teaching role. Achievement gains can occur without specific training for parents. Gains have been reported when parents function in support roles which encourage learning:

- In one study, a first grade teacher recorded a daily telephone message for parents. It was available for parents of the 21 students in the class 24 hours a day. They could call anytime. Monitoring the number of calls made to the phone recorded an average number of 20.5 calls per day. When spelling words were included on the phone message, every child (except those already scoring 100%) showed improved scores on the spelling test. The average number of spelling test errors dropped dramatically from 35 percent to six percent. (Bittle, 1975, pp. 87-95)
- Project STEP (Systematic Training for Effective Parenting) included parents representing all socio-economic levels from four elementary schools. Parents signed a contract, agreeing (1) to meet with their child at least twice a week to discuss the accomplishments of the past few days and to spend time sharing thoughts and ideas, and (2) to spend time each week with their child on a reading-related activity. Children in the STEP program gained 12 months in reading compared to the control group's one-month gain. (Mize, 1977)
- A similar program was conducted in two schools whose students were described by the authors as "culturally deprived." In this project, parents attended discussion groups that emphasized the importance of school in preparing to get a job in today's technological society and the importance of parents in setting an example. Parents were asked to read daily to their children, to listen to their children read, to provide a routine "quiet" time at home for reading and study, and to be sure that children had the proper school supplies. Over the program's five-month duration, children showed overall gains of 5.4 months in reading compared to 2.7 months in a comparison school. (Smith, 1963, pp. 314-318)

Achievement gains such as these are impressive. Apparently, when parents have access to information they need (like clear directions for helping with homework) and know what they can do to help (such as listen to their children read 15 minutes a day, or provide a quiet time for study), they dramatically affect their own student's performance. Parents want their children to do well in school, but often don't know what they can do to help.

Student achievement gains can also be made when parents encourage and reinforce learning in the role of parents as counselors mentioned earlier. Parents don't need to be involved in a clearly defined role for their participation to make a difference. In some studies, achievement gains occurred when parents were simply informed about their child's progress. Parental encouragement and reinforcement of a child's school accomplishments can significantly affect school performance. Obviously, parent support for education in almost any form — as teacher, supporter, or reinforcer of school activities — can affect student achievement. Most importantly, for parent participation to have a significant impact on achievement, it must be *meaningful*. For a program to become meaningful to parents, they must be able to see: (1) a direct benefit to their children, (2) a commitment from teachers and administrators that parents are important, and (3) clear evidence that what they, as parents, are doing makes a difference.

Parental Impact on Attendance

Attendance and achievement go hand in hand. Attacking attendance problems will lead to promoting higher achievement. According to research "time-on-task" is an important predictor of achievement. What better way to increase the amount of instructional time than to be sure students are present? High rates of absenteeism are related to school failure and increase the risk of dropping out. Understandably, a student who rarely experiences success in school may try to avoid school. Chronic absenteeism compounds the problem. It leads to more failure, and may eventually lead to the student quitting school permanently. Attendance and achievement can reinforce each other. Improved attendance promotes increased achievement, and success in school results in improved attendance.

Student attendance improves when parents are informed about student absences. Several studies address attendance problems directly. Schools have involved parents to correct this serious problem:

- The school principal made calls to parents of first and second grade children who had high rates of absenteeism. Not only did the children's school attendance improve, but parents more frequently contacted the school to report absences. (Parker, 1977, pp. 84-88)

- Phone calls can be made just as effectively by the school secretary. (Sheats, 1979, pp. 310-312) Many schools utilize parent or community volunteers to make these routine calls.
- Daily notes home, in conjunction with a home-based reinforcement program, can be helpful in reducing absenteeism. Barth reports a study by Thorne in which an adolescent's truancy rate decreased from 65 percent (during the baseline) to 6.6 percent during the three months of the project. (Barth, 1979, pp. 436-458)
- In a rural middle school, eighth graders with low achievement and high absenteeism were targeted for a special program. On the day of an absence, parents were called (or written to if they had no phone). Attendance improved significantly. (Fiordaliso, 1977, pp. 188-192)

Parental support can affect school attendance, even when it is not a primary objective of a program. As parents become more involved, they may feel more responsible for getting their children to school, and they may take extra steps to that end. Similarly, as children become more academically successful, they become more motivated to attend school. Changes in both student and parent attitudes toward school and toward learning may produce a home environment where regular school attendance becomes an expected behavior. Several examples of improved attendance are reported in the literature:

- Student attendance has improved in Houston, Texas, since parents have been attending parent-teacher conferences with a focus on student achievement. (Cioffi, 1982)
- Cioffi describes Simmonds' report of Project FAME (Family Activities to Maintain Enrollment), which targeted students who were likely to drop out of school. Not only did student attendance and achievement test scores improve, but 79 percent of the parents reported that their children would probably continue school because of their involvement in FAME. (Cioffi, 1982)
- When teachers were trained in the Family Involvement Communication System (FICS) to improve communication skills in relating to parents and made subsequent home visits, students' average daily attendance rates and grade point averages improved significantly. (Shelton, 1973).
- In another study, counselors met individually with all parents the summer before their children entered junior high school. After three years these students were compared to the class who had entered the year before, for whom no individual parent meetings had been held except by request. Average daily attendance was different at the .001 level of significance, favoring the group whose parents were met individually. In addition, students' mean grade point average were higher, there were fewer school dropouts (two vs. eight), and the parents continued to be more involved. During their children's three years of junior high, the parents made significantly more contacts with school staff. Only 13 percent made no contacts at all, compared to 73 percent of a comparison group. Thirty-eight percent made between three and five contacts, compared to eight percent of the comparison parents. Parents not only made more contacts, they more frequently came to see the school counselor concerning grades and curriculum, in contrast to the comparison parents, who came more often to see the school principal because of discipline problems and failing grades. (Duncan, 1969)

Parent Impact on Improved Motivation

Parental support has a positive effect not only on parents' attitudes toward school, but also on students' attitudes toward learning. In the studies that have measured student attitudes toward learning and motivation to learn, most report a significant and positive change. Like attendance, this variable is related to student achievement. Children who begin to experience success in school view it more positively. Their success builds their motivation. Improved student attitudes toward school are reported in several studies:

- Fifty-three percent of Project FAME parents reported a positive attitude change in their children. (Cioffi, 1982)
- The Project PAL (Parents and Learning) program in Albuquerque, New Mexico, part of a Title I program that involved parents in learning activities with their children at home, produced an increase in positive attitudes toward school and learn-

ing. Children also improved their classroom performance and made excellent gains in speech and language development (Bush, 1981).

Parental Impact on Student Attitudes about Self and School

Parent support results in increased achievement, attendance, and motivation to learn. In addition, positive results in student self-esteem or self-concept can also occur. In dealing with children who have serious behavior problems, school personnel often attempt to help children feel better about themselves. When parents are also part of the intervention, positive gains have been made:

- In a study of fifth and sixth graders who had classroom behavior problems, one group was provided with direct counseling and a second (experimental) group received assistance indirectly: their parents were involved in counseling. The parent-counseled group scored more favorably on three separate measures of self-concept than did a control group who received no counseling. (Hayes, 1977, pp. 8-14)
- Dobson and Dobson report Wechsler's findings in another study of counseling, this time with mothers of under-achieving boys. Boys whose mothers participated showed improved self-acceptance as long as six months after the counseling program had been completed. (Dobson, 1975)
- In a review of studies, Cioffi reports on Project ACT (Accountability in Citizenship Training), in which teams of parents, students, and teachers worked together to reduce inappropriate student behavior. Peer parents made home visits. The fifth, sixth, and seventh graders who were involved in the program showed improved self-esteem and improved attendance at school. (Cioffi, 1982)

Improved self esteem is sometimes a secondary effect. As a result of improved achievement, significant gains in self-concept have occurred from parental support programs with low-achieving students:

- Mize reports a study by Brookover in which parents were taught to increase the academic expectations they held for their children. With the resulting change in parent expectations, students' self-perceptions improved, as did their school grades. (Mize, 1977)
- Likewise, in a study reported by Cioffi, third through sixth graders received tutoring from their parents in the school setting. Among the results were improved student self-concept and achievement gains. (Cioffi, 1982)

Parental Impact on Student Behavior

The final area in which parental support can play a role is student behavior. Following are studies which target student behavior improvement and others which report it as a secondary result.

Disruptive behavior can prohibit learning for all students in a classroom, because the teacher's time and attention become focused on disruptive behavior rather than on instruction. Good classroom management skills can reduce the amount of disruptive behavior, but enlisting parental support can produce significant results. Parents, more often than teachers, can control a student's most important reinforcers such as home-based privileges, free time outside of school, and rewards. These kinds of reinforcers, along with daily or weekly notes to parents, can significantly improve a student's behavior at school:

- A study by Blackmore, reported in Barth's review of home-based reinforcement programs, was conducted during summer school. Preadolescent took home daily school-behavior notes. Good reports were exchanged for privileges or money, depending on the agreement between the parents and students. Student behavior improved and continued into the regular school year. Children were on task 83 percent of the time, which equaled their peers and bettered their own baseline performance by 19 percent. (Barth, 1979, pp. 436-458)
- Daily checklists sent home to the parent were found to be effective in grades K-12 in increasing the number of accurately completed class assignments and in increasing the amount of time spent in appropriate social behaviors. Teachers report that the checklist was not only effective and easy to use, it actually decreased the amount of class time they spent on problem behaviors. (Edlund, 1969, pp. 121-127)

In some studies, improved behavior was not the objective of the program, but was one of the reported results.

- In the HOPE followup study, based on teacher reports, children who at preschool age were involved with their parents in home-based activities differed significantly when they were junior high aged from a matched control group in the following categories: disorganized classroom behavior, symptoms of depression, aggressive behavior, responsible behavior, and significant behavior problems (28 percent vs. 40 percent). (Gotts, 1980)
- A study by Schiff, which is reviewed by Mize, reports fewer school behavior problems, greater gains in reading, better school attendance, and better study habits for an experimental group, whose parents were trained to offer home lessons through parent teacher conferences, compared to control students whose parents had received standard report cards. (Mize, 1977)
- Cioffi's review of literature includes a study by Hornbuckle in which parents participated as tutors and as members of school advisory committees. Across 44 schools and 8,000 families, the number of suspensions was reduced as a result of improved communication. (Cioffi, 1982)
- Another result of Project ACT in Jacksonville, Florida, was a reduction in undesirable behavior and fewer referrals to the office for students in grades five through seven. (Cioffi, 1982)

Research on Parental Involvement

The importance of parents is further supported by research that examines parents in decision-making roles. When parents are involved as advisors or school board members, there is usually no measurable benefit to student achievement. Perhaps one explanation of this finding is that parents do not view participation on an advisory council as meaningful. These parents may not see a direct benefit to their own children. Furthermore, administrators may not be convinced that parents are important in this role. Parents themselves may fail to see that their efforts make a difference. Parent advisory committees most often function as committees on paper only. When they are established to meet federal mandates, as they frequently are, administrators may feel minimal commitment to making them effective. Participation on such a paper committee can become frustrating. It can in fact generate negative attitudes and promote feelings of powerlessness.

Advisory committees can be effective, even though many are not. Parent involvement can only impact student achievement when that involvement is meaningful to parents. For a school to have an effective parent involvement program, administrators, teachers, and parents must believe that parental involvement is important. They must be willing to work together. Responsibility for taking the first step falls on school *administrators and teachers*. Not only do they have information but, if they open the door to parents, parents will respond enthusiastically. Schools generally, and Native school specifically, need to provide opportunities for meaningful parent involvement. At all levels, teachers and administrators need training in how to relate effectively to parents and involve them in the education process.

Parents and educators know intuitively what research has demonstrated: parental support benefits children, parents, and schools. However, meaningful parent support and involvement with schools is not commonplace. It requires (a) commitment from administrators, (b) training for teachers, and (c) a variety of options for parents.

Committed school leadership that is truly empowering is critical to effective parent participation programs. Formal, written policies can directly increase levels of meaningful participation in schools. Parent-teacher conferences and school newsletters are more likely to be found in districts that require them than in districts that do not.

Parent participation may occur because of parent initiative, but this is rare. Parent-initiated involvement is more likely to occur in exceptionally well-educated communities, where mothers or civic clubs spearhead the effort. It may, however, occur in exceptionally poor schools where parents have been shut out and organize out of frustration. This is the exception, not the rule. Parents are interested, but generally they wait for direction and guidance from the educational professionals. Regardless of socio-economic level they will respond to an invitation, especially if it has a likely benefit for their children.

Commitment means more than lip service. Mandates may help, but they are not sufficient. School districts need to express commitment with time and money. Most teachers have not received adequate training in working with parents. (Chakin, 1984) (Gotts, 1985) (Moles, 1980) To be successful, teachers and administrators need to be involved in the planning, taking and evaluating long-term in-service which encourages parent support and involvement programs for their schools.

In addition to school staff and teacher training, parents also need to develop skills and knowledge necessary to be good partners with the school. Basic communication, discipline and child rearing practices may not come naturally to many parents, especially when the culture of parents does not match that of the school. In all cases, training for parents should focus on something that is understandable, fun, and likely to be successful. Finally, parents should always have the option of choice in any school-initiated program. Appropriate opportunities for parents is important. (Gordon, 1978)

At the elementary and secondary school level parental involvement takes different forms. An important consideration is the age of the student. Gotts and Purnell suggest a model that distinguishes between effective school-family relationships at the elementary and secondary levels. (Gotts, 1985) The parent-child relationship itself, tends to become more distant as children begin to assert their independence and become more involved with their peer group. There are differences in the teacher-student relationship at the secondary level. Teachers may have at least five different classes, in contrast to the self-contained classroom in elementary schools. Teachers have a great deal more trouble establishing and maintaining close working relationships with so many families. Teachers tend to hold adolescents accountable for their own behavior. Teachers and students work things out without parents unless serious problems, such as failing grades, inappropriate behavior, or absenteeism occur.

Teachers and administrators can make parent involvement at the secondary level meaningful and realistic, however, if they understand that parents want to stay informed but may not require, or even want, the same level of personal involvement they had with their children in elementary school. Good communication is essential.

In conclusion, the research on school-family relations is consistent. Meaningful parental support yields gains in student achievement, and the related factors of attendance, motivation, self-concept, and school behavior. Reading to children, having books in the home, positive parent attitudes toward school, and high parental expectations for achievement relate positively to school achievement. These parental attitudes and behaviors are influenced in positive ways when parents become involved with schools. The greatest and longest lasting impact on children occurs when parents become actively involved in learning at the preschool level. However, studies in elementary and secondary schools also show significant changes in both parent and student attitudes toward school. At all levels, a commitment to parent support and involvement is a worthwhile investment for schools. Elements basic to a successful program include (1) a commitment from district and school administrators, (2) ongoing training for teachers and staff to improve communication with parents, and (3) a variety of options so that parents can select the activities most appropriate for themselves and their children. Parental participation must take into account changes in the parent-child, and peer group relationships as children progress through school.

Research on the Indian Education Act

The following excerpts were prepared by the Office of Indian Education in order to document the nature of Native parental involvement as a result of the Act. Portions of the text of that report are included here.

Many members of the Indian community view changes in parental attitudes and relations toward public schools and toward the formal schooling of their children as one of the most important areas of the Indian Education Act, Part A program impact. Traditionally, Native children were educated by their parents and community members, but with the loss of their independence came a decline in involvement in their children's education. From the time children began to attend Bureau of Indian Affairs operated schools in the latter part of the nineteenth century until recent years, Native parents had few structured opportunities to influence school decision-making. In 1972, with the passage of the Indian Education Act, public schools that qualified were given the opportunity to apply for funds to support "programs specifically designed to meet the special educational needs of Native children." Further provisions of this action required that these public school programs be developed:

- in open consultation with parents of Native children, teachers, and where applicable, secondary school students, including public hearings at which such persons have a full opportunity to understand the program, and
- with the participation and approval of a committee composed of and selected by parents of children participating in the program ..., teachers, and, where applicable, secondary school students of which at least half the members shall be parents.

The Indian Education Act also contains a provision which requires that the funded programs "will be operated and evaluated in consultation with, and the involvement of, parents of the children and representatives of the area to be served, including the committee' previously established. Finally, a subsequent amendment to the Act expands the definition of "parent" to include legal guardians or others who stand in loco parentis, including foster parents and grandparents with whom Native children may reside.

Role of the Parent Committee

The Indian Education Act, as amended, clearly defines the make-up and responsibility of Part A project parent committees. It requires the use of an advisory board consisting of parents, legal guardians, teachers, and secondary school students, with the stipulation that at least half of the group be parents of students to be served by the project. These requirements respond directly to many years of testimony and reports to Congress attesting to the alienation of Native parents from public schools and their lack of involvement in the schooling of their children.

The committee has authority which goes beyond that described for advisory groups in many other federal programs. The Part A project parent committee has a *legal* mandate which requires schools receiving funds under the auspices of the Indian Education Act to consult with its members and seek their approval of applications submitted for funds to which they are entitled by their levels of Native enrollment. Additionally, the committee's consultation, along with that of other community members, is required in connection with the operation and evaluation of the project. Policies and procedures which provide for this are required to be included in each local project application.

Each Part A project, then, must establish a parent committee. That committee by regulation must: (1) participate in the needs assessment, design, operation, and evaluation of the project; (2) review and approve in writing the project application; (3) advise the school district on policies and procedures regarding the hiring of project staff; and (4) make recommendations concerning applicants for project staff positions.

From a survey of Part A projects, the following information was obtained. The areas of greatest involvement for Native parents have been in deciding goals, budgets, project activities, and in communicating with other parents.

Chairpersons were asked to indicate which methods their parent committees had used to get Native parents and community members more involved with the Part A project. Results show that the methods most frequently used were messages sent home with parents (69%); local newspapers, radio, and TV messages (61%); public meetings (51%); home visits (19%); personal contacts with community groups and leaders (48%); project newsletters (38%); dinners, carnivals, and other attractions (37%); phone calls (21%); word-of-mouth (13%); and surveys and needs assessments involving parents (10%).

When asked how effective these approaches were in getting people involved, 31% of chairpersons indicated they were very effective; 55% said they were somewhat effective; and 15% said they were not effective. As a follow-up to these questions, chairpersons were asked to list how parents could be motivated to get more involved with the Part A project. The most frequent responses were that project staff should do more personal contacting of parents (33%); food should be provided at meetings and special events (17%); and parents should be educated in their responsibilities toward, and the needs of students (12%).

Almost all (96%) project directors reported that their project's Native parent committee was involved in monitoring and evaluating the Part A project. When asked to list the types of involvements, project directors said they consisted most frequently of receiving monthly or quarterly reports from the project, discussions at parent committee meetings, and visiting classes and observing activities. Thirty-eight percent of project directors said parent committees were very involved in monitoring and evaluation; 44% said committees were moderately involved; 14% said they were slightly involved; and 4% said they were not involved.

Frequently, parent committees assist the project by securing parent and community support. Over three-quarters (79%) of the project directors said that the parent committee had made a difference in getting members of the Indian community or tribe to support the project. Over half (57%) of these directors reported that the committee members particularly helped in disseminating information and making the community aware of the project, and 40% said the committee members helped by interacting informally with members of the community in order to get parents and others involved.

Finally, when asked if the parent committee needed more training to be more effective, 50% of project directors said that some members need training, and 30% said all members do. The most frequently mentioned types of needed training concerned rules and regulations, roles and functions of the parent committee, parliamentary procedures, and goals and objectives of Part A.

Impact of Parent Committees

Potentially, Native parent committees have impacts beyond their Part A project and its staff. Over two-fifths (45%) of the project directors reported that the parent committee had submitted recommendations to the school district administration or school board. In those project submitting recommendations, 58% of the project directors reported the recommendations were adopted as recommended, 30% reported they were adopted with modifications, 4% reported they were adopted for later review, and 8% reported that no actions had been taken on parent committee recommendations. The areas of most frequent recommendations were use of project personnel, approval of project proposals, project plans and objectives, and general school programs and policies toward Indians.

In addition, Native parent committees often benefit their own members. Parent committee chairpersons were asked the open-ended question; "What useful skills, knowledge and/or experience have you gained as a result of being a member of the Parent Committee?" Their responses included a number of different skills and areas of knowledge and experience. Most frequently (51%) mentioned was increased ability to function in the school and in the community. Another frequent (30%) response was an increase in organizational and program skills, including budgeting, proposal development, needs assessments, and communication skills. The third most frequent (28%) response was an increased ability to help children with school, through a better awareness of student needs and familiarity with education materials.

Besides collecting data on skills, knowledge, and experience gained by committee chairpersons, current committee members were asked whether or not, after leaving the parent committee, any former members had become engaged in each of the specific activities listed in Table 1. As the Table shows, many former committee members are reported to have gone on to become active in other aspects of their local school district or tribe. Although the information is second hand and it is possible that only a few active former members in a project could confound the results, these responses from active parents are judged to provide a reasonably accurate indication that parents have gone on from Part A committees to other involvements in their schools.

General Native Parental Involvement

On a somewhat different plane, Part A projects were concerned about the general involvement of Native parents in local schools and the formal education of Native children. Thus, members of the parent committee were asked to indicate the extent to which Native parents in their school districts are involved in their children's education. The data show that 8% of the committee members said most parents are very involved; 55% indicated most parents are somewhat involved, and 37% indicated most parents are not very involved.

When asked, "In your opinion, what are the most important reasons why Indian parents do not become more involved in their children's education?," the most frequently cited reasons were that their children do not want them to participate (93%); that the school discourages participation (93%); and that parents have no time (84%); or have too many other activities (82%). Project staffs were asked a similar question concerning parent involvement. Their most frequent answers were: that parents believe education is the job of the school (46%); parents have other children at home to care for (42%); and parents do not know what kinds of things they can do for the school or project (40%).

All committee members were then asked if, over the past three years, they thought parents had become more involved in their children's education as a result of the Indian education project. The parents were specifically asked about five areas and given an opportunity to list other areas as well. The results indicate that parents have a greater interest in what the school is doing, and have been involved to a greater extent in attending school activities.

Teachers were also asked whether parents had become more involved in their children's education in the past three years. The data show that 60% of teachers indicated that Native parents had become more involved. Of these, 87% said there was more contact between parents and students regarding student progress and behavior, 71% said there were more parent-teacher meetings; 55% said there were more Indian parents at PTA meetings and school functions; and 26% said there were more Indians elected to school board committees.

Relative to the way project staffs contacted Indian parents, 72% of staff members said they did this through messages sent home with students. Other ways staff members contacted parents were through the parent committee (56% of staff) and by telephone calls to parents (55%). *The most effective ways to contact parents, according to staffs, were by personal visits to homes (41%) and by telephone* *calls (35%).* With respect to keeping parents informed, 32% of project staff said the project had been very successful; 56% said moderately successful; and only 13% said slightly successful or not successful at all.

Native parents' general satisfaction with projects was influenced most strongly by their perception of the extent to which their children's cultural needs were being met. The next most important causal factor in determining parents' general satisfaction was how much the project communicated with parents. The extent to which cultural needs were perceived to be met was the strongest factor influencing Native parents' perception of the extent to which the project was helping Native students to improve their academic performance.

The most important reasons given by parent committee members for Native parents not becoming more involved in the project or in school were that their children do not want them to participate, the school discourages participation, and parents have no time or have too many other activities. However, as a result of the project, committee members report that parents have taken a greater interest in the school and have become involved to a greater extent in attending school activities. Data from teachers and principals support these findings.

Parent committee members also indicated they themselves had benefitted from committee participation, most frequently indicating that they had developed more ability to function in the school and community (51%), specific skill acquisition (30%), and increased ability to help their children in school (75%). Some also indicated former committee members had gone on to other involvements with the school but the actual number was unclear.

With regard to overall Native parent participation, the results were more mixed, with 37% of the parent committee members indicating parents were not very involved and 34% of the staff indicating the project was only slightly successful in involving parents as a whole. However, the committee generally indicated that the project had stimulated some or a lot more involvement by Native parents: in their interest (85%), attendance at function (78%), communication with teachers (73%), their relationship with school (74%), and helping their children with school work (73%). Principals (73%), staff (65%), and teachers (60%) generally agreed with this.

In summary, Native parent committee involvement appears quite high and, while considerably less, Native parental involvement was also substantial. The Native parents and school personnel were able to cite impacts on individuals and their schools. Further, it appears that satisfaction with the project is strongly influenced by specific project activities in the area of communication. (Development Associates Inc., 1983, pp. 279-298)

Literature Review

The following section will present information in the literature which more directly describes cultural influences specific to American Indian/Alaska Native students, parents and communities. Cultural influences on Native student learning, traditional values, child rearing practices and learning styles, self-esteem issues and child development information will be discussed.

Culture plays an important role in the socialization and personality development of Native youngsters. What has not been accepted is that the values, attitudes, and behaviors of Native culture have been influenced by the dominant society, as well as, by the student's immediate cultural community and family.

The high rate of dysfunctional families in the Native population is in part due to the high rate of alcohol and substance abuse, low self-esteem and limited education. The combination of these obstacles may be further aggravated by financial problems, depression and loneliness, low self-worth and negative stereotypes.

> Indian children walk away from earliest childhood and their dysfunctional families with many wrong beliefs about themselves. The core belief is "I'm not okay". The deepest level is that of *shame*. If a child believes he/she is *flawed and defective* as a human being they cannot *stay inside* themselves but must go *outside* themselves. Co-dependency leads children to make wrong choices because they develop the core belief that happiness lies outside themselves — in another person, alcohol, or other drugs. Family members suffer the consequences of one member's alcoholism. One of the many emotional problems affecting children of alcoholics is *low self esteem*. The most notable problems encountered by Native adolescents are problems with separation, embarrassment and stigma, depression and guilt. (Developing IEA Projects for Student Self Esteem, N. Dakota, p. 29)

With the recognition that children of alcoholics suffer the consequences of parental alcoholism, education of school personnel, parent committees, and parents should be emphasized to improve and increase intervention, diagnosis and treatment of Native students in an attempt to build *self esteem*. Schools continue to report that Native student populations manifest low self esteem, poor attendance, drug/alcohol problems, limited education goals, influence of peer group, poor decision making skills, lack of responsibility, and poor social relations.

Home, Culture and Community Influence

Alfred Adler suggested we are who we are because we observe things around us, make choices, and reach conclusions about what constitutes effective ways to get along in the world. Adler believed a child has an *inner and outer environment*. The child's inner environment is hereditary intellectual capacity. There are three factors in the child's outer environment.

- The first is the family atmosphere. This is the family's cultural setting. The attitudes and values of the parents, their character traits, the general quality of their marital relationship, as well as the influences of their parents and relatives, all have an impact upon the family atmosphere.
- The second is the family constellation (birth order), or the characteristic relationship of each family member to the other. Each family member has his or her own distinct pattern. In the interaction of responses and influences with each other, the role a family member plays will have an effect upon the whole family and the personality of each member.
- The third factor in the child's outer environment is the practices used in child rearing and discipline. Each child interprets experiences with the inner and outer environment. Each child draws unique conclusions about effective approaches toward social living, and develops attitudes toward life in general, which constitute a pattern of life. (Dreikurs, Grunwald and Pepper, 1982, p. 57)

The basic influences as presented by Adler seem to offer learning contexts which account for the phenomenon of ethnic development presented by Longstreet who says, "Ethnic development is 'behavior learned...as a result of direct contact with people...and immediate environment." (Longstreet, 1978, p. 63) Such learning contributes to behavior patterns associated with an ethnic learning style. The behavior patterns include such things as the areas of learning a student is disposed to feel are relevant and preferred modes of learning (i.e. visual).

In the cognitive development of children, the lifestyle and culture of the home is the important factor, *not* the social class or race of the family. As seen in the research, when parents place a high value on education, prepare their children to come to school emotionally and physically ready to learn, and promote intellectual development, then school achievement will increase.

Samuels states that the types of family behaviors related to intellectual development are:

- Parental pressure for achievement in the form of intellectual and academic expectations for the child, career goals for the child, control over the child's types of friends, and the rewards and sanctions given to the child for school performance.
- Parental pressure for language development in the form of providing good language models, enlarging the child's vocabulary, and emphasizing correctness of usage.
- Parental provisions for learning in the home and beyond by providing a place for the child to read and do homework, providing books and magazines, taking the child to museums and libraries, and establishing a model of the parent who reads and respects scholarship. (Samuels, 1986, p. 10)

These values need to be fostered in the home and supported in the community. Messages to Native students from home and community need to be very clear. *Students should come to school eager and ready to learn.*

By way of contrast, if the children of Euro-American families have trouble mastering the basic skills, their parents often tutor them. Many Native children do not receive this kind of support, since Native parents may be unable to provide the home tutoring necessary to help their child. This point is further supported by Samuels.

> Research suggests that when the culture of the home and community are not supportive of the efforts of the school, when students fail to appreciate the value of hard work and education, when high moral standards are missing, and when parents do not help their children at home, conditions are ripe for failure.
>
> (Samuels, 1986, p. 13)

Traditional Values, Child Rearing Practices, and Native Learning Style

Traditional Native child rearing practices have been labeled by some as "permissive" in comparison to Euro-American standards. This misunderstanding usually occurs because Native child rearing is more self-exploratory rather than restrictive. Many Native children are trained to be self-directed and self-reliant, having the freedom to make many of their own choices and decisions.

Many American Indian/Alaskan Natives believe a child should be a child for as long as possible.

> Indians engage in non-verbal nurturing like holding, beaming, smiling, demonstrating, listening and just being nearby for children. Many Indian families feel guilty about spanking, embarrassed about kissing, uncomfortable about excessive praise, and other public demonstrations designed to draw undue attention to a child because modesty, humility and gentility are prized attributes, strived for and achieved in a peaceful environment. However, most Indians also give greater responsibility to their children at an early age. For example, Navajo children can herd sheep alone as early as six years old. (Multine, 1990, p. 1)

An outgrowth of the self-exploratory method of child-rearing is that many children come to regard individual freedom or absolute non-interference as normal. This does not mean that the child or any individual has the right to do anything they want to do. Elders or teachers give good advice and the individual can make a decision about what is best. Respect for individual freedom, dignity and autonomy are Native values. Native children are taught not to interfere in the affairs of others. Resentment may occur when Native children are forced to conform without having an opportunity for input into the decision making process.

American Indian/Alaska Native children are included and participate in all types of family and community affairs. Young children go with their parents to bingo, community meetings, church, pow-wows, hunting, fishing, or even to their places of employment. This provides the Native child with a holistic education where life is integrated and consistent from one sphere to another. It gives the child valuable opportunities to become acquainted with a multitude of tasks in the adult world.

"The values of generosity and sharing are a foundation for many other values, and are inherent in Native child rearing practices. Native peoples share food and shelter, and praise and shame." (Bryde, 1971, p. 52) In the old days, if one had meat, everyone shared. So it is today. If a child in school needs supplies or materials, the Native child may take what is needed without thought of repayment, and certainly without the idea of stealing. This behavior may be misunderstood by the school system.

When a Native person does something great, like when Billy Mills won a gold medal, most Indian people feel good and share in the greatness. Conversely, when a Native does something disgraceful, many others feel sadness and shame.

Cooperation, group harmony and the extended family are necessary for the survival of the family and the tribal group. From a Native perspective, being a member of a group requires that no one individual be singled out or placed in a position higher or lower than others. However, individuals should be encouraged to improve on and compete against self. Many Natives work hard not to put others in a position of losing face. In a classroom situation this might mean not answering a question after another student has had trouble responding. Emphasis is placed on the group and on maintaining harmony within the group.

The extended family also plays a part in cooperation and group harmony. The large network of extended family members provide support and a strong sense of security. Within this milieu there is a feeling of belonging, of cooperation, of group harmony that still mystifies some educators. Many educators do not understand the sometimes devastating difference between cooperation and competition from a Native point of view.

Placidity, patience and the ability to remain silent are considered good qualities by American Indian/Alaskan Natives. These virtues are apparent in the delicate, time consuming works of art, such as beadwork, quillwork, sand painting, weaving, pottery and scrimshaw. Educators may press Native students, or parents, for rapid responses or decisions. They may become impatient with slowness, and incorrectly label Natives as shy, slow or backward. Silence is considered a useful trait since it allows one to listen and learn by observing. However, in the classroom, where higher rates of verbal activity are the norm, the use of too much silence may present problems for the Native student.

These cultural influences have a powerful effect on the Native child's performance in school. Educators need to be careful not to assume a "cultural deficit" approach to viewing Native student's self esteem. Research is only beginning to investigate the relationship between cultural variations, outside influences and dysfunctional behavior in the classroom.

> Much of the formal training that takes place in Indian families is non-verbal in nature. The children learn the customs and skills of their society by sharing directly in the activities of others. In such situations, verbal

> instruction is neither offered nor required because the close proximity to the observable action makes instruction giving quite redundant. There is a growing body of research to suggest that distinctly different child rearing practices — one stressing observational learning and another emphasizing learning through verbalization — has fostered the development of very different styles of learning between Indian and Euro-American children. Many Euro-American children, by virtue of their upbringing and their linguistic exposure, are oriented toward using language as a vehicle for learning. Indian children have developed a learning style characterized by observation and imitation. (Pepper/Henry, 1986, p. 57)

It would appear then, that many Native children, by virtue of their predisposition to a visual style of learning, may be handicapped in their ability to succeed in school because schools and teaching methods tend to cater to the auditory learner. Educators must be careful not to stereotype Native learners. All students have skills in other learning styles. Use of a variety of learning styles needs to be encouraged to avoid locking Native students into a certain mold. Educators must remain flexible in their approach. There is no "absolute" Native learning style. A wide variety of individual differences have been identified which can be viewed as tendencies or learning style inclinations.

Parental Influence on Self Esteem

Self esteem is about feeling good, worthwhile, and effective. Because self esteem is a feeling, it will be expressed in the way a youngster behaves. Self esteem can be understood by observing *what* and *how* individuals do things. Self esteem is hard to identify because it is experienced continuously and constantly and changes from day to day, from situation to situation — even from minute to minute. Self esteem is part of every other feeling. It is involved in one's every emotional response.

> The job that parents face is seldom spoken of in the context of the world in which they must do that job. Parents are expected to provide a safe nurturing environment, to help their child develop the internal strengths of trust, self control, and self esteem, to teach social skills and how the world works and to help their child develop good judgement. They act as role models, pass on spiritual strength and faith in self. (Cross, 1986, p. 13)

Everybody knows that parents are "models" for their children. Parents' feelings and attitudes are expressed in subtle non-verbal ways. American Indian/Alaska Native children are acute observers of these subtle expressions that convey parental attitudes. Children pick up from their parents the cues on how to act or behave. Children are influenced by their parents' emotional reactions even though the parents may not verbally express them. When parents have low self-esteem, patterns of behavior emerge which affect their children. Such patterns produce stress and result in self-esteem problems in children.

In attempting to help build self-esteem in children, it is good to remember that it will take a while for it to happen—maybe months. Children will need to learn how to handle different kinds of relationships. They will need to develop trust and to know what the limits are.

Children look to others in life to confirm or deny that they are important or significant. In order to have high self-esteem, Bean says that children must experience the *conditions* or the positive feelings that result when parents affirm the child's sense of:

- *Connectiveness*—a sense of relationships—by letting children know that they *belongs and are accepted.*
- *Uniqueness*—a feeling of being special—by letting children know that what they did or said was *special.*
- *Power*—a sense of accomplishment—by letting the children realize they are *competent* and can be *successful.*
- *Models*—a sense of knowing—by letting the child know that *their goals and standards are appropriate and important.* (Bean, 1978, p. 8)

Every family has a "family atmosphere", that results from the feelings, beliefs, attitudes, rules, values, strengths, ways of communicating, and functional patterns that characterize the Native family. The family patterns provide for periods of self-reliance balanced with mutual interdependence.

Connectiveness

Attachment or *connectiveness* is a basic need of children. A child will not develop spiritually, emotionally, or cognitively without some kind of bonding or attachment. Lacking connectiveness, the child may have short term memory deficits, may not learn to read, and may be termed "learning disabled". Some Native children may hang around, get under foot, but when adults try to deal with them directly, will squirm, become silent, and appear uncomfortable and embarrassed.

Some Native children don't necessarily pay attention to a task; they are usually paying attention to others, or thinking about them. They watch other children relating and they become anxious when related to. They are doing what they need to do for themselves, not what they are supposed to do. A loss such as divorce, death or disappearance of a parent or loved one, or moving to a new location is severe to a Native child. They are trying to deal with a low sense of *connectiveness*.

Parents can do a great deal to increase a child's sense of *connectiveness*:

- The Native parent needs to support positive relations among the family, help the child to feel that he/she is *a part of something* — an important member of the family — with shared feelings, warmth, and good communication.
- Help the child to feel connected to the past or a heritage — to know one's identity as a Native person, to know the history of one's culture — to know that one belongs to parents and family and will be cared for and protected. A child needs to know that he/she is important and wanted and respected by family and others.

Parents may be surprised by the dramatic changes in a child if the suggestions above are consistently followed.

Uniqueness

Emotionally the children may have no sense of "who they are," may be unable to express and handle emotions, and may have some parts of life blocked out or missing. Children with *uniqueness* problems may show off a lot. Some children will retreat when singled out or called upon in school, but will show off when others are the center of interest or when others are engaged in some creative activity. Native children may become easily embarrassed and apologetic if it is pointed out to them that they are doing or saying something that is different from others.

Native children may have a narrow range of emotional expression when they are intermixed with other ethnic groups. They may rarely express spontaneous joy or elation, and similarly may not show sadness and depression. They may appear to be un-self-conscious, not reflecting on or evaluating their own behavior or feelings.

For a child to have a firm sense of *uniqueness*, he/she needs to have experiences that confirm their specialness or individuality. This does not mean that the child becomes spoiled, uncontrollable or has temper tantrums. Parents can have a positive influence on a child's sense of *uniqueness* by:

- Encouraging the child to express ideas that may be different from their own and allowing the child to express him/herself creatively.
- Communicating acceptance to the child.
- Pointing out how something the child did or said is different or special and also by letting the child know he/she is special.
- Helping children to find acceptable ways of expressing themselves and their special interests in creative ways.
- Using lots of encouragement in a private quiet manner — whispering in the child's ear — reviewing their accomplishments for the day at bedtime. Building a sense of *uniqueness* requires considerable flexibility and patience from parents but the efforts are worth it.

Power

Having a sense of *power* means that a child feels he/she has some kind of influence over what happens in life. Children with a low sense of *power* are quite often stubborn and bossy and refuse to take responsibility for themselves or take responsibility for others.

Some Native children have a low sense of *power*. One can observe actions which are quite predictable and patterned. The child responds similarly to many events and has little flexibility. Spoiled or *power* children avoid taking responsibility, and manipulate parents and others to take responsibility for them. By avoiding responsibility, power children invariably put others in a position where others have to take responsibility for them. They not only *make* parents get them things, but force their parents to make decisions for them.

Some Native children may act *helpless and give up easily* in the face of mild frustration. Many children do not know how to handle pressure or frustration well at all. Many Native children have not learned to solve problems on their own. If spoiled children begin to experience the consequences of what they do, not being protected by overly nurturing parents, their sense of *personal power* will begin to grow.

Setting limits and rules adequately, providing the opportunity for Native children to take responsibility, and requiring them to share in duties in the home and school are critical factors in helping children develop their sense of *power*. Building children's sense of *power* is an important step in raising their self-esteem. Many of the issues having to do with *power* deal with the way conflict is handled. When conflicts are settled by having "winners" and "losers" we all lose. Kindness, fairness, consistency, and concern are more likely to result in parents and children respecting each other. When parents admit mistakes, apologize and change, it increases children's faith in parents, and makes for better relationships.

There are a number of things a parent can do that serve to increase the sense of *power* in children — without giving the kind of power that they are unable to handle. Parents can:

- Encourage children to take on more challenging tasks and responsibilities.
- Provide alternatives when planning activities — making choices.
- Let children know that they are responsible for what they feel and to not *blame* others.
- Teach their child how to influence people in a positive way.
- Help children be aware of how they make decisions.
- Teach children a better way to solve problems.
- Plan activities so the child can experience success.
- Show children that they can do something well and let them do it.
- Involve family members in significant decisions that affect them.
- Be sure the resources the family have are distributed to family members in a fair and equitable way.

Parents need to be very clear, about what areas they need to maintain control, and what decisions they are willing to let the children make. Children need to learn many skills, have the opportunity to make choices and be encouraged to take responsibility.

Models

Model issues have to do with personal values, goals, and ideals and the ability to clarify one's own standards to live up to them. A child needs to know people who are worthy models for own behavior.

Because modeling is unconscious, children learn more from example than being told. This is especially important when teaching values, religious attitudes, and interpersonal behavior. Native children watch, making what sense they can out of the observation, rather than fully understanding and accepting verbal messages about complex issues from others. "Do what I say, don't do what I do" often does not work. When parents espouse values and beliefs that a child associates with strong positive feelings, these values and beliefs are usually accepted by the child. If Native parents' values are not congruent with their behavior and they do not fulfill children's needs, negative feelings will be associated with many experiences.

A child needs to make sense out of what is going on in his/her life. Some Native children may have excessive change, unpredictability, conflict, emotionality, and inconsistency which keep them confused. When patterns of living keep changing, a child's anxiety rises because accurate predictions cannot be made nor can goals be reached.

Chronic confusion is a major symptom of some Native children with *Models* problems. They have difficulties carrying out even the simplest instructions and appear disinterested in most tasks very quickly, even those in which they have stated some interest. Keeping them on task and on target is often akin to trying to hold mercury in your hand. This characteristic is the result of a deeper problem that Native children may have, which is a general absence of a goal orientation.

When Native children have a low sense of *Models* they tend to be quite disorganized, sloppy, and messy. Their spaces, desks, and rooms become disaster areas. When they are required to straighten them, they frequently take a very long time to do so, and still may not have them organized in any logical manner. These children may have a hard time making decisions because they lack an organizing principle or sense of direction.

The whole area of *ethics and morals* is a problem for some Native children with a low sense of *Models*. Many tend to be unsure about what it is they believe; their decisions about true-false, right-wrong, and good-bad tend to be contradictory and inconsistent. They may voice high moral beliefs, but their behavior doesn't correspond. They may be confused about the way to handle a situation.

Children with *Models* problems tend to shy away from experiences for several reasons. First, is that their experience is probably limited. Secondly, new experiences are only chosen if they make sense in terms of some goals they may have. Problems with goals often diminish the children's enthusiasm for new experiences.

Children with this type of problem are a little bit "off" in relating to other people. They make others uneasy, because their manner of relating seems strained or awkward. This will show up as laughing a bit more than is appropriate, being more or less enthusiastic than a situation calls for,

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being too "lovey", etc. They are either too much or too little of something, and other people, including their peers, sense it. Reinforcing and encouraging the times when they do well in relating, is an important way to help them make sense out of what they do. Help them review what happened when something goes wrong in their relationships with others.

A child needs to have a *sense of order*. By living with a relative in an ordered environment, in which neatness, time commitments, and clear communication is practiced, a Native child develops skills in organization, planning and effective problem solving. Disorder in a Native child's environment makes it hard to learn good organizing tactics. This has serious consequences for school performance.

Once children have adopted models, it is very hard to change them. Both parents and teachers know how much time and energy are needed to change a child's behavior, and even more is required to alter feelings or attitudes. Even if a pattern of behavior results in pain or criticism, children tend to carry out the model that they have -- until they get a new one that they are convinced, by their own experience, works better for them.

Improving a child's sense of *Models* requires a good deal of patience. The fact that children with *Model* problems have difficulty organizing themselves, learning and setting goals, means parents should be ready to work on this condition, anticipating that they might not see immediate results from their efforts. Parents can help improve their child's sense of *Models* by:

- Being a good model for their children.
- Teaching their children to have orderly habits.
- Teaching their children how to organize themselves.
- Having children participate in keeping things organized through household chores and tasks.
- Helping their children set reasonable and achievable goals.
- Helping their children understand what they believe.
- Helping their children to understand the consequences of their behavior.
- Helping their children broaden their range of experience.
- Letting their children know what you as parents expect.
- Setting appropriate standards for behavior and school performance.

When a youngster has low self-esteem, the parent will observe weakness in all *conditions* of self-esteem. When the youngster is missing one of the four *conditions*, he/she feels uncomfortable and out of sorts. When a child is missing more than one *condition*, the intensity or severity of behavior increases.

Feelings control the behavior NOT the belief.

The following Medicine Wheel Charts will help explain self esteem.

The Medicine Wheel-Intact-High Self Esteem depicts the "good" things in life when one believes in self and has high self esteem.

The Medicine Wheel-Broken-Low Self Esteem shows the probable negative thinking and behavior when one has low self esteem.

(Figure 2 and Figure 3)

Home — School Communication

Communication between the school and parents is an essential element in parent participation. Native parents can be meaningfully involved in a number of ways: through joint decision making, in improved school/community relations, as allies in problem solving, and most importantly, as part of a comprehensive service delivery system to students.

Many times the lines of communication between the school and parent are not clear, and Native parents may be confused about where to go for help or assistance. The larger the school, the less likely a Native parent is able to identify resources. Lines of communication may be only one way — from school to home — with the schools not hearing the Native parent's voice. Schools should provide a clearly defined procedure for parent communication, requests, information, visits and participation.

With an effective home-school communications system, it is possible to have all parents observe their child in the classroom. By having monthly parent group meetings, the teacher can suggest that Native parents visit the classroom by scheduling a particular week for a certain family. By scheduling a specific week rather than a specific day, the Native parent will in all likelihood visit the classroom sometime during that week.

Parents could be given an observation checklist which they could fill out on their own. By having such a checklist, the Native parent would become a participant in the classroom rather than feeling like an outsider. The Native parent can then begin to appreciate and to experience the daily workings of a classroom. The teacher could also make an appointment with the Native family to make a home visit in the evening on the same day or the day after the observation. (Alan-Haig-Brown, 1983).

The first contact the parents have with the school is at the time they enroll their children in school. All staff in the building should make the parents feel comfortable in the school. It should be remembered that the parent often comes to school with as many apprehensions as the child. A Native person may feel strange and disoriented when coming into a school, and the first impressions the parent has of the school sets the tone for parent-school relations. Having established good communication on a one-to-one basis makes other formal school-parent communicative situations easier.

There are many ways in which schools can engage in ongoing positive communication with parents.

Effective Practices in Indian Education: An Administrator's Monograph , lists specific ways to involve and communicate with parents:

- A variety of formal and informal methods should be used to inform the community. In terms of general program and information and school news, use the existing communication network. Attend parent committee meetings, tribal education meetings and publish releases in the tribal newsletter. Rely upon the mass media which reaches members of the tribal community.
- Encourage teachers and other school staff to present their programs and describe their services at tribal education, Chapter 1, Indian Education Act and Johnson-O'-Malley committee meetings. Conduct school meetings at times which do not conflict with other community activities, or hold them jointly with the meetings above.
- When communicating specific classroom and student information, encourage parent-teacher communication at school, in the home and in the community. School is *almost* as much of an intimidating place for parents as parent's homes are for teachers. The use of a community liaison or other community representative may help in establishing rapport between the parent and teacher.
- Non-judgmental, positive regard is required when working with parents. Native parents *are* concerned about their child's education. If there is a problem, cooperatively negotiate a plan of action for which parents and the school share responsibility. Parents *do* want to know what's going on, particularly when it affects their children. Information must be provided in plain English. Avoid conferences with parents that focus only upon the shortcomings of the child. There should be a balance between strengths and areas needing improvements. Be honest and open. If problems do exist, deal with them directly.
- When meeting with parents on an informal basis, keep the meeting relaxed. Show them concern, and respect the child and family and view them as individuals.
- Reinforce desirable behavior. Recognition should be given to parents, students and teachers who become involved and communicate effectively. A brief note to a parent thanking them for their help is a small investment. Furthermore, when conducting meetings, conferences, or open-house, provide activities and information of real interest to parents. Budgets and needs assessment surveys aren't very exciting to listen to, whereas student presentations and teacher demonstrations of materials are.
- Establish student, faculty and teacher councils as necessary to assure communication among the various school and community groups, and provide a systematic avenue for the discussion of school programs, practices and procedures by all interested people in these groups. Avoid creating new groups which may duplicate existing groups.
- Keep parents, student and faculty informed of the factors which affect decisions, thereby gaining increased understanding and support in all areas of the school program. Parents don't like surprises.
- Use information flyers and newsletters. A quality newsletter may well be the most effective way of reaching parents and grandparents and informing them of the school's activities and expectations. (The function of the newsletter is to inform, announce, teach, interest, and communicate.)
- Schedule regular meetings of parents such as Parent-Teacher Association meetings, School Advisory Committee meetings, or

general parent-community meetings. Provide interpreters, if necessary. Offer a meal or snack when possible.

- Schedule parent-child-teacher conferences at least twice a year. Consider the use of home-visits as part of the conferencing process.
- Provide preschool or Head Start programs and emphasize cognitive development as opposed to a play-oriented program. Such a program would have a strong component of parent participation in the classroom.
- Actively seek to involve parents in classrooms to assist individual students. In some locales, parent volunteers may be recruited; in other situations, pay may be more appropriate to local custom.
- Make extensive use of parents as resource persons in the classroom.
- Train parents to reinforce school learning of youngsters at home. Include general parent-child learning activity suggestions in school and tribal newsletters.
- Offer parent education classes to assist parents in understanding the growth and development of their youngsters as well as the psychological aspects of growing up and relationships.
- Solicit parents and tribal councils for input for procedures such as the student handbook, disciplinary procedures on attendance, tardiness, suspension and expulsion.
- The sharing of ideas to guide the school districts' operation is critical. Communication between the district and the community must be reciprocal, sincere and positive. Too often communication is one-way: administrators may "talk at" the community and do not do a very good job of listening. Attend parent and community meetings to assess opinions. Seek out the advice of elders for their guidance. Conduct informal meetings to share plans and ideas. Spend time just "hanging out" in the Indian community. Attend sporting events and other activities which Indian parents attend. Encourage parent contributions to school newsletters and provide school news to the community tribal newsletter. Hold community meetings, pow wows or other special events periodically on Saturdays for parents, teacher, students and other community members to meet on "neutral ground."
- Sincerity reflects another form of openness. Don't seek guidance unless you are willing to act upon the suggestions provided. A sincere interest in community opinion will require an administrator to moderate his/her place. Educators need to be patient. Silence at meetings may mean approval or disapproval. Learn to "read" the nonverbal cues of community members. Educators also need to be aware of social protocol which may exist, dictating who may speak in a given order. Educators tend to speak in ways which may be viewed as elitist. It is not just what one knows, but rather whether one shows *respect* and is *respected* in turn by the community. Respect requires integrity. Indian people expect promises to be kept. Following through on commitments is very important. (Pepper, 1985, pp. 69-71, 77-78)

Child Development and Parent Education

Rearing children is a major challenge. A positive relationship with their Native parents gives children the best possible start in this world.

> Indian mothers were taught the importance of child development very early. Parents traditionally taught that the child is always learning, changing, and growing and that they must be helped along their path. Growth and development were recognized through different ceremonies. One way child development was recognized was in the freedom that children were given. Today's theories tell us that children need a chance to practice new skills in order to master them. Traditional culture was uniquely suited to encourage this because children were allowed to experience many things and participate in their own way. They could explore the world and test their skills. Many modern theories exist about child development, but none really contradict what our culture has known for centuries. What can be learned from the old ways grows from the awareness of how children grow and develop. (Cross, 1986, pp. 161-162)

The traditional view of being "child centered" is one that is used in early childhood education at the present time. A child centered program is based upon an attitude of respect for and a delight in children. Children are free to accept as much responsibility for their behavior as is appropriate for their developmental level.

> The first years of a child's learning experience must be connected to that with which he/she is familiar in order to build a foundation for successful school experience. (INAR Alaska Hearing, Sakeagak, 1990, p. 11)

Alfred Adler recognized that children need much more than academic subjects; they need an environment that promotes learning, about life and ways of living. He perceived human beings as capable of making decisions that control the direction of their lives. Adler believed that a child's style of life was determined by age five. (Reynolds, 1990, pp. 14-15)

- Young children profit from being talked with, read to, and led by the hand to explore their world. There is no reason why these activities cannot take place in the context of home and school in their Native language and English.
- Young children need to hear the important events of their families and tribes. They need to experience the origins of their own traditions before Halloween, St. Patricks Day, etc.
- Native American/Alaskan Natives share a long history of oral tradition in legends, which historically was the means of preserving information. Oral storytelling by elders, parents, teachers, and other resources is a way of sharing values and traditions for young children.
- Young children have a natural curiosity that can be nurtured through their senses using physical surroundings through the use of plants, rocks, vegetation, etc.
- Every culture has music, art, and a uniqueness that children can be introduced to and taught to appreciate.
- Even very young children can come to appreciate, respect, and take pride in their own culture, which will later help them to understand others who may be different.
- In multicultural settings, young children can also be helped to expand their cultural understandings.

Successful programs encourage parents to become involved in the school. One such exemplary program is the Wounded Knee School in Manderson, South Dakota. At their elementary school the attendance rate of 1989 was 97.9 percent. Charlotte Black Elk, a school board member, claims that, "We have done this by including parents as a key part of the programs. Each parent is required to spend a certain amount of time in their child's classroom." (INAR High Plains Hearing, Black Elk, 1990, p. 6). She goes on to explain that such a high rate of parental participation is possible because of the compactness and smallness of the community which allows them to "draw on the talents within the community and do innovative programs."

One of the underlying tenets of American Indian/Alaska Natives is a tie with the family. A Native American community must consider that the formative years of each child are crucial and that early childhood learning must be a priority. The attitudes, values, beliefs, and the way children think and accept people and accept their way of life are learned very early in life.

Successful Models

The following section will highlight several strategies or models for effective parental support. The models mentioned could be explored further for implications for future adaptations elsewhere in Native communities. Most of the models focus on the parental *support* ideas but the federal and state programs described offer strategies for improving parental *involvement*.

Models Which Build More Effective Parental Support

Models which build more effective parental support, focus on improving the one on one relationship of Native parents or extended family members with the Native student and the classroom teacher. The models chosen here, not only give advice to Native parents about how best to interact with their child, but *show* parents more productive, supportive behaviors which could significantly improve educational outcomes for their children. There may be many other models which also focus on parental behaviors. The ones chosen, however, include some critical variables which seem to be particularly effective with American Indian/Alaska Native parents.

Positive Indian Parenting

The *Positive Indian Parenting* curriculum is designed to provide a brief, practical culturally-specific training program for Native parents. The first goal of the curriculum is to help Native parents explore the values and attitudes expressed in traditional Native child-rearing practices and then to apply those values to modern skills in parenting. Since there is no one tradition among Native people for child rearing, several examples from numerous tribes are used as examples.

Traditional is defined as "the old ways" — ways that existed prior to white influence. Because the concept of traditional varies among people, positive Native parenting refers to the ways as old ways or historical way. It is up to reach individual using the material to tailor them to fit their own community. There are some universal values, attitudes, or customs that may be expressed differently in local communities, which give the trainer a basis to build on. These universals include the *oral tradition, story telling,* the *spiritual nature of child rearing* and the *role of extended family.* It is the assertion of this curriculum that valuable lessons are to be learned from the old ways and that Native parents can find strength in cultural traditions.

A second goal of the *Positive Indian Parenting* curriculum is to help parents develop positive and satisfying attitudes, values, and skills that have their own roots in our cultural heritage. Promoting the growth and well-being of the Native child through positive parenting, which is culturally inspired, is the underlying message to parents.

This curriculum is intended for parent trainers and provides information on how to train, training issues, organizing training and suggested content and structure for parent sessions. In addition, material for parents is available. The curriculum is designed so that even someone with little previous experience could implement the program. However, a basic workshop for leaders can be very helpful.

The section, entitled "Part Two: Parenting Curriculum," is arranged in a format that might be used as a lesson plan. There are eight topic areas. Background reading is suggested to help the trainer prepare. Each topic area is designed to be the subject of a two- to three-hour session.

New Parents as Teachers

Another successful model worth mentioning has been featured in *What Works, Schools That Work Educating Disadvantaged Children.* The *New Parents As Teachers Project* in Missouri shows results in working with parents of young children which could have implications for parents of older children as well. Though this model has not been used with Native parents specifically, it has possibilities, given the indications of results produced. The three key components of (1) monthly visits to the home by parent educators trained in child development; (2) monthly discussion groups with other parents; and (3) a parent resource center, housed in a school, offering learning materials for families and facilities for child care, have yielded significant results worth replicating in schools for Native children.

The program began in 1981 and is available through every school district in Missouri. The program facilitates voluntary participation by parents, numbering 34,000 in 1987, representing families of all income levels and types. However, no specifics were give about success with Native parents. The results indicated the following:

- In 1985 an independent evaluation was conducted to assess the program's effects on participating children and their parents compared with a matched control group of nonparticipating families. The evaluation's findings show:
- NPAT children demonstrated greater intellectual and language development.
- NPAT children demonstrated significantly more aspects of positive social development, including the ability to cope and to get along with adults.
- NPAT Parents were more knowledgeable about child-rearing practices and child development, including the use of constructive discipline.
- NPAT parents were more likely to rate their school districts as very responsive to their children's needs; the figure for NPAT parents was 55 percent, compared with 29 percent for control group parents.

Family Math

The Oregon Indian Education Association (OIEA), through a grant from the National Science Foundation in the fall of 1986, began to offer training in *Family Math* throughout Native communities in Oregon. A Program, designed to encourage students (primarily minorities and females) to go on in advanced mathematics, gives parents and children opportunities to participate in activities which reinforce and supplement the school mathematics curriculum.

The OIEA trained Native educators from over twenty communities throughout Oregon, at least twelve of which offered classes for parents locally. In addition, Native educators in Alaska, Utah, Washington, Wisconsin, Montana and Florida have participated in training as a result of the National Science Foundation grant. Classes run from four to six weeks, with once-a-week classes that last an hour or two, usually in the evening. The activities consist of:

- The development of problem-solving skills. Students and parents learn to look for patterns, draw pictures and diagrams, work backwards, guess at the answer and then

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check, and apply a host of other strategies when solving problems.

- An emphasis on working together. Talking about the activities not only opens the door for Native parents to help their children (and for Native children to help their parents) but adds a new dimension to the learning.
- An active "hands-on" approach, using inexpensive materials. Employing concrete objects such as blocks, beans, pennies, and toothpicks, Native children learned to understand the meaning of numbers and spatial concepts.
- An exposure to all of the topics of mathematics. These include geometry, measurement, probability, statistics, estimation, logical thinking, and the use of a calculator as well as numbers and arithmetic. In this model, Native children are not shortchanged by spending time only on arithmetic drill and practice.
- An emphasis on the importance of mathematics to future learning and work.

The Oregon Grand Ronde tribal community has been offering Family Math classes for over three years. The program boasts at least 32 parents a session, once a month. The tribe itself sponsors the activities and contributes a meal as well. It has become a very popular community event.

Family Science

Like Family Math, *Family Science* offers parents and their children an opportunity to participate in activities together. The primary purpose of the program is to give parents ideas about how to help children develop better science skills which will enable them to think critically and creatively using simple household items to conduct experiments and explore scientific concepts.

Some Native communities in Oregon and Minnesota are currently field testing Family Science activities which will be compiled into a book being funded by the Chevron Corporation, to be completed by the fall of 1991.

Preparing for the Drug Free Years

- *Preparing for the Drug Free Years* is probably one of the best parent support programs in terms of dealing with parental prevention strategies. This program not only deals with how parents can anticipate the problems that their children are going to have around drugs and alcohol, but also focuses on what they can do within the family structure to build support, create the needed bonding, and encourage the specific skills it takes to say no to drugs and alcohol.

Based on research conducted by the University of Washington, School of Social Work, the *Preparing for the Drug Free Years Program* offers parents and students opportunities to learn how to prevent involvement leading to abuse of drugs and alcohol. The program highlights research based risk factors and provides parents with family structures and parenting skills which can effectively address each risk factor. Using a series of videos, parent manuals, and activities with the whole family, parents begin to define expectations for their children, and learn how to most effectively convey those. The risk factors addressed include the following:

- family/community history of alcohol/drug abuse
- family management problems
- early anti-social behavior
- parental drug use and positive attitude toward use
- academic failure
- little commitment to school
- alienation, rebelliousness, lack of social bonding
- antisocial behavior in early adolescence
- friends who use drugs
- favorable attitude toward drug use
- early first use of drugs/alcohol

All of the models identified are activity oriented, require that Native parents demonstrate new skills mastered, are fun and finally are adaptable to Native cultural specifics. For example many of the *Family Math* activities can support the notion that traditional American Indian/Alaska Native cultures reinforce many mathematical concepts.

Models Which Encourage Native Parental Involvement.

Following is a brief description of the variety of federal legislation which encourages local school districts to consult with Native parent groups. Most require committees to help formulate policy and practice at the local level. Many of these committees, however, in practice, feel insignificant impact in terms of institutional change.

The public schools are compensated with special federal funding to support the task of

> educating Native students. Public school districts are responsible to the state and federal governments for their performance in educating Native Students, but not to tribal governments. Election of Native individuals to school boards is very rare outside of reservations. In most public school districts, perfunctory parent committees required by meagerly funded federal projects constitutes the total involvement of Native people in the administration of education of Native children. Legislative requirements for tribal and parental involvement are largely ignored by school districts, and state and federal agencies. (INAR, Charleston, 1991, p.13.)

Prepared by Teresa L. McCarty, Ph.D. at the Arizona Department of Education, Indian Education Unit, June 1986, the following legislation provides mandated structures which if utilized have tremendous potential for Native parental involvement.

Johnson-O'Malley Act of April 16, 1934

Johnson-O'Malley (JOM) supplies supplemental funds to public school districts for eligible Native students. The Johnson-O'Malley Act was amended in 1975 when Congress passed the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act allowing tribes and Native organizations to contract directly for funds, and providing for Native parent input (advisory committees) in public school education programs. The kinds of services provided by JOM should be decided at the local level; these services might include tutoring in basic skills, cultural activities, providing teacher aides and paraprofessional counselors, and/or parental costs.

Bilingual Education Act of January 2, 1968

Though not designed specifically for American Indians or Alaska Natives, this legislation currently supports nearly 100 American Native bilingual programs. The legislation provides funds for instruction to limited English proficient (LEP) students; this instruction should help students become proficient in English and meet grade promotion requirements in all their subjects. As amended in 1984, the Bilingual Education Act supports these programs:

- transitional bilingual education programs use the native language to the extent necessary to help students master English and meet grade promotion standards, and can incorporate students' cultural heritage in instruction; these programs are called transitional because the native language is used as a vehicle to help students stay at grade level in all subject areas while they master English. Once students make the transition to English, the native language is dropped from the curriculum;
- special alternative programs are designed for situations in which it is administratively unfeasible to implement a transitional program (because of a large number of language groups to be served, or because of the absence of qualified bilingual staff); this approach provides structured English instruction and uses "special alternative" techniques to meet LEP students' needs; generally these are English-as-a-second-language (ESL) programs; they are not bilingual programs;
- programs of academic excellence demonstrate a model or exemplary approach that can be replicated elsewhere;
- family literacy programs work with parents and their children to promote English literacy;
- developmental bilingual programs provide structured English instruction and instruction in a second language in all courses of study; such services can be provided to both limited English proficient students and to fluent English proficient (FEP) students, but FEP students cannot constitute more than 50 percent of the students served; because both LEP and FEP students benefit from instruction, developmental programs are similar to enrichment programs; and
- special populations programs serve preschool and gifted students with language-related needs.

Indian Education Act of June 23, 1972

This legislation assists local education agencies (LEASs) in implementing programs to meet the special needs of American Indian and Alaska Native students. Subpart 1 monies supply supplemental funds for tutoring, aides, and enrichment activities. Subpart 2 funds provide for planning, pilot, and demonstration projects in bilingual-bicultural curriculum development and instruction, and teacher training. Subpart 3 provides for adult education and training.

The Indian Education Act created a federal Office of Indian Education and a National Advisory Council on Indian Education to review, recommend, and disseminate information on American Indian and Alaska Native education.

Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 (Public Law 93.638)

This legislation is for the benefit of Natives alone and is intended "to promote maximum Native participation in the government and education of the Indian people." The Act allows federal funds to be channeled directly to tribes and Native organization for the operation of education programs and for Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) and health, Indian Public Health Service (IPHS) programs and services. It amends JOM to provide greater Native control in public school programs and authorizes the Secretary of the Interior to provide construction assistance to public schools enrolling Native students. One of the most significant pieces of legislation affecting Native people, this law paved the way for the establishment of community-controlled or "contract" schools.

Tribally Controlled Community College Act of 1978 (Public Law 95-471)

This Act provides grants for the operation and improvement of tribally controlled community colleges.

Title XI of the Education Amendments Act of 1978 (Public Law 95.561)

This legislation provides for the development of standards for the basic education of Native children attending BIA schools or BIA contract schools. It also created: (a) national criteria for dormitory living (b) a priority system for school construction; (c) a funding formula based on per capita student counts; (d) direct and uniform standards for funding contract schools; and (e) a policy of active recruitment of Native educators.

Impact Aid (Public Law 81-874)

Impact Aid provides funds for public school districts on or near "federally impacted" areas (like Indian reservations), where no property taxes can be assessed to finance school construction and operations. These laws, passed in the 1950s, facilitated the development of public school systems on Indian reservations.

Chapter 1

Chapter 1 of the Augustus F. Hawkins/Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1981 was enacted as part of Public Law 100-297—April 28, 1988. The purpose of Chapter 1 is to continue to provide financial assistance to state and local educational agencies to meet the special educational needs of "educationally deprived" children, on the basis of entitlements.

The programs authorized by Chapter 1 provide financial assistance to:

- Local educational agencies for programs designed to meet the special educational needs of educationally deprived children and children in local institutions for neglected or delinquent children;
- State agencies to support programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children with disabilities;
- State agencies for programs designed to meet the special educational needs of children in institutions for neglected or delinquent children, or in adult correctional institutions;
- Local educational agencies for programs designed to meet the special educational needs and provide supportive services to children of migratory agricultural workers or migratory fishermen; and
- Local educational agencies (through the Secretary of the Interior) to meet the special educational needs of Indian children.

Chapter 1 Parent Involvement Programs

Recent legislation requires major parent involvement projects. The focus is always on the "child." The parent and child are actively involved in home-learning activities. Staff and parent education is provided at regional and state conferences.

Specific strategies include the following:

- Improving school-to-home communications.
- Assisting families to support positive relationships through parenting and child-rearing.
- Improving the recruitment, training, and involvement of parents and volunteers.
- Involving parents in learning activities at home.
- Inviting and cross-training staff and parents of all children.
- Improving team participation and leadership of parents.

Warm Springs Memorandum of Understanding

The following document has significant implications for many districts attempting to clarify roles of parents, tribes, school districts, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and others.

> I want to share with you a couple of documents our tribes have produced with the local schools district of Jefferson County, Oregon. One is an Intergovernmental Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the tribes, the BIA and the Jefferson County School District regarding education of Indian students.

We recently reviewed our MOU with the Oregon State Department of Education (ODE) and an addendum was added to draw them in as a fourth party to the document. The purpose of this review and addendum was to enlist the ODE in helping us evaluate and assess our programs that are using this document as a guide to improving education. We bring these documents to the Task Force because we are always happy to share what has worked for us.

The purpose of our MOU is to define and establish a system of policies and procedures to ensure effective inter-governmental consultation, planning and delivery of service for tribal students. Inherent in the acceptance of this document is a solemn pledge to adhere to the agreements herein contained. The expected outcome of these agreements will be the advancement of tribal student performance to a level comparable with all students in the district.

The goal of this document is to promote clear understanding of the roles, interests and expectations of each agency for the education of tribal students. This goal is to be attained by joint consultation and planning in the areas of (1) equal educational opportunity, (2) instructional services and curriculum, (3) support services, (4) equipment, buildings and transportation, and (5) governance and administration. Progress is being measured by the consistency of objectives and results of each agency's long range and management plans, which are evaluated annually.

Although this document is a statement of mutual policy and interest, it is not intended to have the legally binding effect of a contract, but the signing parties also fully expect and agree that each entity shall voluntarily follow both the letter and the intent of this Joint Statement as far as reasonably possible, and to the extent consistent with applicable state, tribal and federal constitutions, laws, treaties and rules. It is not intended to either enlarge or diminish the legal obligations of the parties as they existed prior to the execution of this Joint Statement, but it is intended to set forth in a concise and coherent way in a single document, the goals, policies and obligations of the parties. (Northwest, Sahme, p.28)

As noted in the research section, parental participation is more likely to occur when policies exist and students are in place which clarify roles and expectations for both school and parents. The Warm Springs MOU does this.

Blandin Foundation

Another model which surfaced during the INAR hearings provides suggestions for how foundations could support the advancement of Native educational excellence. Incentives for Native parental support and involvement are described.

The Blandin Foundation was created by Charles Blandin in 1941, who said at the time that he was creating it "to promote the well-being of mankind as the Board of Trustees may from time to time determine." It is a private foundation and its mission is to improve the viability of rural communities in partnership with many individuals, groups, and organizations.

In 1987 the Board of Trustees wanted to make a commitment to Native education, but since there were not Native people on the Board or at the Foundation, they formed a task force group. The purpose of the group was to help the Foundation better understand the problems faced by Natives in Minnesota and to recommend the role that the Foundation should play in providing a strategic educational solution. The task force included 44 of Minnesota's Native educators and leaders. Their recommendations helped to define the program areas the Blandin Foundation will support to advance Native education in our state.

In July 1988 the Foundation made a commitment of $1 million for a two-year Native education program. The task force recommendations included:

1. Programs focused on Native parents to encourage them to take an active role in their children's education and programs that increase their parenting skills.
2. Programs targeted at retaining Native students in education and assisting students who have dropped out of school to resume their education.
3. Programs designed to provide direct services to Native students including special prep programs and programs for gifted and talented students with special emphasis on science and math.

4. Programs designed to advance the cause of Native self-determination including programs designed to teach Native language, culture, and values; and programs designed to assist Indian tribes in the formation of codes.
5. Programs designed to impact public policy related to the advancement of Native educators, including programs focused on policy makers.
6. Programs designed to educate the public on tribal sovereignty and to increase the involvement of Natives in public policy making.

At this time the policy's age focus is from about three years of age to high school graduation. It is hoped that the program will also cover the interim period between high school and college.

Nonprofit institutions and organizations are eligible for funding. Grant requests of up to $25,000 for one year and $50,000 for two years are considered.

Preference is given to programs under Native control, cooperative or joint projects between tribal agencies, school districts and state of federal education agencies, and projects involving incorporated Native parent committees. This is very important. Several requests have been turned down because they did not have Native ownership.

Some of the task force continue to act as advisors to the Foundation. Blandin is currently working with 20 grantees. The Foundation has funded 27 projects, and there are five projects being considered. The Foundation hired two evaluators and a Native education consultant. The Foundation considers itself a partner to the programs it funds and offers assistance and support.

The programs funded have been varied and tend to be in two categories: (1) Reservation schools that already have support systems in place and are bringing in more creative programs to work with their students; (2) Students off-reservation in schools that are bringing more tutoring programs, support programs, and so forth, so that students will stay in school.

One example program is in the Onamia School District. It shows how a whole community can work together. It is a curriculum development program, that has a firm commitment from the school. They will implement the curriculum as soon as it is developed. The superintendent and principal are working with them; they have a strong Native parent subcommittee and an advisory council of Elders who are working with them. It is really the whole community working together.

Another program is a Teen Parenting Program at Cass Lake. This program has already completed one grant and is working on another. The first one was for getting teenage parents back into school. Some had already dropped out and were brought back. They had parenting classes and made a video tape telling their life stories and how difficult it is to be a teen parent and go to school at the same time. The video was done in a traditional way. This year the same teen parents will act as mentors and tutors to the third and fifth grade students who are at risk. That will give both groups a reason to be in school. The younger students will have a mentor and the older students will be helping the younger ones.

The original plan of the Foundation was for a ten-year commitment. The Board of Trustees decided that they wanted to evaluate it after two years, and we are up for evaluation now in February 1991. We expect the evaluation to be very positive and the commitment to Indian education will continue. We are hoping that other private foundations will join us in making similar commitments. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Schmidt, 1990, p.67-68).

Minnesota Indian Social Work Aides

The need for Native parent advocates is fulfilled by the Minnesota Indian Social Work Aide program.

There still exists in Minnesota a need for trained Native personnel to work in public schools that have significant numbers of Native students. The program described in this paper represents a step toward fulfilling this need by training Native community members as Native social work aides. The 204 Native social work aides trained from 1980 to 1990 were drawn from Minnesota Ojibwe and Sioux communities across the state. The majority of Native social work aides are women, ranging in age from early 20s to the early 60s. Approximately one-third provide services in urban areas, while two-thirds serve rural areas, usually connected with reservations.

Native social work aides are considered "paraprofessionals" since many lack the academic credentials and training for working with school-age children and their families. These Native people bring with them very valuable life and child-rearing experiences specific to Native urban and reservation realities. They are funded by a combination of special education monies, Indian Education Act funds, Johnson O'Malley monies, and local education agency funds.

> A pilot program was started in Minnesota in 1974 to address the problem of American Indian children and youth with handicapping conditions. While this program was very successful in the 16 school districts it served, there was a dearth of data on the total extent of the need, the services being provided, or the extent of unmet need.

From the pilot program in 1974 and the needs assessment of 1978-79, the Indian Social Work Aide Program developed. This program recruits American Indian persons at the community level and provides them with special education training to impact the assessment, review, placement, and follow-up on American Indian children in special education programs or in need of special education programs. Most recently, in the 1989-90 school year, 75 persons were employed as Indian social work aides and received training in areas of special education. These persons have had a substantial impact in identifying, assessing, placing, reviewing, and serving American Indian children and families with special education needs. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Hakala, 1990, p. 48)

The Indian Education Section of the Minnesota Department of Education conducts training programs which consist of three two-day training sessions in three-four consecutive years. This design was chosen to facilitate continuity and a gradual and consistent increase of professional competence. After each year a certificate is given to Native people demonstrating competence in the offered material. This facilitates further training and integration in continuing education programs for those who desire such training. Seventy or more persons participate each year. Levels of training have been standardized; new persons enter at Level I and progress on an annual basis through Levels II and III. College credits may be earned. Since all handicapped Native children and youth are served (as well as parents, teachers, and service providers for those children), training includes all areas of special education.

The objectives of the Indian Social Work Aide Program are:

- To provide training to Indian social work aides in order to alleviate concerns regarding American Indian students in need of special education services.
- To provide trained persons to school districts and cooperating special education centers who will assist with proper assessment, facilitate parental involvement, contribute to appropriate programs, and provide resources to the child, the parents, the special education staff, and the school.

Benefits of the Indian Social Work Aide Program fall into four areas:

- benefits for the handicapped child;
- benefits for the families of those children;
- benefits to the school or school district; and
- benefits to the Indian social work aide as a paraprofessional teacher.

The benefits for the handicapped Indian child are in identifying and providing special education services when needed. The child is referred by either the parent(s), family, school, or the aide. The Native social work aide acts as an advocate, facilitator, and coordinator throughout the steps of referral, assessment, staffing, development of individual education plans (IEPs), placement, follow-up, and reporting. With the Native social work aide as advocate, the Native handicapped child is more likely to be identified, appropriately assessed and properly placed, and is more likely to have an educational plan that meets both educational and cultural needs. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Hakala, 1990, p.49)

Minnesota Indian Education Act

The following information, by David Beuillieu, Manager, Indian Education Section, Minnesota State department of Education, described a model for state leadership in improving the quality of Native education. Implications for the role states can play are significant.

> Among the states, Minnesota represents a model of cooperation with American Indian Tribes and the Federal Government in the provision of educational services for American Indians. The inter-government cooperation in Indian education in the state has been sustained and enabled through the development of a distinct and unique responsibility on the part of the state to enable American Indians to have access to educational opportunities. The state's program in Indian education currently includes a number of grant programs and services related to Indian education which provide state appropriations for Indian Postsecondary Scholarship Assistance, and school based programs designed to improve the educational environment in which Indian children find themselves and to improve the effectiveness of schools in the education American Indian learners. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Beaulieau, 1990, p. 49)

Programs designated to meet special needs and enable access to educational opportunities, Native consultation and representation and the leadership of the Minnesota State Board of Education currently define Minnesota's efforts in Native education.

Special Needs and Access to Education Opportunity

The state program in Native education currently includes the American Indian Language and Culture Education Program. The program passed by the state legislature in 1976 was developed in recognition of the need for more adequate education for Native pupils, to provide positive reinforcement of the Native self-image, and to develop intercultural awareness among pupils, parents and staff. The program provides state revenue for projects broadly related to improving the nature and quality of education services to Native children enrolled in elementary and secondary schools. Projects may include instruction in Native language and culture, improving the nature and quality of teaching, the provision of personal and vocational counseling and the modification of curriculum instruction methods and administrative procedures to meet the needs of Native pupils. Interestingly consistent with the original Johnson O'Malley contract regarding the special needs of Native students, the preamble to the American Indian Language and Culture Act asserts that in order for American Indians to have an equal educational opportunity, Native students must have their language and culture represented in the schools curriculum.

The American Indian Post Secondary Preparation Program provides grants to school districts for Native students in grades 7-12 for projects which broadly seek to enable and facilitate the enrollment and successful attendance of Native students in Minnesota post-secondary educational remedial and tutorial service, incentives for improved attendance, career counseling, etc.

The Minnesota Indian Scholarship Program provides financial assistance to Natives who are residents of the state, who are accepted for enrollment in post-secondary institutions.

The State's Native education grant programs are implemented through a unique structure of Native representation and consultation. The Indian Post-Secondary Preparation Program and the Indian Scholarship program are implemented by the Minnesota State Board of Education with the assistance of the Minnesota Indian Scholarship Committee. The committee, which has existed since 1955, was uniquely established as a committee by statute in the 1985 legislature. The American Indian Language and Culture Program is similarly implemented by the State Board with the advice of the American Indian Language and Culture Task Force. Both groups, which are broadly representative of the Native populations in the state, are appointed by the State Board with the advice of the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council. This council which is composed of elected tribal chairmen in the state is charged by state statute to, among other things, advise the legislature and state agencies in matters related to Native Affairs.

The Native education advisory groups recommend to the State Board criteria for the implementation of the state Native education grant programs and in the case of the school based grant program review and recommend proposals for funding to the State Board. The state school based grant programs further require Indian parent and community involvement in the development and implementation of the program.

Central to the structure of Native representation and consultation which is the focus of cooperation between Tribal governments and the state of Minnesota is the Minnesota Indian Affairs Council.

Under the direction of the Minnesota State Board of Education, the state has been involved in a significant sustained effort to determine the educational needs of its Native citizens and has initiated as one of the Board's goals a process to develop a comprehensive plan for the significant improvement in the public education of Natives.

The current effort on the part of the Minnesota State Board of Education to identify and focus on Native education as a priority issue and to develop a comprehensive plan for Native education proceeds from the adoption of an Indian Education Policy Statement by the Minnesota State Board on February 9, 1982. The State Board's Indian Education Policy statement "supports and encourages (1) programs and services to meet the unique education needs of Indian youth and adults; (2) the involvement of tribes communities, youth, and parents in the total education program; (3) incorporation of Native languages, literature and heritage into the general curricula; (4) the concept of equal educational opportunity; and (5) viable programs which will permit Native people to complete and excel in areas of their choice.

Strategic Plans for Increasing Native Parental Support and Involvement

> Today, most schools embrace the concept of partnership, but few have translated their beliefs into plans or their plans into practice. Sometimes educators feel that it is simply impossible to jump the hurdles, remove the barriers, and solve the real problems that

> prevent them from viewing families as resources for promoting children's learning. This view is too pessimistic. Shared vision and concerted effort have led to a variety of successful programs to connect schools, families, and communities. There is no excuse for not taking the first sure steps down one of the many paths to partnership. (Epstein, 1991, p. 349)

Given all of the information about the school-parent partnership presented thus far, there is significant evidence to suggest that schools can turn the current lack of Native parental participation around. In doing so, schools could dramatically improve the educational experiences of Native youth. This final section will focus on recommendations for the future. Beginning at the local school district level. Strategies for improving both parental *involvement* and parental *support* will be discussed. Where possible, specific examples shared during the INAR hearings will be included. Included also will be recommendations pertinent to tribes. Secondly, strategies for states will be explored, including legislation possibilities as well as technical assistance. This paper will conclude with recommendations for federal intervention and support.

> Schooling does not proceed in a vacuum; there is a direct link between a child's ability to succeed in school and the web of other circumstances affecting the child's life out of school. Although there are many children who are being born "at risk" and who may be labeled "disadvantaged," it is time for us to acknowledge that we -- the adults -- are permitting *all* children to be at risk, if we do not respond promptly and systematically to the disruptive and pervasive social changes affecting their lives.
>
> (Shedlin, 1989, p. 3)

Certainly, the history of American Indian/Alaska Native education has a track record of not only discouraging Native parental participation, but intentionally destroying those nurturing bonds so vital to the success of student progress in school. Research is clear about how critically influential parental *support* and *involvement* is to the improvement of achievement, attitude and behaviors of students. "A number of national organizations are encouraging their members to understand and to develop partnerships. The National Governors Association and the Council of Chief State School Officers have initiated new projects on the topic of family and community involvement. The National Association of State Boards of Education has published a thoughtful booklet, *Partners in Educational Improvement: Schools, Parents, and the Community*. The Education Commission of the States (ECS) held a conference and issued a report, *Drawing in the Family: What States Can Do*. ECS is continuing to pay attention to parent involvement through its All Children Can Learn program and many others." (Epstein, 1991, p.346)

Concerns and issues raised by Native people during the Indian Nations At Risk hearings support that what has been tried relative to Native parents is too little, under-funded, and largely unsuccessful. There are a number of individual school based efforts making a difference. These efforts represent significant examples of strategies, programs and practices which are encouraging. Many of these,however, need to be adapted for use by greater numbers of Native communities. This final section will describe some of these Native success stories. Recommendations for future consideration will be proposed.

The January, 1991, Phi Delta Kappan issue describes succinctly many accessible, reproducible parent participation suggestions. Specific findings of parent participation programs include the following:

- Programs at all levels reveal similarities between parents and educators where differences were once assumed. Parents and teachers are finding that they share common goals and need to share more information if they are to reach those goals.
- Programs must continue across the years of childhood and adolescence. Educators and policy makers, who may once have thought that family involvement was an issue only in the early years of schooling, now recognize the importance of school/family connections through the high school grades.
- Programs must include all families. The examples in this special section show that leaders at the national, state, district, and school levels are working to involve all families in the education of their children, including those considered by some schools to be hard to reach.
- Programs make teachers' jobs easier and make them more successful with students. In visits to several schools, Shepherd Zeldin found that "those teachers who allocated time for collaboration rarely expressed hesitation in working with poor parents, were motivated to go beyond policy directives, and concluded that working with parents improved the teachers' effectiveness.

- Program development is not quick. The examples reveal the long and the sensitive work that are required for real progress in partnerships: 15 years and counting in Indianapolis; seven years in McAllen, Texas; more than three years of activities in San Diego; three years for developing a state policy in California; and between two and three years to see small but real steps in the School Reaching Out demonstration sites, in the projects funded by grants in Illinois, and in the Baltimore School and Family Connections projects.
- Grants encourage unusually productive behaviors in teachers and administrators who might otherwise feel that they lack the time to initiate partnerships with families and communities. Benefits are evident with both small and large grants (as small as $200 or as large as $30,000) across all levels of schooling. The larger investments, however, are more likely to ensure principals' commitment and leadership — and school-wide change.
- Family/school coordinators (under whatever title) may be crucial to the success of school, district, and state programs to link schools, parents, and communities. Coordinators guide school staffs, provide in-service training for educators, offer services to parents, and perform other tasks that promote partnerships.
- Programs should literally make room for parents. "Parent rooms" or "clubs" in school buildings or "parent centers" in the community are important ways of making parents feel welcome. In these sites, parents share and discuss ideas, obtain information and resources (including borrowing print materials and video and audio tapes), learn from each other about family problems and solutions, and so on.
- Even with rooms for parents, practices need to emphasize reaching and involving families without requiring them to come frequently to the school. Along with structures to involve a few families as volunteers or in decision-making roles, many schools are finding that much can be done to help families work with their own children at home to help them do better in school. Once considered the most difficult type of involvement, this is becoming the most relevant kind of involvement for families, schools, and student learning.
- In the 1990s technology can help improve many types of involvement. This includes radio, television, video and audio tapes, computers, and other electronic connections between home and school, some of which offer the possibility of two-way communication.
- There are still vast gaps in our knowledge that can only be filled by rigorous research and evaluation of particular types of school/family connections in support of children's learning. We need both formal studies and clear documentation of existing practices. (Epstein, 1991, pp. 348-349)

Strategies for Local School Districts and Tribes

Beginning at the local level, there is a great deal that will significantly improve parent-school partnerships in Native communities. Strategies require that schools begin to change their image to one of a locus of advocacy for all children and families. As an advocate, schools can facilitate the empowerment of parents. Parental *support* and *involvement* can be accomplished through resource identification, outreach activities, Native parenting classes, school staff in-service, and in general, trust building.

Native Parental Involvement: Schools as the Locus of Advocacy

Arguments for schools as the locus of advocacy for all children offer a sound framework on which to build a better education for Native children. In his publication, *The School as Locus of Advocacy for All Children*, Allan Shedlin writes:

> Despite important innovations and experiments implemented around the country in recent decades, the prevailing conception of the school and its relationship to the child has not changed significantly. Even where responsive institutional reform has been attempted and new educational strategies have been implemented, change generally has taken place within the conventional school improvement paradigm. Such approaches are usually additive, focusing on the adoption of a particular innovation in the context of the school, as is.

Program reforms are thus expected to effect change within a static concept of the school and the social system in which it exists. By struggling to implement a concept of education developed for a different era, the American public school is failing to meet the basic goal for which it was conceived: the optimal intellectual development of all children. The magnitude of this failure is underlined by the Children's Defense Fund assertion that "not only does each child's future hinge on education, but our nation's economic and social survival hinges on the collective education of all American children. (Shedlin, 1987, p. 4)

Concurring with this position, the latest National Advisory Council on Indian Education legislative report recommended: "Federal agencies should work cooperatively to address the socioeconomic impediments to educating Indian and Alaska Native people to their full potential, including addressing the health, housing, nutrition, substance abuse, family violence, and other problems which affect the whole child and the whole adult person in reaching his/her educational goals." (NACIE, 1989 p.89)

Shedlin continues that what has been lacking to date is a comprehensive framework for examining responsive changes in schools. The framework must articulate both a new concept of schooling and a plan of action for restructuring schools to implement that concept. He suggests any proposed reconceptualization of schooling must be based on sound principles of child development and educational theory, and at the same time, must advocate the needs and rights of ALL children. The action plan must represent a comprehensive approach, one that will lead to intensified national awareness of the severity of the problem, and, ultimately, to national implementation of the new concept.

School is the social agency with greatest potential for interaction with families. For the elementary school child, the school plays a key role in the developmental-transitional rites of passage from home to outside world.

> Schools as a locus of advocacy envisions the school, working together with families and the community. It is the appropriate and strategic agency to serve as ombudsman, broker and advocate on behalf of children. Advocacy in its broadest sense means acting to insure that the rights of all children are being protected and the needs of all children are being met. Advocacy means increasing the responsiveness and accountability of all social and political institutions on the local, state and national levels, in the interests of all children. (Shedlin, 1987, p.6)

For the school, Shedlin writes:

> An advocacy role means accepting responsibility for mobilizing available resources and generating new ones as needed; an advocacy role does not mean that the school itself must provide or perform the necessary services. As the locus of child advocacy the school in cooperation with other agencies will support families on all socio-economic levels in meeting the needs of their children. Where such resources are fragmented, incomplete, difficult to find, or non-existent, the school acting with the family will take the lead in mobilizing available resources, or demanding and generating new ones. What is needed to enact this concept are coalitions of individuals and groups, spearheaded by schools, working together as advocates on behalf of all children. (Shedlin, 1989, p. 7)

With advocacy defined and enacted on the community level, and with the school as the designated locus for child advocacy, a structure is in place for mobilizing health, social, legislative, judicial, governmental, business and industry resources directly and systematically.

Fundamental principles of the school advocacy concept must be apparent in both commitment and practice in a community and its schools. Communities and schools that adopt the school advocacy concept would be expected to express their commitments in these ways:

- Local and state governing structures accept the school system as the locus of advocacy for children.
- Child advocacy applies to all families in a community, regardless of their socio-economic status.
- Pervasive commitment to the school advocacy concept is evident in planning and in allocation of resources.
- Complementary roles of families and schools in working together on behalf of children are acknowledged.
- Coalition building with community and outside resources on behalf of children is ongoing. (Community resources should include: health, recreation, social, cultural, political, judicial and recreational agencies, programs and services.)
- Change is viewed as a process, not as a single event.
- Changes in structure and functioning of school are viewed as proactive, intrinsic and systematic rather than as reactive or incremental additions.
- Respect for differences and diversity exists among all students, all school personnel, and all administrators.

Although varied patterns of implementation may be expected to unfold in different communities, the efforts will have in common these key conditions and actions:

- Total school commitment to the concept sparked by informed leadership on building, district and system-wide levels.
- Leadership accepts responsibility for providing needed services and programs or seeing to it that the services and programs are provided.
- Coalition building to include families, community organizations, professionals and other individuals.
- Ongoing community assessment of the particular needs of its children.
- A comprehensive plan for changes in schools to meet children's needs, including long-range goals as well as immediate objectives.
- Procedures for implementing immediate objectives without losing sight of the community's long-range goals for its children. (Shedlin, 1989, p. 9)

> Too rarely is a child viewed as a complete being; most often a child is thought to be comprised as separate entities rather than a single whole. We need a new approach to education that says we, the state, federal, and tribal providers are serving the whole child and the whole family.

We must cross functional lines. The child and the family are most important. Different agencies cannot say they will communicate and collaborate, but then just meet together only to leave and work on separate programs. We must find an approach that will cross functional lines and deliver improved services. The concept is that the same child and the same family drives the system's approach. Through this concept we can see that health, education, and all social service programs must address the child and the family as one. This requires a change in our system and a change in the roles of the governmental entities.

Today, several educational models address this concern. One example is educational compacts between businesses, schools, and institutions of higher education. Head Start is another example that combines health, nutrition, parental involvement, and education. There is also a social system change model that's being demonstrated in three Arizona Indian communities including Pima, on the Navajo reservation; New Paspa, on the Pasua-Yaqui reservation; and Santa Rosa, on the Tahono O'odham reservation. This model brings schools, parents, and other community members together in a combined effort. We need a new framework such as these, although there is a serious reality about funding and needs for increased service.

We must consider the role changes and the personnel needs of the BIA, tribal, and public schools. They have begun to cooperate out of necessity. Their convergence of managing educational resources is aided through "lateral relations" by which each entity can address the same educational needs for the same family and the same child. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Stevens, 1990, p. 2)

If the notion of schools as the locus of advocacy is to prevail, each Native community must begin the assessment process by examining the actual needs of its children. This means analyzing available resources, as well as gathering data on factors such as the characteristics of families, the quality of home and community environments, the health profiles of children, the history of the educational progress of its youth and the economic status of its constituents.

Consistent with this notion, many Native people presented testimony which reinforces the success of such a holistic view of educational institutions.

- There are so many health related problems, whether you work on the reservation or in an urban setting, it is essential to draw on all of the available resources — parents, teachers, social service workers, clinic services, and tribal medicine people — to have a meaningful impact. It is especially important to have a networking system that includes those who know and understand the ways of indigenous people in the area you serve. Traditional medicine is a teaching mechanism and it needs to be available as a choice. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 2).
- Window Rock High School in Arizona has selected and trained teachers to conduct small group peer counseling sessions on a weekly basis for students who want to discuss issues of personal importance. Staff training includes coverage of issues such as substance abuse prevention, working with children of alcoholics, and suicide prevention. Sessions take place during the regular school day so students are excused from class and teachers each use their prep period one day a week to facilitate. When things come up that are beyond the skill of the teacher-facilitator, they can make referrals to local social services. Wherever possible, family-based problems are addressed through social service based family-counseling. This has been so successful

that almost all teachers in the high school will have trained to conduct these counseling groups. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 2)

- Head Start involves parents in the classroom and allows parents to make decisions. The program encompasses education, social services to support the family, and health, nutrition, and mental health. There needs to be much better coordination between Head Start, Health and Human Services regional offices, and the U.S. Department of Education. There also needs to be correlation between BIA early education programs and the state programs. In the reviews that I have done, I see Bureau, private, and state schools on the reservation not even talking to each other. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Early Childhood Education, 1990, p. 1)
- In Cinle, AZ, the school has introduced a Peer Helper Program where students are trained through a counselor to listen to other students and help them deal with their problems. The first year activities were offered within a club format, but this year they have been changed into classes. If problems are too serious, the peer helpers refer them to the school counselor. This approach has been very effective in preventing suicide and helping kids who have problems at home. The Peer Helper Program is also linked to the Community Action Through Children and Youth Program (CACY) where students are involved in community service projects of their own design.

Many students are involved in drugs and alcohol because they have nothing else to do in the small communities where they live, so community service projects meet this need with a positive alternative. Also the Student Council is involved in setting up Red Ribbon Week and Substance Abuse Week where the entire community is drawn in to participate in conferences and workshops. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 6)

Others recommend restructuring the school day or the school facility to accommodate the needs of families, like child care among other things.

- I am an advocate for restructuring education. I feel that reforming a system that has never really worked for the majority of our children is of no value. I think we need to look at every single education issue. For instance, I think we should restructure the school day. Cognitive research tells us that 90 minutes is a natural time frame for getting involved in, experiencing, and coming to a conclusion regarding a new concept that has just been introduced. So the 50-minute hour is not enough and is not congruent with what we know about how people learn. Furthermore, since families have a lot of problems with adequate child care, I believe the school day should coincide with the parental work day. We should be able to take our children to school when we go to work and pick them up on the way home. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Academic Performance, 1990, p. 4)
- Evaluate the current role and standards of those who work in Indian education. There is a growing need for educators to interface with other disciplines like social worker, health, engineering, science, etc., to insure that educators are adequately prepared to meet the needs of their students. (INAR Northwest Hearing, Martin, 1990, p. 56)

Building Trust with Outreach to Native Parents

Ways in which schools have responded to Native parental needs which foster the development of trust include one on one contacts and a willingness to seek Native parental advice.

- Based on my experience working with Indian families from one of the Pueblo communities in New Mexico, I know that getting parents involved takes time — it is not something that will happen overnight. Once parents trust you, know you, and know what you think,it is easier for them to decide to attend parent meetings. I work directly with many of the parents in the Pueblo community. In the beginning there were parent meetings that sometimes no parents, or only one parent attended,but I kept going back. Once I was ale to establish trust and a good relationship, parental involvement increased. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 2)
- In developing relationships with parents, schools may initially have to deal with considerations that are different from their original goals. Schools need to listen to

> what parents are thinking rather than only following their own agenda, because what concerns parents at a particular time might be different from what schools think should concern them. However, if schools first address what concerns parents, even if it seems irrelevant, then parents will be ready to move on to other items and that is when schools can make their own suggestions. (INAR/NACIE, Parental Involvement Session, p. 2)

- We need to involve parents by asking for their opinions and having them analyze what previously has and has not worked, and brainstorm solutions. In my work with parents as a community development counselor, this approach has helped me succeed. Instead of me telling to them, I try to elicit their input by asking, "What do you think: What has worked and what hasn't worked? Why hasn't it worked and what are some possible solutions?"

Once parents realize that they have solutions within themselves and within their communities, they don't need to go to outside sources as much as they might have in the beginning. Many times solutions are right there within the communities themselves and it just takes time for parents to realize that they have tried something that works. Once they realize that many things are possible, they start to feel good about themselves. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 3)

Home School Advocates

When reaching out to parents, verbal communication is usually more effective than written. Parents from other cultures often are not accustomed to receiving the barrage of notes and papers that schools tend to send. For communicating with parents from Native backgrounds, personal, verbal communications are usually more effective. When planning meetings, a phone call or personal contact is more effective. When notes are written, they should be sent *both* in English and the native language, keeping in mind the protocol of the particular cultural group.

The use of home liaison outreach workers provides many districts a direct link to Native parents who may otherwise be unwilling or unable to approach the school. The growing interest in parent involvement nationally has not been around long enough to have developed "conventional" wisdom but, if there were some, it would be that person-to-person communication is best. Well-planned parent/teacher conferences and home visits are usually successful in removing barriers and building healthy home/school relationships, especially if done with cultural sensitivity.

> The Chapter 1 program in Lima, Ohio, has as a main goal the establishment of a personal relationship with every parent. The face-to-face meeting goes directly to the heart of parents' role in helping their children do better in school. At an initial parent/teacher conference, parents are given a packet that will help them engage in learning activities with their children at home. Lima's conferences, regular phone calls, and home visits set a tone for mutual understanding that makes other kinds of communication (progress reports, report cards, activity calendars, or discussions about problems that arise during the year) more welcome and more successful. Many schools around the country are establishing parent centers that serve a variety of purposes: not only do they allow person-to-person contact between parents and teachers, but they also give parents materials and information to take home, and serve as places for parents to practice new skills and meet other parents. (Adler, 1991, p. 351)

Examples from Native communities are equally as successful as that from Lima, Ohio.

- When non-Indian school personnel are trying to deliver health services to teens and encounter cultural barriers, they are advised to seek assistance through Indian Health Service community health representatives who know the culture and language of the youth and family being served. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 1)
- In Juneau, AK, the Native Parent Committee has developed support activities by raising money to fund special events as incentives for improved school performance. This is important because in small communities throughout Southeast Alaska there isn't much to do in the evenings or on weekends. The committee is also currently working on attendance and has learned that alcohol and drug abuse is a key contributor to high absenteeism. They have learned that parents are not that concerned about their students' attendance records, so they have implemented a home-school counseling strategy to enlist the parental help in getting their children to school on a regular basis. By identifying the problem at an early age, they feel they

can have a more successful impact than if the problems are left until middle school or high school. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 6)

- The Indian student dropout prevention program in Phoenix Union High School District consists primarily of early intervention by Native American counselors who work with eighth graders. They help them identify their interests, abilities, and career aspirations, and visit their homes in the summer and sit down with both the student and parents to share information about the high school academic program, what the requirements are, what they can and can't expect, and work out a four year plan with the student. This way they have a general guideline for the next four years if they wish to use it.

At the same time, they gather a lot of information about the family and student which they can integrate into the record that is available when the student enters in the fall. This way the school knows whether or not students need financial assistance, free lunches, bus tokens, and all of the other little things that add up to big obstacles. One the students are on campus, our counselors continue to offer them support. Out of a total of 20,000 students, Indian students make up 3.6 percent. When we started the program five years ago, we were operating with close to an annual 25 percent dropout rate, and now we are down to 17.3, so it has been fairly effective. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Dropout Prevention, 1990, p. 7)

- Our tribe is near the Nevada border and we have tried several strategies to combat the dropout situation. Working with the tribal government and the local community government, we were able to place our own Native American member on the County Board of Education. Then we have taken Impact Aid monies that the school receives and hired an Indian liaison who works with parents, the school, and children who have truancy and attendance problems. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Dropout Prevention, 1990, p. 10)
- I am a certified drug counselor and currently a parenting specialist with the Chinle public schools (AZ) which is the largest public school system on the Navajo reservation. I set up an in-house referral system within the school and made a referral form for teachers to identify students who have behavioral problems, who might be undernourished, who are wearing the same clothes for three days, or who are suspect of being abused or neglected. From the teacher, the students go through the principal or nurse who does a lot of physical investigation, and then I provide individual counseling and make assessments on these students. As a parenting specialist, I then go out to the home to gather information. Sometimes I find parents are drunk, divorced, dysfunctional, or even deceased. I then call a case conference with the school social workers and we develop a treatment method. A lot of the cases in Chinle schools might create a similar parenting specialist position to deal with these parents. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 7)

Empowering Leadership

In addition to hiring home-school advocates, other individuals in the school system have initiated direct contact with Native parents with some success. This kind of outreach begins with administrative leadership which has an empowering effect on others.

- Instructors and administrators need to be enthusiastic about parental involvement. The White Mountain Apache had a principal who was chosen principal of the year throughout the United States, and this principal has really encouraged a lot of parents to become involved in school activities. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 6)
- As a principal, I want my teachers to get out into the homes and visit with the parents. You really don't know how to meet a child's needs unless you know where he or she is coming from. However, when I announced that I expected every teacher to at least make one home visit, they shied away from it. I think we need to do more for those kinds of things because parents think that they are not accepted by the schools.

The parents we have now are people who have gone through strict BIA boarding schools that did not allow the students to speak their own languages. These parents feel abused by the system and feel they have no choice but to send their own kids there. They think that their kids are experiencing the same things. These parents are intimidated by the system because of their own experiences. To overcome the intimidation, we need to go into their homes and let them know that we accept their lifestyle, and therefore, we will surely accept their children. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 3)

- The more administrators, teachers, and parents go out into the community, the more parents will become involved. Our district is in central Phoenix where 90 percent of our people are below poverty level. We are starting to get more parents involved simply because we have some parents who go door-to-door to talk to other parents. Title V and Johnson O'Malley staff should contact the parents directly.

There are not many educated Indians or qualified staff, and they don't have much time available, but to really make a difference, we need to actually go into homes and talk with parents. We need to keep letting them know that the schools are going to support them and help them as much as possible. I see some of these parents start to come out and check on their children, or visit the school. If our educators have such expertise, and they are good speakers and dynamic people, they should visit the homes more often rather than staying in their offices. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 3)

- At the White River Unified School District (AZ), we have a parent/teacher counselor who goes out and visits with the people in the community. We have young girls who got pregnant before they were out of high school and find it very difficult to go back and walk the halls that they walked maybe a year or two ago. When they go back, they think that they made a mistake and realize that their parents made the same mistake. You have to talk to them. We also have very concerned teachers who during the summer time will go out on their own and visit the children that they will have the following year. Our parent advisory committee holds potlucks as another method to bring parents out. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parent Involvement, 1990, p. 7)
- The Mesa Public Schools (AZ), have gotten parents involved and feeling comfortable with principals and teachers through a Hemako Govk'cuth, or home-school festival. This is held at the beginning of each year to bring the school staff out into the community to meet people on their own turf. Within the last two years this has been successful in bringing our parents out to participate. It is organized like a carnival festival where schools and tribal youth programs set up booths, hand out information, and speak with parents and teachers on an informal basis. In addition to booths, the schools have worked with the students to provide some type of presentation, and a meal in the evening. The first year of the festival 150 parents attended. The next year parental attendance was up to 450. (INAR/NACIE, Parental Involvement Session, p. 5)

In addition to schools reaching out and staff going out into Naive communities, Native parents need to be brought into school buildings.

Schools need to be creative in exploring ways to draw parents in to begin a two way dialogue. Schools should become the hub of learning in Native communities. Some suggestions which have proved successful are mentioned below:

- At my school, in addition to requiring teachers to go out and meet the parents, I have brought the adult education that used to be held at our community center right into my school. The whole effort is to get more parents familiar with and involved in the school. We will focus on a specific type of training to develop our parent group as a working functional parent group, rather than just a general parent assembly. (INAR/NACIE, Parental Involvement Session, p. 3)
- Claremore, Oklahoma has organized a Running Club and gathers Indian students together two or three times a week for practice, and on Saturday mornings to participate in runs held throughout Oklahoma. This program was originally connected to the Community Center in Tulsa, but has become so successful that it is now an independently incorporated group. Participation is primarily for youth and children, but adults and parents are also encouraged to join. (INAR/NACIE, Health Issues Session, p. 2)
- The key thing is parental involvement. We have a lot of kids from dysfunctional families. In looking for ways to pull them into school, we decided that if a kid is ineligible for activities, we have a 90-minute study hall after school. Parents have to come in with their kids and sit with them through these study sessions. It is the little goofy things like that have helped

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us. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Academic Performance, 1990, p. 15)

- When the Heart of the Earth Survival School in Minneapolis had a change in administration, parent involvement was very low. This was a special issue that parents and administrators felt needed to be addressed. They have since implemented changes and their parent involvement has doubled. The school now requires parents to come to the school for at least one of their special events.

We utilize traditional practices such as feasts where we have presentations by our drum and dance club. Parents sign in to show they are present, and our lunch room gets very crowded. This helps build the trust level because parents come to the school and feel comfortable and welcome. They are not just there because their child is in trouble or because there is a problem — they come on a good note.

Another thing we do in our school is to utilize traditional counseling or sweatlodges. We are located in the middle of the city, but have a sweatlodge that is only ten miles away from our school. We hold them on Friday nights, and the parents who are trying to overcome any kind of drug or alcohol problem are able to attend. They attend as a family with their children, and with their children's friends and families. They can go to a sweat and learn about their own culture and practices.

Other tactics we use to encourage parent involvement include a school-wide parent newsletter that the teachers can contribute to, and some of the teachers developed their own newsletters such as the first grade parent newsletter. There is a lot of parent-teacher interaction because of open houses and feasts, and the parents are welcome to see the classrooms and interact with the teachers.

Another thing that we do is provide transportation. If there is a problem with a student or if there is going to be a recognition of the student, we provide transportation to the parent. We have also developed a parent involvement coordinator whose number one job, goal, and objective is to retain and increase parental involvement. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 6)

The use of sports as an avenue for contact with parents has significant possibilities.

- In Montana, basketball is king in athletics. To improve our academic standings, we have incorporated a simple eligibility plan that if you don't pass a class, you don't participate. All of a sudden parents are coming up to me and saying, "Geez, my kid is opening books." They want to participate, and we have about 80 to 90 percent involved in some kind of activity. They want to play ball, they want to play in the band, they want to go to the speech contest, so they are opening their books. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Academic Performance, 1990, p. 15)
- Because parents like to get involved in a little recreation, we always have an activity during our parent advisory committee meetings. We usually put up a volleyball net before we start our meeting and then after we go through our agenda, we have an activity with parents. We, as parents, sometimes like to challenge our high school students and pretty soon we include our young students in our activity. Children also really like to challenge their parents. This has really become a big area of involvement.

Activities for our younger population, such as Head Start, are those where the real serious parent involvement takes place. We have a little youth basketball tournament which is a major fundraising activity for parents. A lot of parents get involved in sports events. During basketball games, our community fills the gyms. Even though it might not be in a classroom setting, parents are participating with their children. When the children see their parents participating in these activities, they feel motivated. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p.6)

Native Culture Awareness Classes for Staff

> For Bureau of Indian Affairs teachers and administrators and teachers and administrators in all school districts which receive Indian Education Act, Impact Aid, or Johnson-O'Malley funding, there should be established a mandatory in-service teacher training program, for which the teachers/administrators will receive continuing education credits, which will provide them with training on cultural differences from a positive perspective to facilitate a better understanding of the behaviors and learning styles of Indian and Alaska Native children and an appreciation of their backgrounds and the contributions of their people to educating Indian and Alaska Native student." (NACIE, 1989, p.85)

Without sensitivity and knowledge specific to the American Indian/Alaska Native community, school staff will continue to resist beginning and continuing outreach efforts. Considerable energy, resources, and Native expertise must be devoted to staff development or re-education. Teachers and administrators who make mistakes in dealing with Native children or parents, do so out of ignorance more often than out of maliciousness. Once they become aware of some of the dynamics of culture, learning styles, and traditional child rearing practices, they are better equipped to respond and interact with Native parents more appropriately.

- In order to ensure understanding among educators regarding uniformity of approach to the education of American Indian students, it is essential that Indian communities develop and provide in-service training to teachers, administrators, and school personnel through community training of educators. (AISES, 1990, p. 8)
- We begin our remarks by bringing to your attention the strengths that exist in Indian communities and Indian families because one defect which we in NASBA have so often noted in programs aimed at Indian children is that the strength of the local Indian community is overlooked or ignored.

We also see too often experts consulted by federal education leaders speaking of Indian children only in the negative—stressing their "educational deficits," "environmental deficits," even alleging "cultural deprivation." Our children come from culturally rich environment. Often educators unfamiliar with Native American cultures and societies do not know how to respond to that richness. They make mistakes and the children suffer. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Begaye, 1990, p. 35)

- Tribal customs often interfere with school. Some youth want to take part in ceremonies and they stay up all night and are sleepy the next day. However, the teachers won't let the students make up the work, and sports coaches make the students sit out of games. We would like a little understanding or make teachers more culturally aware of why these things go on.

I suggest that teachers have a week for community-type orientation. All of the tribes in that school could develop a manual so the teachers can be aware of all the issues I have discussed. (INAR Plains, Kootswatew, 1990, p. 83)

- I teach a class on parent and community relations. It is the one required course for teachers going into elementary and early childhood education. I see that there is a lot of work required to sensitize teachers to cultural diversity and dealing with parents. Teachers need to know to reach out and build partnerships between parents, the community, and the school. They need to know how to deal with problems and contact families. They need to learn to balance between sharing school knowledge with families and understanding what families expect from school. (INAR Plains Hearing, Haulman, 1990, p.45)
- At the outset I want to make clear that what is NOT wrong is the children themselves. I do not want to hear more tales about what they lack, what is missing from their personal backgrounds, what is deficient in their families. The children are a gift to us all—to their families, to their Indian Nations, to the United States, and to the world. The question is not what is lacking in them. The question is what is lacking in US that we cannot nurture the richness of these children.

Another thing that is lacking, I would submit, is faith in these children and what they can achieve. We talk as if something was wrong with them. What is really wrong is that those educating them are failing to succeed in THEIR task. Studies of education environments have demonstrated that one of the environmental factors most highly associated with student achievement is the belief by the teacher that the child can learn. In looking at the situation of Indian children in schools, I would urge the Secretary of Education to consider what is missing in the approaches and the expectations of teachers, administrators, education planners. Do we perhaps expect too little? (INAR Southwest Hearing, Haskie, 1990, p. 45)

Parent — Teacher Conferences

Parent — teacher conferences serve a number of purposes. Knowing the home situation, the family's values, the family's view of discipline, whether the child has any responsibilities at home, and if so, whether the child carries them out voluntarily or has to be forced or coaxed, what the parents expect of their child, the position the child holds in the family, the child's relationship with siblings and friends, and other pertinent information, enables the teacher to plan long-term procedures for the individual child more successfully. Having the teacher and the parents talk together serves to unite the two areas of the child's life — home and school — and enables both to plan more effectively for the child than when the teacher and parents do not know whether they differ in their methods.

The parent learns about the child's behavior at school, the teacher's evaluation and expectations of their child. They acquaint themselves with the various rules and regulations of the school, as well as those made by the teacher or by the other children in class. Finally, the parents have a chance to learn something about the general program of the class in which their child spends so many hours each day. Too many parents have no idea what their children do in school. The more the parents and teacher understand each other, the less the child will play school against home, and vice versa. (Dreikurs, Grunwald and Pepper, 1982, p. 304-306).

One of the most essential building blocks of home-school communication is the parent-teacher conference. Conferences can be successful when teachers and the school system create a climate that invites collaboration with parents. Creating this climate involves planning and effort. Conferences should be planned on a regular basis for all parents, not only for those children who are experiencing problems. Teachers need the help of parents to do the best possible job of educating every child and can help parents play an active educational role at home. (Oregon State Board of Education, 1990, p. 8).

It is important for teachers to approach parent conferences in a manner that is beneficial to both school personnel and Native parents. Both teacher and Native parents may be reluctant to participate. They may have negative attitudes based on previous experiences with conferences which achieved nothing and/or promoted feelings of blame or guilt. The following is an example of what one teacher did to help ease the conference situation.

Mrs. Moore, fourth grade teacher, realized that the various Native parents would be coming to parent-teacher conferences "cold". She prepared a booklet of information that described in simple terms the purposes of the conference; defined terms such as: grade level, up to the child's potential, overambition, underachiever, etc; developed a set of questions parents might want to ask Mrs. Moore; as well as outlined the expected outcome of the conference. Mrs. Moore mailed the booklet to the parents two weeks prior to the scheduled conference date.

The advance preparation assisted the Native parents in understanding the conference process and made them more comfortable. Mrs. Moore found that the parents participated fully and asked additional questions pertaining to the academics and specific items on the report card as a direct result of her efforts in preparing the booklet. Items discussed included: method of student progress; what the student had learned; what the student had not learned; areas in which the student needed additional help; how the student stands in relation to the rest of the class, and how the parent could help the child.

Sometimes a teacher invites the child to participate in the conference. Since the conference concerns the child, there is no reason why the child should not be present. Occasionally a teacher senses that a child is afraid to have her parents come to school. The teacher can assure the child that parents are not coming to accuse, but to plan what they can do to help. At this point the teacher may invite the child to participate in the conference. Actually, this helps the child to accept responsibility and accountability for his/her own learning and behavior. As a result of this kind of parent-child-teacher conference, the child comes away with a feeling of belonging. With this sense of belonging comes an increase in *social interest* — the ability and willingness for a person to function socially in terms of cooperation, responsibility, belonging, and concern for the welfare of others. (Pepper and Henry, 1986, p. 265).

In many instances, it has been difficult to get Native parents to attend parent-teacher conferences. One method used in Nebraska for rewarding parents for attending parent-teacher conferences was to offer a full tank of free automobile gas. All Native parents attending conferences with teachers were eligible for the gas. Parent participation for that event was improved from 15 to 85 percent. A barrel of fuel oil was offered in a Selawick, an Alaskan village to increase Native parent attendance to 100 percent. The reward winner was drawn like a raffle winner at a community wide dinner sponsored by the school and staff at the conclusion of parent-teacher conference day.

- The White Mountain Apache reservation has established a regular series of parent/teacher conferences. Every nine weeks the school is recessed half a day and conferences are held from 1:30 in the afternoon until 6:00 in the evening. All of the parents are welcome to come into their child's classroom to discuss their child's situation and go through the grading system. The parent has a chance to be involved with the school and to understand their child's placement. Furthermore, parents receive their child's report card at these conferences. Parent involvement be-

> comes strong at those meetings, and pretty soon they start influencing different areas. Parents are also involved through the parent policy council, parent advisory committee, and parent/teacher visitation in which all the parents at all levels, kindergarten through high school, have a chance to experience their children's classrooms. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 6)

Native Parental Involvement in Policy Development

It is clear that when policies are written for Native parental involvement, there is a greater likelihood that there will be success. The San Diego County Schools (SDCS) provide a good model:

In early 1988 the SDCS established a task force to explore ways in which parent involvement could be strengthened in the district. Made up of thirty-three community and school representatives, the group became convinced that the best way to move forward was to persuade the board of education to adopt an official policy on parent involvement. The task force spent several months, sometimes in heated debate, framing a policy statement to present to the board. The policy, adopted in July 1988, is consistent with the California state policy in most areas and outlines a multifaceted definition of parent involvement. "The task force's decision to draft a policy has proved to be a wise one, giving shape and direction to district actions and to the work of individual schools. The implementation plan that flowed from the policy has focused on three major efforts: building the capabilities of staff members, creating partnerships, and providing follow-up and support services." (Chrispeels, 1991, p. 370). The board committed itself to:

- involve parents as partners in school governance, including shared decision making and advisory functions;
- establish effective two-way communication with all parents, respecting the diversity and differing needs of families;
- develop strategies and programmatic structures at schools to enable parents to participate actively in their children's education;
- provide support and coordination for school staff and parents to implement and sustain appropriate parent involvement from kindergarten through grade 12; and
- use schools to connect students and families with community resources that provide educational enrichment and support.

The memorandum described in the models section of this paper is an excellent example of Native community parental *involvement*, describing roles and responsibilities of various decision makers in Native communities. School goals, policies and procedures need to be understood by the Native community. Many Native testifiers attested to the need for community and Native parental involvement at the decision making policy level.

> At the local level, parental and community input is largely the result of federally-mandated participation in Title One, JOM, and Title Four programs. The federal government requires that Indian parent committees approve all Indian education programs before they will be funded by the federal government. A few local education agencies request input into decisions involving the education of Indian children. For the most part, however, parents and tribal communities have little impact upon and input into the decision-making process that involves the education of the Indian child, beyond the scope of special categorical Indian education programs. (Antel, ECS, (1990), p. 17)

- Parent involvement is needed as part of a basic restructuring of the schools. As a small school, I think we have much more community support than I see in other places, but I still feel that the parents as a whole don't feel as though it is their school. Regardless of the programs we design, the structure of the schools is still essentially based on an Anglo model that has been around for hundreds of years. As long as we have that model, parents are not going to consider schools as their own institutions. In the future we need parents, tribes, and the communities to take over schools. Parents should not just be on a board that makes a few decisions, but should assume responsibility for the schools. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Elementary Schools, 1990, p. 6)
- Too often schools bring parents in, ask them what they want, and they don't know what they want. It's not that parents don't want to be involved and it's not that they don't have ideas; I think it is the way we ask them for their ideas. I think that parents not only have to feel as though they are a part of the school, but they have to somehow run the school. Until that hap-

pens, we will always have a problem with parental involvement. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Elementary Schools, 1990, p. 6)

- We are not suggesting that there are no problems with the education being received by Indian children or that real problems do not exist in the lives of many Native American children as they seek to build lives that are satisfying, meaningful, and appropriate to two cultures. What we are suggesting is that along with these problems, many of which arise from the encounter of two cultures, are resources residing in the heart of the cultures of Indian people.

We urge education leaders addressing the "problems" of Indian children to also acknowledge the richness of this resource and to begin planning to utilize some of the richness existing in Native American families and communities to address the educational needs of Indian children. The best way to assure that the resource of local Indian communities will be incorporated into programs for the education of Indian children is to make a commitment to include Indian parents and grassroots Indian community leaders in planning educational change for our schools. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Begaye, 1990, p. 36)

- Most areas that must have parental involvement such as Title V and Impact Aid tend to put parents on parade. You bring parents in to look at your back-to-school night. You bring them in to look at your school activities. You get them to bake cakes for your class. But parents as collaborators and parents as decision makers are not roles that most schools allow. How many schools have a sign that says, "Welcome parents?" How many schools have chairs for them to sit in the office, or even sit in the classroom? No schools do because they want to send a message. Most of our schools in California have fences around them and gates to keep people out. That's the message that schools are sending.

(INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Elementary Schools, 1990, p. 7).

- We have a difficult time involving parents in the schools because there seems to be a reluctance on the part of the professional staff to allow any non-professional people to actively participate in decision making. When teachers are trained to believe that there are only four teaching styles and four learning styles, and you come in and tell them there are culturally-based learning styles, it goes against everything they believe. When the textbooks and curricular material reflect those teaching styles, we are designing a system for failure for parents. The tribe has the ability to socialize children, and we have educational systems that are deliberate, systematic, and sustained that have been operating for generations. We train people how to be Hoopas. We educate them to be Kiowas. We educate them to be Hopis. When we send our children to school, we do not want them to be socialized as general Americans. The laws and the structures of this land are designed so that schools are a social imposition for social control. We oppose that. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Elementary Schools, 1990, p. 7)

- Parents should have the ability to sit down and make a decision on what textbooks are going to be used in the school, what programs are going to be taught, and what the curriculum should look like. But approaching parents and giving them two days to choose a textbook is a strategy that is bound to fail because what you have not done is train the parents to know what should be included in the textbook. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Elementary Schools, 1990, p. 7).

Native Parent Input on School Discipline

When a school has a comfortable climate, people feel proud, connected and committed. They support, help, and care for each other. When the climate is right, there is a certain joy in coming to school. Climate is a term used to describe how people feel about their school. It is a combination of beliefs, values and attitudes shared by students, teachers, administrators, parents, bus drivers, office personnel, custodians, cafeteria workers, and others who play an important role in the life of the school. Part of the school climate has to do with the disciplinary procedures outlined by the school.

The administrator is responsible for all staff assigned to the school. In discharging this responsibility, the administrator should establish and maintain reasonable and acceptable standards of pupil behavior. The administrator should be aware of the needs of the students and accommodate these needs insofar as it is possible to do so.

Schools need to confer with Native community members concerning behaviors which may be a cultural conflict between home and school, and clarify how to appropriately deal with such behavior.

Good systems for handling all school procedures should improve the chances that students will work hard, complete assignments, participate in classroom activities, learn more and, consequently, have fewer serious behavior problems. To minimize suspensions, expulsions, absenteeism and tardiness, an administrator should:

- Develop an understanding of the factors that affect social behavior in this particular Native community. Learn about the home environment of each child.
- Develop a knowledge of the value systems of Native and European-Americans and their influence on the individual and society.
- Identify areas where behavioral expectations may be contradictory between Native and European-Americans.
- Develop productive and satisfying relations with students based on respect, trust, cooperation, consideration and caring.
- Involve tribal government in setting disciplinary consequences and rewards, as well as attendance procedures.
- Keep law enforcement, social service and other non-educational agency personnel out of the classroom when contacting individual children.
- Use attendance counselors and home-school liaison coordinators. Have them work together with the tribal government and Native parents when problems arise.
- Keep lines of communication open with Native parents.
- Have conferences with the attendance officer, the home-school liaison coordinator, parents and members of the tribal government to help find alternative solutions. Cooperatively negotiate solutions, rather than laying blame.
- Use suspension and expulsion as a last resort. Find alternative methods to work out the students' problems *in school*.
- Provide activity buses for students who wish to participate and/or attend school activities.
- Develop skill in democratic action in large and small groups. Develop a system of shared responsibility with the students. Students should know the expectations and the limits.

Native parents must accept equal responsibility in helping to solve the discipline problems of their children. Parents, like teachers and school administrators, must work closely together with the school and community personnel to solve young peoples' problems. No one group can do the job alone. Native parents must become part of the team in developing and carrying out disciplinary action.

Discipline is handled differently from tribe to tribe and from traditional to non-traditional communities. If the Native community is involved in setting these standards, Native parents will support disciplinary actions.

Native Parental Involvement With Curriculum

Native parents should have the opportunity to determine the values from both the dominant culture and Native culture, which should be part of the curriculum. More specific information about a culturally appropriate curriculum appears elsewhere in the INAR commissioned papers. It is sufficient to emphasize here that without Native community cultural experts' involvement, curriculum will continue to invalidate the worth of Native contributions, values and lifestyles. In order to have the degree of influence necessary, Native parents need training in all aspects of curriculum development and improvement.

- If Indian parents are going to take part in the education system, they have to realize that they do have a role in influencing the school curriculum. They have the right to say what they want their children to be taught, and they have the ability to do so through politics, electing the school board, and electing committees. I feel that these programs that require parents participation have changed a whole generation of people who are now sophisticated and making those changes for their children. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Partnerships of Schools, Tribes, Communities, Parents and Businesses, 1990, p. 5)
- There needs to be a certain perspective when talking about training for Indian parents. If you want input on curriculum, you need to teach parents what curriculum means and how it is applied in the classroom. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 5)

Tribal Encouragement for Parents

It is not enough for tribes to talk about supporting educational efforts, rather they must take active roles in decision making, must commit personnel and financial resources whenever possible.

Strategies for successful parental participation are not complete without the insistence of tribal involvement. Involvement by definition influences policy or decision making at the local level. "Tribal people need to come to the aid of tribal children. Their education must be fashioned by us from start to finish. Our tribal governments must provide us with leadership to educate tribal citizens. That big, powerful, rich system called public schooling in these United States may be all right and just right for the immigrants and their children. It is not and has not been even close to all right for our children.

We tribal people must structure the education of our children. We must, because as citizens of dependent nations we must appeal to and demand through American laws and Congress the wherewithal to structure the educational system of our children with our tribal governments and with public funds." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Christensen, 1990, p. 53)

Many testifiers nationwide reiterated the critical role which tribal governments must play in all levels of Native education:

- We need a federal policy that supports direct tribal regulatory authority over state public schools on reservations and in other Indian country. Indian control is the key to effective Indian education for Indian people, but recent efforts in the federal arena have centered on trying to develop that control through funding mechanisms, parent committees, and administrative processes.

The sovereignty of Indian tribes gives them authority over their members and their territory, and that sovereignty should include—at least concurrently with the state—authority to directly regulate state public schools that serve Indian children on reservations and in Indian country. This authority needs to be recognized by federal law because tribes will need to devise and adopt education laws that regulate the schools, as well as policies and programs provided for under those laws. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Partnerships of Schools, Tribes, Communities, Parents and Businesses, 1990, p. 4)

- Tribal governments, dialogue participants noted, have the power to become active partners with Indian parents and school districts in educational reform and community initiatives. In doing so, tribes must pass resolutions setting education as a priority. They must develop education codes for all local schools mandating the integration of basic curriculum with tribal values, language, intellectual concepts, and spirituality.

Tribal councils must assist students by establishing scholarship and summer-work projects. They should also encourage college students to return home after graduation. Dialogue participants also stated that tribal leaders should serve as positive role models for students by leading drug- and alcohol-free lives. They also pointed out that tribal councils must link tribal drug and alcohol abuse programs with local schools as a means of combating social problems. (AISES, 1990, p. 4)

- Rather, education of children from the different Indian Nations must be particularized to the educational and nation-building needs and aspirations of individual tribes and schools within the different Indian Nations and national groups. The need for a tribally particularized component to the education provided in our schools should be incorporated into the recommendations for educational improvement arising out of this hearing process. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Begaye, 1990, p. 37)
- Any reform of the educational system which serves Indian students needs to recognize that Indian communities are the most qualified group to identify Indian educational needs and what programs are most necessary to meet tribal educational objectives. Indian tribal leaders place a high priority on education for their people. Eighty-two percent of the respondents placed education as either the highest tribal objective or among the highest tribal objectives. The primary reasons they cite for educational failure are inadequate funding, poor facilities, no incentives to learning, poor home environments, substance abuse and lack of education support programs. (Wells, 1991, p. 8)
- The issue of government control just points out one factor that is so important. We are still struggling with transforming the kind of education we provide to our children in Zuni, but the opportunity is a much greater

> and the response time is so much quicker than they are able to do that. Just the fact that Zuni Indian people are in control of the destiny of their children's education has radically changed some major conditions almost overnight. This same thing is likely to happen in a metropolitan urban setting, but you have a rarity of Indian people there who have very similar concerns. It will take more dialogue, more relationship development, and refocusing of resources. But the empowerment of Indian people is the key factor that is going to make major differences. The major recommendation is that an urban Indian school be created that would allow Indian parents in the metropolitan area the opportunity to become responsible partners, so that they can become publicly accountable for the kind of education system that their children need. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Lewis, 1990, p. 56)

Tribes inundated with a variety of economic, health and human concerns, have not put time, personal, and financial resources into redefining education on tribal terms. Developing tribal education codes is occurring more and more with significant results. The efforts of the Navajo Nation provide an excellent example.

> Four and a half years ago, the Navajo Nation adopted a comprehensive set of eduction policies to establish in a general way the goals which the Navajo people set for the education of their children. These policies were developed with the total involvement of local and reservation-wide Navajo education organizations. Persons from all areas of educational involvement—school administrators, teachers, school board members, parents—were asked for their input and involvement. The Navajo Education Policies were endorsed overwhelmingly by community-based Navajo education organizations, such as the Navajo Area School Board Association, before they were finally presented to the Navajo Tribal Council and adopted as tribal law.

The Navajo Education Policies are not a comprehensive implementation program, nor were they intended to be. They did, however, set the parameters within which any comprehensive plan for the implementation of a Navajo Tribal Government can work cooperatively with the education providers serving our youth. They commit the tribe's education agency to a willingness to work with the local schools, school boards, and local communities to develop plans for the development of Navajo education. Through the education policies, the Navajo Nation has ratified in its laws the principle of local control of education. Parents also are recognized in the Education Policies as essential and active participants in the process of education improvement. Curriculum is intended to reflect the needs and aspirations of our local communities.

I stress the emphasis of the Navajo Education Policies on local control because I am convinced that involvement of our local parents and community members is an essential part of any effort to make our schools more effective. Effective schools research has identified participation of parents and the entire local community in developing, supporting, and implementing school objectives and activities as an essential characteristic of an effective school. Our own experience in the Navajo Nation supports these research conclusions. We too have found that active participation at the local level in the development and support of school programs is associated with successful school outcomes.

This statement expresses the hope and the expectation of the Navajo Nation for educational change in the years ahead. We ARE committed to change. We ARE committed to educational improvement. We ARE committed to building effective schools where our children experience academic success. But we ARE committed to undertaking this process as an integral part of the transformation of our Navajo Nation.

The Navajo Nation is standing on the threshold of the 21st century. All of us are looking toward that future time filled with hopes and dreams for all our people and for our nation. We do not just seek individual success and happiness for individual Navajo children, although we do, in our love for our children, work for and offer prayers toward their success and happiness. Beyond the individual outcomes, we seek to assure the continuity, growth, and development of the Navajo Nation and the cultural persistence of the Navajo people.

The Navajo Nation is committed to work for the improvement and regeneration of our schools. WE welcome the concern and interest of the Secretary of Eduction and invite him to work WITH the Navajo Nation and with the Navajo people in this effort. Unless we work in cooperation with each other and with respect for each other's gifts, even plans which look good on paper will be fatally flawed. They will lack legitimacy with the very people they affect. With this involvement, we can work together on the critical task of building our schools and our society. Our children, our future leaders, can flourish in this atmosphere of mutual respect and understanding. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Haskie, 1990, p. 45-46)

Conclusion

Native parental involvement at the local level can be significantly improved through conscientious efforts and strategies which include:

- Building trust with outreach to Native parents
- Transformational leadership
- Native culture awareness classes for staff
- Home-school advocates
- Parent-teacher conferences which are well planned and culturally respectful
- Native involvement in policy development, discipline and curriculum development and review
- Tribal encouragement for Native parents.

Native Parental Support: Building and Reinforcing Native Parents as Children's First Teachers

Since children learn daily from interacting with their parents, it would be helpful if Native parents could receive formal education which describes how they can best promote learning. "Parent involvement should be changed to parent commitment in making sure their children get up, go to school, and have a structured environment in which to study. Increased success is connected to family support." (Southwest, Toosie, p. 56) Native parents affect their children's growth and development by: (1) the way they communicate with their children; (2) the variety and meaning of the experiences they provide for their children; and (3) the way they guide their children in developing skills in relating to other people. A Native parent education component can focus on ways that this interaction can be positive and contribute to school success.

Native Parental Education and Parent Study Groups

"Although elders usually have more of life and wisdom to teach than to learn, that is not the case for younger adult members of a community. Since parents are a child's first teachers, they should have access to the training and support they need. During the work day, the "learning" of the individuals must be prepared to "teach" the youngsters and influence them. To promote early recognition of the importance of reading, writing, and math skills, the parent(s) or caregivers must show that they can perform in these areas. Even after the child begins preschool and after kindergarten and into elementary and secondary school, the importance of the skills of the parents or caregivers cannot be overestimated. Consequently, in order to reach the youngsters, one must begin in a community with the education needs of its adults." (NACIE, 1989, p. 80)

- Native parents have been forced to become involved with an increasing number of complex problems, such as academic underachievement, irresponsibility, apathy, destructive behavior, drug and alcohol abuse, child abuse, and unemployment. They have been forced to meet these problems with little preparation for the most challenging task in life — being an effective parent. "We need to fund parenting classes that include culturally specific parenting skills. In your packet today I have given you some materials on Native American parenting classes that are given in St. Paul. Early Childhood Family Education has worked well for us for the past couple of years. We find that parents really want to come in and learn how to be successful parents. They want to know how to discipline their children, how to feed them, all those kinds of things. In fact, the program is becoming so successful that it is getting too big for us to handle. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Gagnon, 1990, p. 59)
- Parents are confronted with a confusing array of advice through books, magazine articles, newspaper items, suggestions from neighbors and friends, and advice from teachers, counselors and social workers. No wonder Native parents are confused. Many suggestions are quite often contradictory. Raising children is a major challenge. Being a parent has long-lasting consequences for the development of each child with basic attitudes about self and others. "Parents must assume a pivotal role in education. Parents must instill pride and self-esteem with Indian children. They must pass on values and beliefs that give children an Indian orientation toward academic and professional life. Finally, parents are important language and cultural resources in Indian communities." (AISES, 1990, p. 4)

Many Native adults have had limited opportunity to continue learning and would appreciate the opportunity.

- There is currently in the United States great concern about parental involvement in the education of children. Many parents have been criticized for lack of involvement in their children's school programs. "It is very important for Indian and Alaska Native parents to feel comfortable in their children's school settings. This may involve many factors, sometimes including the parents' own educational needs being met so that they do not feel intimidated by the school system or any teacher of administrator. Sometimes this requires some understanding about the Indian community on the part of teacher and some outreach to the parents. Poorly educated parents who feel that they have nothing to share at a parent-teacher conference are not likely to attend any such conference, especially in an intimidating environment. In-service training for teachers and school administrators could assist in this area." (NACIE, 1989, p. 81)

Parent education and parent study groups are excellent ways of teaching parents how to handle some of the complex problems they face. Parent education classes usually have a trained teacher and a prescribed curriculum complete with reading and study materials as well as assignments on various topics.

The Northwest Indian Child Welfare developed a training manual for parents, *Positive Indian Parenting, Honoring our Children by Honoring our Traditions, a Model Indian Parent Training Manual,* which states: "Traditionally, Indian education has emphasized learning how to live, rather than learning how to make a living. Enhancing the strength of the group was considered more important than enhancing the individual's ability to be self-sustaining. Seldom was the responsibility for teaching others placed on any one individual or group. Rather, teachers were elders, family members, story tellers, and orators, who passed on to younger generations information in a variety of forms. Teachers were strict in the sense that the lessons to be learned meant survival and thus, by necessity, had to be learned well. The survival aspect gave relatives and elders a vested interest in teaching the young and made them committed teachers.

Teaching and learning were accomplished through the telling of stories and legends that were repeated time after time so that the spirit of the story's words became more important than the words themselves. The values, attitudes, and etiquette contained within these stories were reinforced in daily life experiences.

Other teaching methods included the use of examples and demonstrations. Most skills were learned by watching those who were accomplished at them; the individual observed the tasks over and over until he or she felt ready to participate in them. Encouragement was central of the instructional process. In many tribes, the first attempt at crafts, no matter how meager, was given to an elder who praised and encouraged the maker. Group recognition was another form of encouragement. the "first kill ceremony" was an example of how the community recognized a youth's prowess as a hunter. Often the game was given to an elder.

The teaching format was characterized by patience and the belief that learning took place in its own time. Thus, instruction respected the individual learner for who he or she was as a person, not for how much he or she knew or did not know about a particular subject. Individuals were seldom expected to have the "right answer"; questions were used primarily to stimulate thought and self-examination, rather than to test acquired knowledge. For example, before learning to hunt, children were often instructed to go out and observe the behavior of animals. They were then asked by the elder what they had learned and encouraged to think about what different animal behaviors meant to them as hunters. In the process of learning, it was important for the learner to examine the task in relation to himself or herself as it was to master the content. This understanding gave meaning and form to his or her knowledge, which could then be passed on to future generations.

Furthermore, the traditional learning situation was characterized by multi-sensory input. Learners saw demonstrations, heard stories, experienced "hands-on" participation, and were called on to observe and reflect on the meaning of the lesson. Verbal instruction was closely and concretely linked across time and space with actual experiences.

In sharp contract to the Indian's view of teaching/learning as a holistic, experience-based process with many teachers, the dominant society favors a linear process with a single teacher or authority emphasizing abstract, conceptual skills. "We believe that each approach has its own strengths to lend to our undertaking. The dominant society's focus enables us to create an appropriate instructional design. We can then draw on the old ways of teaching to facilitate learning." (Cross, 1986, p. 21-24)

A number of guiding principles should be kept in mind when working with Native parents. Those principles include:

- Native parent education functions with a commitment to take the best available from both the traditional child raising beliefs of Native culture and modern parenting skills.
- Native parent education and practice are based on a belief and pride in the strengths of Native culture and history.
- Native parents can most effectively learn from educators who are a part of and in tune with Native culture.
- Effective Native parent education is based on a belief in the value of sharing experience and expertise, both between educator and participants and among participants.
- In Native parenting, "experience" is the best teacher.
- An effective learning environment for Native parents requires that participants be viewed as worthy of respect as people, regardless of background.
- Native parent educators are not superior to participants simply by virtue of their role as trainers; learning is a mutual process.
- Participants in Native parent education bring their own unique strengths and weaknesses to the training and will learn at their own pace in their own style and should be accepted at their individual skill and performance level; mistakes are a natural and accepted part of the learning process.
- The story tellers, elders, and teachers of Native culture, past and present, provide an example to guide the growth process.
- Native parent education functions with a value and respect for different views and experiences.

Curriculum which could be covered in parent education classes can be as wide and varied as needed to fit the needs of parents:

- Child Development/Early Childhood Education
- Child Management
- Coping with Child Misbehavior
- Babies and Toddlers
- The Elementary School Years
- Teen-Age Years
- Building Self-Esteem
- Family Math
- Family Science
- Other topics of interest and/or need

Strengthening Native parental *support* requires that local school districts provide opportunities for parents to define their needs themselves and refine their skills as learners, teachers, counselors and educational advocates. Native parents should have the opportunity to determine the values from both the dominant culture and from their Native culture which they want. Many Native parents are doing an exceptional job like the one who offered examples of their *support*.

- I was wondering about parents and how much they should participate in school. I know that a lot of people believe schools should teach Native American culture, but I think that should begin at home. When students go to school, they should already have a very strong understanding of their culture and heritage. We used to take our kids to the supermarket and have them pick out the different foods that the Indians contributed to society. We also taught them the old legends and stories. Maybe our family is different because we have a functional family with parents and grandparents. They took an avid interest in the culture and read about the Indians in Mexico. This summer we went to the desert where there was a ball court and my kids determined that the Indians had calculated the parabolic reflex of this court. They had read in National Geographic about how the Indians did that so they could stand in two temples and whisper and hear each other's communication. Culture and heritage should come from the home so that when they go to school they have a better understanding of their own self. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 2)
- Parents who don't know a lot about the subject matter can provide a good place for their children to do homework, reserve time for it, and have an opportunity for their children to study at home. Parents can talk about school and schoolwork with their children on a regular basis, encourage them, motivate them, and shape their attitudes about school and learning.

> In this process, parents will become closer to their children and have a better working relationship with them. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Parental Involvement, 1990, p. 1)

Types of options for parent training are discussed below:

- All children, including Native American children, tend to grow along similar developmental patterns. Therefore, it is necessary that people be aware of the developmental activities that children perform at different ages. When Head Start was first established, the teachers treated the students as if they were older and consequently didn't give them a lot of hands-on activities. Interaction should be different for two and three years olds than for five and six year olds. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Early Childhood Education, 1990, p. 3)
- Parents Anonymous programs can be helpful in providing education to young parents about how to be good parents, including nurturing skills, teaching children about values, behavior management, and the difference between punishment and discipline. This kind of program should be more widely available. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Health, Wellness, and Substance Abuse Prevention, 1990, p. 3)

Native Language and Culture Classes for Parents

Not only do school staff need culture and language classes, but many Native parents need these classes as well. Grounding in traditional awareness can do a great deal to strengthen individual self knowledge and community awareness.

- We need to redefine Indian education so that it does not mean Johnson O'Malley, Title IV, Title V, or remedial programs. We need Indian education to mean using the best of the old and new to educate our people whose histories, cultures, belief systems, and languages are different from the majority culture. Traditional education assisted children in finding meaning in life. Curriculum was tied to experience and is related to the affective side of learning through oral tradition and learning from the Elders. The physical side of life was fully developed with games and activities. Social development came through social activities that demonstrated the philosophy that we are born into a life of service. All learning was interrelated and connected with the spiritual side of life. (INAR Plains Hearing, Skinner, 1990, p. 78-89)
- Late intervention, treatment programs, and eventual self-esteem seminars attempt to heal a wound that never should have been inflicted. Why wait for the inevitable damage? Put the money and time and effort into programs of high quality from the very beginning. The Native American state of mind is nowhere else duplicated and must not be squandered. Only this singular state of mind holds out the realistic hope of optimistic solutions to predicaments of the non-Indian world, solutions that only another viewpoint, an Indian viewpoint, can create and implement. The minds of young Indians must not be neglected, their saving attitudes ignored, nor their education squandered. Effective education begins with preschool programs and continues through graduate school. No program, no matter how well funded or staffed, can succeed if it fails to incorporate and reflect the values of it's community. American Indians fail to see their own values reflected in the majority educational system and until they do, they will continue to drop out. They too, must be given reasons for success and must be treated as cherished and valued members of our culture. The state of Indian schools tells them one thing: Indians don't count. (INAR Southwest Hearing, Vigil, 1990, p. 39)

Parents and Children Together Classes

Parents should be provided with suggestions for learning activities that they can carry out in the home. At the same time, the skills reinforced by such activities and their importance for the children's learning should be discussed. Strategies which demonstrate for parents how to work *with* their children are proving to be not only motivational and fun, but extremely effective. Many of the successful models like *Family Math and Preparing for the Drug Free Years* consist of significant amounts of time working with parents and children together. Addressing the needs of the family as a unit was described by others.

- A lot of dropouts, perhaps 70 percent, come from families of dropouts, where their brothers and sisters and maybe even their parents were also dropouts. One year in our GED program we graduated two mothers and their daughters, which was really outstanding for them. But we feel that there is promise in establishing family literacy programs, where the total family comes in together to work on reading and writing. They discover that learning is fun, and it is fun to go to the library. This works in a positive way on both the children's and the parent's self-esteem and their attitude toward schooling and education. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Dropout Prevention, 1990, p. 12)

- During the past year, considerable dialogue was established with Robeson Community College for the development of family literacy programs utilizing the Kenan Family Literacy Model as a complement to the preschool programs. The lack of sufficient Chapter 1 resources to provide for a full-time coordinator for family literacy hampered our ability to appropriately and adequately implement a preschool family literacy component. In recognition of this need, we have twice unsuccessfully applied for an Evenstart grant to enable us to implement such a program. We are, however, planning to utilize Title V funds this year to establish six Title V Parent-student learning centers utilizing computer-assisted instruction for parent-student engagement in learning. (INAR Eastern Hearing, Johnson, 1990, p. 19)
- Parental involvement must be encouraged. In one Southeastern Oklahoma community, the Legislature provided funds for the purchase of computers. Parents were then instructed on their operation and they were made available to be checked out for home use. This produced three positive results: (1) parents learned, (2) children learned, and (3) parents and children spent time working together toward a common goal. (INAR Plains Hearing, Haney, 1990, p. 5)

On the national level I would consider the possibility of establishing Indian learning centers--not like Haskell, tribal community colleges, or new-age boarding schools. I am talking about something different like the Aspen Institute or the Old Chautuaquas, located in beautiful settings where people will want to go. Attract students and professionals. Forget the standard age breakdowns of junior high, high school, and college. A teenage model is a "white model." Create an "adult" learning situation that will serve multiple generations. Bring in the Elders to talk about history and their childhood experiences and recognize them as professionals. Get these places accredited as junior colleges or colleges.

Until the learning environment feels like a family or a clan, the Indian student will not be engaged. Somehow we have to create a bunch of "weird families." American education isn't working well for anyone, and we can lead the way to a new model.

A multigenerational approach is natural and makes a lot of sense. I think there are possibilities in there that we haven't even tapped. Unfortunately, although we see it happening in various places across the country, it is all too rare. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, 1990, p. 18)

- We now are serving younger brothers and sisters of older students who have been in our programs and graduated. In some families we are working with kids at three different grade levels. We have parents who are really committed, and the whole family is involved in our organization. We believe that motivation and creativity are just as important as receiving additional money from the federal government. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p. 11)
- The Phoenix District has two programs for young women with babies, and in both cases we work with the Phoenix Indian Center by having them refer students to us that they know are out in the community and not attending school because of pregnancy. On the basis of referrals, we are able to register eligible students in these programs, where they are required to take a child development course, or they are matched up with their regular high school program, wherever they left off. We also offer counseling of the students in terms of what happens after the baby is born. It is our experience that being pregnant is less likely to keep a young mother out of school than what happens after the baby arrives. They usually think that "Grandma, Mom or Auntie are going to take care of the baby." well, Auntie takes care of the baby until the first opportunity for employment comes along, and then the mother is out of school again. So we help young mothers access social services for help with child care in the local community. We have had fair success with that approach.

(INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p. 11)

Such education for Native parents can take into account the unique cultural orientations of each community, exploring both traditional child rearing practices and more contemporary practices.

Family planning should be encouraged for Native American Families.

- Prenatal care and education are essential for young women expecting their first child.
- Traditional ways emphasize caring for your mind, taking care of your hygiene, and proper eating and exercise – all within the context of having respect for the gift the Creator is given us through this womanhood, the doorway into the spirit world. School and health systems must allow us to share this concept even though it does not fit any of their structured guidelines.

The possibilities for parental *support* are endless given the needs of the community and the creativity of both educators and Native parents. Funds should be earmarked for exemplary training models, topics and designs. These should be researched and disseminated when found to be effective. The curriculum for such projects should be developed and marketed for broader use.

Continuing Parental Support Throughout the Schooling Years

Research suggests that parental support has tremendous implications throughout the schooling process. Too often Native parents discontinue the level of support needed to sustain student efforts at the junior high and high school levels. These are critical years for all youth but even more so for Native students who begin dropping out in junior high school.

Parents need training in advocacy. They need to know how to help their children throughout their entire school career. They need to have a voice and a right to talk about what's needed for their children.

- In Santa Barbara County it seems easier for parents to be involved and supportive of their children when they are young. We encourage a networking support for parents, so they will not give up on supporting their children. (INAR/NACIE, Issue Session on Drop Out Prevention, 1990, p. 15)
- Many other district initiatives for parent involvement exist in addition to those described in this special section. An early leader was Houston with its sensible Fail-Safe program of innovative approaches to connecting schools with families, including strategies for organizing parent/teacher conferences in the secondary grades so that families could meet with many teachers on the same visit and programs to allow families to borrow school computers for home use to strengthen children's skills and adult literacy. More recently, the schools in Hamilton County, Ohio, and the local parent/teacher organization have coordinated efforts to build the capabilities of teachers, administrators, and parents to work and plan together at the elementary, middle, and high school levels. (Pipho, 1991, p. 347)

Parental support for Native into college was mentioned also.

- There are young adult members who would like to go back to school but they don't have the necessary funds, transportation, or child care. To be able to improve their intellectual status would give incentive for them to assist their children in attaining a higher education. Parents hold a significant role in the educational system. Their involvement in academic, social, and extracurricular activities helps their children prepare for higher education. They can assist their children in getting financial assistance and decide whether their child is ready for a junior college, vocational school, or university. (INAR Plains Hearing, Pratt, 1990, p. 35)

Conclusion

Apparently many American Indian/Alaska Native communities and schools in urban centers, on reservations, and in rural communities have attempted to draw Native parents into the educational process. Strategies which tend to yield success include:

- School and district wide commitment to the notion that schools should be the locus of advocacy for all children. This insures that Native parental *support* and *involvement* is a high priority. A commitment requires continually providing access to Native parents in the classroom and on committees and boards, thus enabling them to offer advise, as well as, set policy at the building and district level.
- Adoption of policies and procedures which clearly describe why and how the inclusion

of Native parents will occur, with recognition and appreciation for the traditional cultural orientation of parents.

- Regularly scheduled staff in-service which focuses on specifics about American Indian/Alaska Native cultural orientation, as well as strategies for successfully relating to Native parents.
- A variety of options for Native parents to receive additional education, including opportunities in the areas of child development, drug and alcohol prevention, literacy, parent-child support activities, and language and culture reinforcement.
- Documentation of a wide variety of creative outreach suggestions for staff.

Strategic Plans for States

In recent years a number of surveys, regional gatherings and documents have continued to emphasize that need for greater state responsiveness to American Indian/Alaska Native people. Some of the documents include:

The Education Commission of the States (ECS), *Overview of State Laws and Policies* (1980); the National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE) 16th Annual Report *Educating the American Indian/Alaska Native Family* (1989); the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, (AISES) *Our voices, Our Visions American Indians Speak Out for Educational Excellence* (1990); and most recently St. Lawrence University, *Indian Education from the Tribal Perspective: A Survey of American Indian Tribal Leaders*. All of these reports describe the necessity for state responsibility in supporting and involving Native people in all aspects of the educational process:

> - Many states and local school districts stress Indian parental and community input into the decision-making process for schools. In the State Department of Education in South Dakota, the Division of Curriculum and Instruction, for instance, has an Indian advisory board that includes people from the Indian community, parents and tribal leaders. This board meets with the state curriculum and instruction staff and advises them on specific Indian education concerns. Indian people also serve on the state textbook review committee, on the needs assessment development committee, and on the State Standards of Excellence for Indian Education Committee, thus providing input into decisions made by the Division of Curriculum and Instruction for the South Dakota Department of Education.
>
> Oklahoma and South Dakota have state Indian advisory boards that work primarily with curriculum and instruction personnel to effect changes in Indian education throughout these states. The state of Minnesota has a state advisory task force on American Indian language and culture education. Minnesota Indian parents are also active in the formulation of policy and procedures relating to their 1977 legislated American Indian Language and Culture Education Act. (ECS, Antell, 1980, p. 17)
>
> - State educational agencies (SEAs) with more than five Indian Education Act formula grantees should receive funding for a state Indian education office to assist in the monitoring of and technical assistance to formula grantees; to interact with other programs to assist in ensuring against supplanting state and other federal funds with Indian Education Act funds; to interface with state-administered programs, such as adult education and vocational education, to assure that Indians and Alaska Natives are included in the state plans; and to serve as educational resources to Indian and Alaska Native communities. (NACIE, 1989 p. 88)
> - Before culturally based education can become a reality, federal and state legislators must set a harmonious tone for change by enacting supportive legislation. (AISES, 1990, p. 6)
> - Education is without doubt the key to Indian self-determination and cultural survival. Without knowledgeable tribal members, Indian tribes will continue to be dependent upon others for expertise and advice in the several areas of tribal responsibility. It should be the policy of the federal government to enhance Indian control over educational programs designed to serve Indian people by promoting local tribal control and strongly encouraging state educational leadership to develop programs which improve the educational advantage of Indians and preserve their cultural identity. (Wells, 1991, p. 8)

States should be doing a great deal more to encourage the participation of Native parents. Some of the specific activities states could do include the following:

- Like Minnesota, states could mandate parent advisory committees for every district with a significant number of Native students. "A constant theme we heard was that Indian parents often do not have an opportunity to become involved in the public schools and in the education of their children. We therefore established Paren Advisory Committees, modeled after what was required by the federal government. A year later we learned that school boards were not listening to the parents, so we empowered those advisory committees to develop resolutions of concurrence or nonconcurrence, and that was passed in 1989 as an amendment to the original act." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, DeCramer, 1990, p. 54)
- Offer incentive grants to local school districts to help promote exemplary outreach efforts to Native parents. The actual implementation should be left up to the Indian community as much as possible. If there is to be any state money involved, we can set some basic guidelines and still recognize the sovereignty of the people who are recipients of the funds. I am hesitant to tell the people of Minneapolis and St. Paul how to do it. I would rather listen to their proposals. We go into a stall when there is disagreement or when we don't have a big enough budget. But when we look at the lives of Indian youth, we find that when their parents get involved we see the graduation rate increase as well as the pride and self-esteem that come with empowerment, and it is so much better than what we have been doing. I think it is self-evident. (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, DeCramer, 1990, p. 57)
- Provide technical assistance to requesting communities which need help in either the parent *involvement* or parent *support* area.
- Develop and disseminate effective parent education materials. "The last thing I would like to talk about and very briefly—the Indian Parent Committee Manual—was cooperatively developed by the Minnesota State Department of Education, the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, the North Plains Evaluation and Resource Center, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. The art work on the cover was developed in looseleaf from so that it can be periodically updated. It is an excellent resource for working with parents and parent committees. If they have questions on any of the laws, on Special Education, or Head Start, whatever, there are chapters to address all of these subjects. This is available through our office." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Hakala, 1990, p. 51)
- Monitor exemplary programs or support research efforts which capture successful strategies.
- Legislate statewide home-school advocate programs which include continual educational growth opportunities and career ladder options.
- Support the notion that schools should be the locus of advocacy for all children and families.

Several states are highlighted for their leadership in the growing parent participation movement in the Phi Delta Kappan, January (1991). Using the work of Joyce Epstein the state of Illinois has documented how important it is for state departments to foster meaningful parent participation programs in schools by providing both financial and technical assistance. (Epstein, 1987, p. 4-9)

Staff members with the Illinois program encouraged all schools applying for grants to take into account the five elements of Epstein's model of parent involvement:

- basic obligations of families, including health, safety, and a positive home environment;

- basic obligations of schools, including communication with parents regarding their child's programs and progress;

- parent involvement at school, including volunteer activities and support for sports, student performances, and other activities;

- parent involvement in learning activities at home, including supervising homework and helping children work on skills that will help them learn in the classroom; and

- parent involvement in governance, decision making, and advocacy, including participation in parent/teacher organizations and in various decision-making and advisory roles. (Epstein, 1987, p. 357)

- The Illinois experience with the awarding of sizeable, multi-year, competitive grants may prove helpful to other states. Through the use of grant-funded demonstration projects that design, implement, and evaluate combined approaches to school improvement and parent involvement, we have learned valuable lessons about altering the practices of the participating schools and those of other schools that benefit from the experience at the demonstration sites.

First, we learned that multi-year grants are important. Most state grants are award for a single year, but it often takes longer than a year to see progress in improving urban schools and involving parents. With support that lasts longer, the schools are able to establish and stabilize their programs.

We also learned that it is important to consider multiple outcomes, not just scores on achievement tests. Improving scores on achievement tests takes longer than improving other measures of school success, such as attendance, discipline, report card grades, level of parent involvement, and so on.

The funded programs were highly successful. The grants energized the schools that received them and helped increase parent involvement over the course of the grant periods. Outside evaluators hired by the Illinois State Board of Education to determine whether the schools were meeting their stated goals confirmed that parent involvement affected student achievement and that many more parents had become involved with their children's education as a result of the schools' efforts. The evaluators interviewed people in 20 of the schools that received grants and collected quantitative and qualitative and that showed the 87% of the schools in the program accomplished more than 90% of their stated goals. this evidence that such low-cost strategies yield relatively high returns is very encouraging. (Chapman, 1991, p. 358)

Other state examples which are encouraging are documented in:

- Its Parents as Teachers program. Missouri's state department of education has been a leader in the development of programs to involve all families in the education of their children from birth to education of their children from birth to age 3. The state is poised to continue leading with Success Is Homemade, a new program that will extend family involvement from kindergarten through grad 12. From the outset, Missouri plans to evaluate school processes and the effects of new practices, making this promising program one to watch. (Epstein, 1991, p. 347)
- Other activities on the part of states that include Washington's requirements that competence in parent involvement be one of the "generic standards" for state certification of teachers and administrators. Were this activity to be undertaken in many states, more courses would be instituted at colleges and universities to prepare teachers and administrators to work more productively with parents as partners. (Epstein, 1991, p. 347)
- Zelma Solomon describes the development of California's policy on parent involvement. Her account is testimony to the long hours and hard work needed to move from a simple awareness of the importance of state-level policy to the framing of guidelines, the issuing of mandates, and the passage of state legislation requiring all districts and schools to act to develop their own policies and practices designed to involve families in their children's schooling.

California's policy is important because it recognizes the connections that link school curricula, family involvement, and student success. It is unique, as well, in that the state recognizes the importance of parent involvement at all grade levels and with all families and does not isolate those in categorical programs. Perhaps most important, California's policy is written to replace top-down dictates with "enabling" actions to help districts and schools understand, design, develop, and implement their own policies and programs. (Epstein, 1991, p. 346)

Believing that any school can be more successful if parents are productively involved in their children's education and any student can be more successful if schools link comprehensive parent involvement programs to curricula and to teaching and learning. The California state board adopted a policy on parental involvement which states:

Comprehensive programs of parent involvement require schools to involve parents at all grade levels and in a variety of roles. These programs should be designed to:

- help parents develop parenting skills and foster conditions at home that support learning;
- provide parents with the knowledge of techniques designed to assist children in learning at home;
- provide access to and coordinate community and support services for children and families;
- promote clear two-way communication between the school and the family as to the school programs and children's progress;
- involve parents, after appropriate training, in instructional and support roles at school; and

- support parents as decision makers and develop their leadership in governance, advisory, and advocacy roles.

In Conclusion, states should be exerting influence in the parent participation area. Yet while doing so, states must continue to honor the government to government relationships with tribes. Only in consultation with tribal and Native communities can long range success become a reality.

Strategic Plans for Federal Influence

"Local school and reservation-based efforts should be continued to encourage parental and community involvement in the education of American Indian children. The congressional mandate for parental involvement in Indian education programs must be maintained. Federal, state, and local education agencies must make a cohesive commitment to increasing this involvement to overcome all of the barriers that exist based on past history and current attitudes. Training for Indian parents and parent committee organizations should continue to focus on basic parental roles and responsibilities, coping with cultural bias and racism in schools, and strengthening home-school relations through positive communications and conflict resolution." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Gipp, 1990, p. 13)

Certainly all of the recommendations offered in the previous section for states, could be replicated at the federal level. Specifically those recommendations include:

- Mandating parent advisory committees or policy boards at the local school district level.
- Enforcing the regulations to insure Native parental involvement. "In my thinking, there are enough laws to improve Indian education; the problem is to enforce the laws. When those employees, who are mandated to assist, help, and carry out the laws of the U.S. government, fail to carry out their assigned duties, then the administration needs to do something about it." (INAR Plains Hearing, McCormick, 1990, p. 22)

My concern is that regulations are not being followed. The school law register says that children will participate equally in the school; the involvement of parents is necessary; hearings on Impact Aid will be held; and, the school is responsible to discern the needs of the students. It is clear to me what the register lays down: parent committees decide how the spend the money. What is happening is that all funds are being put into a common fund and used as individual schools dictate. Impact Aid sometimes far exceed other funds. We need to uphold the school law register.

I've heard many comments today about elementary and secondary schools. With help from Indian parents and Indian personnel, I believe that some of these funds could be used for cultural classes, tutors, and counselors without relying on Title V funds. I don't know how long these will be in effect, but I imagine support will continue. We need to challenge school boards to take this information back and abide by school law. (INAR Plains Hearing, Burns, 1990, p. 38)

Strategies for ensuring that LEAS concentrate efforts to successfully meet the original intent of the Indian Education Act to utilize grant funds to develop the appropriate methods and activities to address the special educational and culturally-related academic needs of Indian and Alaska Native children and then integrate LEAs may become more effective at addressing Indian/Alaska Native student needs not as Indian education problems but as local eduction concerns that warrant unique and specialized approaches. (NACIE, 1989, p. 88)

Provisions of the Impact Aid law which require Indian policies and procedures to be in place in each school district and active consultation and involvement by Indian tribes and parents in the planning and development of programs for their children. There should be a resolution by the Congress indicating that the federal payments under the Impact Aid Program to districts counting students who reside on Indian lands are in lieu of and represent the tax payments of the Indian tribe, since the tribe made the payment many years ago with the ceding of lands. The school districts should never be able to think that Indians do not pay property taxes and that, consequently, LEAs do not have to be as responsive to them as they are to other taxpayers. (NACIE, 1989, p. 86)

- Offering incentive grants for exemplary outreach programs to Native communities. Target funds specifically for Native parental *support* projects.
- Providing technical assistance in both the parental *involvement* as well as parental *support* area. Federal legislation has been largely focused on Involvement (decision-making) responsibilities of school districts and Native parents. As research suggests, the parental *support* technical assistance will yield significant results. Much more needs to be done to rebuild effective Native parental *support*.

- Monitoring exemplary programs or supporting research which capture successful strategies and results in parent participation. "There is no one response to the many situations that limit the ability of Indian students to have a successful school experience form level to level or from one community to another. Clearly, few data exist, nor are enough Indians engaged in educational research that would provide some guidance to communities struggling to keep their children in school. Sharp declines in federal funding at all levels is a serious issue to be addressed. More serious is the lack of educational programs that are integrally linked to the Indian community and that work to maintain the linkage between student and community. Those institutions that will make a strong and positive impact are those which reinforce issues about and of importance to Indian tribes and communities." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Eichhorn, 1990, p. 45)

"It seems logical that we, as Indian parents and Indian educators, are the best determiners of what successful or effective practices are and should be. Why not an Indian National Diffusion Network? Why not an Indian Program Effectiveness Panel? There are numerous qualified Indian educators to staff review panels and set-up qualifying review and selection processes. In the long run, that type of process could prove much more beneficial than the one that now exists." (INAR Plains Hearing, Brittan, 1990, p. 65)

Conclusion

Native Parental participation in the educational process, both as decision-makers (involvement) and as encouragers of individual students (support) has long been the critical ingredient missing in Native education. The research is clear; without parents student progress is severely limited.

Models exist which can be adapted widely in Native communities. There are many examples of intermittent success. The examples provide encouragement. They describe the need for transformational leadership from tribes and schools. Schools should be the locus of advocacy for all children and families. As such, schools should provide educational opportunities for both school staff, Native parents, and community members to continually grow and understand each others unique role in the advancement of Native student achievement.

And finally these models describe how commitment and creativity have overcome the dismal, social economic issues and conditions that confront all areas of Native education. "The Indian community must revise their own expectations of public education, looking to what their children deserve rather than accepting what schools have been willing to deliver. We have a right and responsibility for our children's future to expect that education be an enriching rather than demanding experience. We must stop thinking of success as reduced dropout rates and fewer suspensions and start thinking of success as high graduation rates and postsecondary enrollments. As a community, we have allowed schools to perform at their very minimum, and this must change." (INAR Great Lakes Hearing, Salinas, 1990, p. 26)

"The Indian child had a rich and colorful heritage, and I feel we have to instill in our children an insatiable desire to excel in the classroom as well as in life. The time has come for Indian people, as well as educators to exercise our strength--our children--for they are the heart of our people and they are our future." (INAR Plains Hearing, Soap, p. 26)

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About the Author

Robin A. Butterfield (Winnebago/Chippewa) has almost twenty years of educational experience, including being a classroom teacher both in reservation and urban communities, at a variety of grade levels, K-12. Ms. Butterfield has developed a variety of cultural materials for Native and multi-cultural programs. She has provided hundreds of workshops nationwide which focus on effective strategies for Native and multi-cultural education. Ms. Butterfield is currently the Indian Education/Civil Rights Specialist for the Oregon Department of Education.

Floy C. Pepper, (Creek) has been an educator for 51 years -- as a teacher in Bureau of Indian Affairs Schools, public schools, as a counselor, administrator of Special Education, college professor, speaker, workshop presenter, and writer. She co-authored *Maintaining Sanity in the Classroom*, with Dr. Rudolf Dreikurs and Bronia Grunwald. Floy is presently co-chairman of the Multicultural/Multiethnic Education Task Force and the Indian Curriculum Committee for Portland Public Schools, Portland, Oregon.

Teaching Through Traditions: Incorporating Native Languages and Cultures into Curricula

Linda Skinner

There is a book called *The Education of Little Tree* which is a heartfelt description of one young Cherokee child's growing up days...filled with warmth of grandparents and love of this natural world; surrounded by his Native language and the ways of his people; blessed to learn through life's experiences with family at his side. In this book, he remembers:

> Gramma said, When you come on something good, first thing to do is share it with whoever you can find; that way, the good spreads out where no telling it will go, which is right.

This paper will encourage all people to look squarely at the situation of Native children. Historical perspective is offered for information to enable citizens today to see the bigger picture, and formulate solutions which will improve education for *all* children. Theodore Roosevelt said, "This country will not be a good place for *any* of us to live until it is a good place for *all* of us to live."

Overview

Although the United States government provides programs specifically directed to Native educational needs, the overall effects have fallen drastically short of meaningful change. Native students have been subject to a barrage of "educational remedies" over the last 500 or so years. These "remedies" have ranged from assimilation tactics of cultural and linguistic genocide (ethnocide) to the compensatory "band-aid" programs which, all too often, treat the symptom rather than cure the problem, and which relegate our children to a dependent, inferior role in society. Our students *should* enjoy an equal level of educational success and the same opportunities that the children of the immigrants enjoy. In 1991, Native children, descendants of the original inhabitants of this continent, still suffer — and some tragically! The numerous problems include low achievement scores, high drop out rates and high absenteeism. It is a commonly held belief that the "inability" of American Indian and Alaska Native children to fully benefit from and excel in their school experiences, was/is in large part, due to their culture. In essence, this is blaming the victim, which serves to compound the problem. It is time we looked at the whole picture to see the reoccurring patterns — and change our direction to one of equity and respect for all students. Vine Deloria, Jr. observed that it is time for a redefinition of education for Natives:

> If we now ... redefine Indian education as an internal Indian institution, an educational process which moves within the Indian context and does not try to avoid or escape this context, then our education will substantially improve. (Deloria, 1990)

This paper will briefly discuss how past policies have created the dilemma we face today, our cultures are threatened, our children are confused and hurt, and our Native languages are lost and/or endangered. Education will be viewed from the existing English-American context and compared with Native education philosophies. The acquisition of language, exemplary programs and successful practices will be presented. Present-day education barriers and the problems they present for students will be defined and addressed with solutions from the testimony, literature, and many years of collective experience of those who testified at the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force hearings. This paper will also analyze present conditions of Native education, language, and culture to show a wide range of quality and a diversity of approaches. Strategies and solutions will be offered.

One Teacher's Experience: A True Story

Our Elders have kept our cultural tradition of transmitting knowledge, values, and history through oral tradition. We learn from the experience of others. There is always something beyond the story itself which takes hold of each listener's heart and remains in memory. As our elders have modeled their love for this method of learning and teaching, I want to give the following account of a transforming, unforgettable lesson in language and culture which forever changed my life. This riveting experience is one I have verbally shared with hundreds of educators to impress the importance of an understanding of Native languages, Native cultures, and Native children.

It was my first teaching job. I was "fresh out of school," having studied at a major university in Oklahoma, preparing for what I wanted most to do in life: teach Indian children. It had been difficult to find any classes to help me do that, even in the state which was once "Indian Territory" and still has more "CDIB Indians" than any other. The classes had very little content about the culturally different child, let alone about Indian children specifically. But I had done my best. I took Sociology classes, read a lot and traveled extensively (from Greenland to Europe to Mexico). Formal teacher education study in 1966-1971 included one paper on cultural diversity in one history of education textbook. That was not enough.

I was interviewed by a Zia Pueblo Day School community committee and one Bureau of Indian Affairs official for a teaching position at Zia Pueblo Day School. One of their many questions of me was, "How will you communicate with our children? They speak the Keresan language and you speak English. Of the ten kindergarten children, most speak only Keresan." I thought a moment, and answered, "I would like to learn your language, but I would also, in the beginning, communicate with the students in ways *other* than language." Little did I know how difficult it would be, even with the best of intentions. I quickly learned that the barriers of language and culture are big ones. Thankfully, I soon learned that **it is possible for barriers to lead to the building of bridges**. I was also educated in a very kind way, that the people had their own extremely valid reasons for keeping the language to themselves.

The first week of school I tried creative approaches. I depended almost completely on the Keres-speaker aide for communicating concepts. One game we played was for the multiple purpose of getting comfortable with one another, having fun together, and learning both the Keresan and English names of animals. The idea was that a student would imitate the sounds or movements of an animal, and the others would guess. It was great fun. Things were going very well, until the teacher-aide had to leave the room. We still played. The kids had already imitated many of the animals around the pueblo: dogs, horses, sheep, pigs...It was Cindy Lupe's turn. She went "Meeoww." Immediately Alfonso jumped up and said "Moose!" I quickly thought back to my teacher ed days. I had learned about the "the teachable moment," and ***here it was***! I would teach Alfonso what a moose was. I proceeded to do just that. I put my arms way up over my head and spread my fingers wide for the antlers. I bellowed loud noises and said, "**Moooose**." The big eyes and puzzled expressions told me something was awry. During recess (which was announced rather soon after) I spoke with Mary, the teacher-aide, and told her about what had happened, adding that their faces told me something was not right. She looked at me with eyes that told me she had seen similar things happen all too often...and her head sort of dropped in her hands as she (still smiling) said, "Oh, Linda, in our language 'Moose' means cat." Oh, dear! We gathered the children together, and with constant bilingual translations via Mary, we sat and talked about the need to communicate...That we came from different places and spoke different languages. We said we would help each other. I told them about Oklahoma, my family and the Choctaws. They showed me a prickly pear cactus fruit and talked about hot chilies and pottery. I felt better. Serious as the predicament was, we all laughed, and were genuinely amused. We each learned that day. I realized later that our classroom circle conversation was the first of many meetings to follow on the topic of cultural relevance in the classroom.

On the way home that night, I thought (for 37 1/2 miles) about what had happened, and what I should do. I figured this sort of thing happened over and over again for the Zia people, and they deserved better for their children. I was Choctaw and committed to doing my best, and had specifically *chosen* to be there, and yet, had not succeeded that day. What had happened and what *was* happening to the children whose teachers did not even care about their "Indian-ness?" I thought about resigning so that a better teacher could take over, and realized that probably would not happen. I resolved to stay, and do the best job I could...and to *pay attention*. The kids were great. They had already said they would help me...and they did.

Now I was ready! I worked every evening that first week and all weekend to develop meaningful educational experiences. I listened intently to the children. They loved horses, birds, butterflies, and fishing. Rhonda talked about "wild piggies." They knew a lot about many things, like hunting, planting, dances and pottery. They spent lots of time with their families, and had close relationships with grandparents, aunties and uncles. I began developing my own instructional materials, even though the BIA had spent much money on commercially developed programs. But they were a lot like "Dick and Jane," meant for middle class non-Indian kids. They were not very successful or interesting to these curious, active Native minds.

The next Monday morning I finally felt ready, and much more secure. I set up a pretty little fishing pond with beautiful blue cardboard for water so the construction paper fish could "swim" in it. When you "fished" with the pole, the magnet on the end of the string "caught" the fish. There were many colors, because this was a bilingual color-learning game. I was proud. The kids would love it. Early that morning, Alfonso and Morris were the first students in the room. They ran over to see what was new in the corner. They kept pointing and talking to each other in Keres. I encouraged them to "fish" for colors, showing them how. They still seemed hesitant. They were pointing to the cardboard that was the "water" and saying, "not blue, brown." How many times had I crossed the bridge over the Rio Grande and seen the water — but not "seen" the water? It is brown, not blue.

I learned that day, and in the many to follow, that the students would be my best teachers. I vowed to involve the community people from that point on. The education of these students depended on it. So I began to learn, by experience and gentle Pueblo guidance, not only *how* to involve parents and community in meaningful ways, but also how very valuable and essential it would prove to be. I learned a lot that year. My young teachers lit the way for me to learn, and to begin to understand.

There was also a book called *Teacher* which helped me that year. The author, Sylvia Ashton-Warner gave valuable insights from her experiences in recognizing and meeting the need for cultural relevance with her Maori students in New Zealand. I believe every educator and parent should read this book.

Over the last twenty years, I have shared experiences with many friends in education all over North America. This culture-shock, language-gap experience is not unique. It happens over and over again to Native children and their teachers. We all know now, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that the federal government's assimilation and indoctrination policy of these many years has not worked. Now it is time to join our collective learning experiences and take this great opportunity to create effective change that will reflect justice and respect for our children which will in turn create a stronger and more just future for all children.

Background Information: Let History Speak

Cultural and linguistic genocide (ethnocide) has been directed toward the Native people of this land for many years. As oppressive as many government policies have been throughout time, none has been more devastating to a people than what has happened in the name of education. In their book, *A History of Indian Education*, Jon Reyhner and Jeanne Eder have researched and reported in a clear, concise way what has happened throughout the history of Indian education. Looking at this historical perspective can serve to help us understand, not only what has been done, but what we must now do. The school, in the United States of America, has utilized every effort to completely transform Native students into the European "American" culture and assimilate, acculturate and indoctrinate them to speak the same, dress the same, wear their hair the same, even to think and believe the same.

The following notations from America's past show clearly the path which has brought us to this decisive moment in history. We face immediate danger of losing our *selves* — our very identities, via the loss of our languages and the loss of our cultures. An historic example from Carlisle Indian School demonstrates how the policy of assimilation sought to completely integrate American Indians into "American culture." During the period of 1867-1904, Captain Richard Henry Pratt advocated complete "submersion" in European American culture, separating students from their heritage, including Native language. English was mandatory. Violators were punished. Young men with long hair had to have it cut. Traditional Native clothing was unacceptable. Any evidence of attachment to Native culture was viewed as an act of defiance. Captain Pratt said in his memoirs, "I believe in immersing the Indians in our civilization and when we get them under, holding them there until they are thoroughly soaked." (Pratt, 1964, p. 241) This violent image conveys the feelings of many during the late 1800s.

In 1879, the Board of Indian Commissioners reported:

> The progress of the pupils in industrial boarding schools is far greater than in day schools. The children being removed from the idle and corrupting habits of savage homes are more easily led to adopt the customs of civilized life and inspired with a desire to learn. (*Report*, 1880, p. 14)

This taking of children was indeed the cruelest blow to our people. Our children are valued above all else. Children are viewed as sacred, as blessings from the Creator to be honored, loved, and protected. Family (and extended family) relationships are treasured and necessary for the good of all. Jesuit Father le Jeune wrote in 1634,

> these Barbarians cannot bear to have their children punished, nor even scolded, not being able to refuse anything to a crying

> child. They carry this to such an extent that upon the slightest pretext they would take them away from us, before they were educated. (Layman, 1942, p. 21)

On December 14, 1886, the policy forbidding the use of any Indian language was announced (House Executive Document, p. 12-21). The document states "...No books in any Indian language must be used or instruction given in that language...the rule will be strictly enforced." A Supplemental Report on Indian Education of December 1, 1889 states "Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes. Only English should be allowed to be spoken and only English speaking teachers should be employed in schools." (House Executive Document, p. 93-97)

In the 1840s, the Choctaw and Cherokee had elaborate, successful schools which were educating students in both their Native language and English. Their systems of education were extremely successful, even more successful than their surrounding communities. The English literacy level of Oklahoma Cherokees was higher than the non-Native populations in either Texas or Arkansas. The Cherokee population was 90 percent literate in the Cherokee language. There were more than 200 schools and academies. Numerous graduates were sent to eastern colleges. **All this was accomplished with complete tribal autonomy.**

Then the United States government took over the schools and Native education began a rapid decline. Today, many Cherokee and Choctaw are alienated from the European American school system. The tragic results of years of federal control has taken its toll on the Cherokee people, as documented in 1969 by the U. S. Senate Hearing on Indian Education:

- The median number of school years completed by the adult Cherokee population is only 5.5;
- Forty percent of adult Cherokees are functionally illiterate;
- Cherokee dropout rates in public schools are as high as 75 percent;
- The level of Cherokee education is well below the average for the state of Oklahoma and below the average for rural and non-whites in the state. (Hearing, 1969)

Throughout centuries of conflict with the United States government, we still held on to our values and beliefs — against all odds. We endured. Treaties were made. Treaties were broken. Assimilation policies were created and enforced. Our Native children and families paid the price. The tactics were unspeakable, and would be found criminal in a court of law today, especially when compared to what we now know (and Natives have always known) about human development, family relationships, and the importance of positive self-image to a fulfilled life. Those boarding school students are parents and grandparents today. Some still suffer the effects of degradation and miseducation, which is carried through to their children and grandchildren. Some have called this negation of self "the boarding school mentality." Many believe this era of separation and degradation is in large part responsible for the high rates of alcoholism, suicide, lack of motivation, alienation, insecurity, ambiguity, and unhappiness today.

The House Committee on Appropriations reported in 1818:

> In the present state of our country one of two things seems to be necessary. Either that those sons of the forest should be moralized or exterminated... Put into the hands of their children the primer and the hoe, and they will naturally, in time, take hold of the plow...(Roessel, 1962, p. 4)

During these boarding school experiences, it is reported our children were demeaned, treated as though they were inferior, and as though their cultures, languages and belief systems were less than adequate, even "heathen," "pagan," and "barbaric." What is evident to this writer is how little time was spent by the officials, the "do-gooders," and many others, in actually listening with open ears or learning with open hearts about these children who came from a strong spiritual center of ancient tradition based on cooperation, love, giving, wisdom, interdependence and respect for each individual and all that exists.

In 1870, the Annual Report of the Commissioners of Indian Affairs stated "education of their children" was seen as the quickest way to civilize Indians and that education could only be given "to children removed from the examples of their parents and the influence of the camps and kept in boarding schools." And, in essence, kidnapping (in many cases) of children became the policy of this **war called "education."** In 1887, Commissioner J.D.C. Atkins' Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs concluded:

> It is apparent that we have advanced far enough in the education of Indian children to be able to say that what for a time was an experiment no longer admits of uncertainty. The Indian can be educated equally with the white or the colored man, and his education is gradually being accomplished, and at a less cost per capita from year to year as the

> work proceeds... One thing is clear, the Government has made a wonderfully economic move in undertaking to educate these people in any kind of schools instead of fighting them. The cost of the schools is immeasurably less than that of the wars which they supplant...(Atkins, 1887, pp. xvi-xvii)

The years of agony suffered collectively by these children, their families, and communities must culminate in a sensitive "righting of the wrongs," and assist Natives and non-Natives alike to appreciate the dynamics of this democratic society where humanity is valued, and mistakes are looked at candidly and corrected, rather than continued in our American and state history textbooks, as they are today.

In his introduction to *The American Heritage Book of Indians*, President Kennedy wrote:

> Before we can set out on the road to success, we have to know where we are going, and before we can know that, we must determine where we have been in the past. It seems a basic requirement to study the history of our Indian people. America has much to learn about the heritage of our American Indians. Only through this study can we, as a nation, do what must be done if our treatment of the American Indians is not to be marked down for all times as a national disgrace. (Kennedy, 1961, p. 7)

There are many writings which show the ethnocentric attitude prevalent in the Nineteenth Century. President Grant in his second inaugural address on March 4, 1873, declared,

> Our superiority of strength and advantages of civilization should make us lenient toward the Indian. The wrong inflicted upon him should be taken into account, and the balance placed to his credit. The moral view of the question should be considered and the question asked, Can not the Indian be made a useful and productive member of society by proper teaching and treatment? If the effort is made in good faith, we will stand better before the civilized nations of the earth and in our own consciences for having made it. (Richardson, 1910, p. 4176)

In these confusing and dismal times for the American Native, our tribal leaders showed great skills in negotiation and far-sighted vision for the future of the children, **even seven generations to come.** The Omaha leader, Standing Bear (*Standing Bear v. Crook, 1879)* had to renounce his tribal affiliation to win a writ of habeas corpus to keep from forcefully being removed to Indian Territory.

As attempts were being made to distance children from their cultural traditions and homes, the "English-only" movement was begun to ensure this end. The "Peace Commission" of 1868 was composed of Generals Sherman, Harney, Sanborn and Terry with Commissioner of Indian Affairs Taylor.

The Indian Peace Commissions were actually created to destroy Native languages as a premise for peace, rather than looking at issues of injustice. Language was equated with loyalty. Henderson, Tappan and Augar reported that between Indian and non-Indian it was,

> The difference in language, which in a great measure barred intercourse and a proper understanding each of the other's motives and intentions.
>
> Now, by educating the children of these tribes in the English language these differences would have disappeared, and civilization would have followed at once...
>
> Through sameness of language is produced sameness of sentiment, and thought; customs and habits are molded and assimilated in the same way, and thus in process of time the differences producing trouble would have been gradually obliterated... In the difference of language to-day lies two-thirds of our trouble... Schools should be established, which children should be required to attend; their barbarous dialect should be blotted out and the English language substituted. (Atkins, 1887, p. xx)

The alternatives for Indians, once again, as seen by Secretary of Interior Schurz, were extermination or civilization. He issued "English-only" regulations in 1880 and again in 1884, threatening loss of government money if any Indian language was taught.

> English language only must be taught the Indian youth placed there for educational and industrial training at the expense of the Government. If Dakota or any other language is taught such children, they will be taken away and their support by the Government will be withdrawn from the school. (Atkins, 1887, p. xxi)

Again the prevailing ethnocentric attitude was expressed in Commissioner of Indian Affairs J. D. C. Atkins' 1887 report:

> Every nation is jealous of its own language, and no nation ought to be more so than ours, which approaches nearer than any other nationality to the perfect protection of its people. True Americans all feel that the Constitution, laws, and institutions of the United States, in their adaptation to the wants and requirements of man, are superior to those

> of any other country; and they should understand that by the spread of the English language will these laws and institutions be more firmly established and widely disseminated. Nothing so surely and perfectly stamps upon an individual a national characteristic as language... Only English has been allowed to be taught in the public schools in the territory acquired by this country from Spain, Mexico, and Russia, although the native populations spoke another tongue. All are familiar with the recent prohibitory order of the German Empire forbidding the teaching of the French language in either public or private schools in Alsace or Lorraine... If the Indians were in Germany or France or any other civilized country, they should be instructed in the language there used. As they are in an English-speaking country, they must be taught the language which they must use in transacting business with the people of this country. No unity or community of feeling can be established among different peoples unless they are brought to speak the same language, and thus become imbued with like ideas of duty....
>
> The instruction of the Indians in the vernacular is not only of no use to them, but is detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization, and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught....
>
> It is believed that if any Indian vernacular is allowed to be taught by the missionaries in schools on the Indian reservations, it will prejudice the youthful pupil as well as his untutored and uncivilized or semi-civilized parent against the English language, and, to some extent at least, against Government schools in which the English language exclusively has always been taught. (Atkins, 1887, pp. xxi-xxiii)

Luther Standing Bear, a Carlisle Indian School graduate and an educator, wrote:

> At that time, teaching amounted to very little. It really did not require a well-educated person to teach on the reservation. The main thing was to teach the children to write their names in English, then came learning the alphabet and how to count. I liked this work very well, and the children were doing splendidly. The first reading books we used had a great many little pictures in them. I would have the children read a line of English, and if they did not understand all they had read, I would explain it to them in Sioux. This made the studies very interesting. (Standing Bear, 1928, pp. 192-193)

Luther Standing Bear lamented **that the teachers who were sent to reservations knew nothing about the children they were to teach, they knew only books. The vivid contrast again in cultural values resulted in despair and confusion for those Native students.**

There were exceptions to this, particularly by the missionaries, who were also in favor of ending tribal traditions, **but as educators, felt that the students would ultimately learn English better if they were allowed to learn in their Native language the first three or four years.** A correspondent who visited the Santee Sioux in Nebraska observed better educational facilities than most of the other northern tribes. It is interesting to note that in 1870 the Santee Sioux Normal School started training Native teachers, and made extensive use of the Dakota language. (Reyhner and Eder, 1989, p. 50)

At the mission school, Dakota was taught, and all the elementary books and the Bible were in Dakota. After they were taught to read in Dakota, they were given a book with illustrations explained in Dakota and English. The correspondent here reported,

> Mr. Riggs [Reverend Alfred L. Riggs] is of the opinion that first teaching the children to read and to write in their own language enables them to master English with more ease when they take up that study; and he thinks, also, that a child beginning a four years' course with the study of Dakota would be further advanced in English at the end of the term than one who had not been instructed in Dakota. (*Report*, 1880, p. 77)

Dr. Alden testified to the Board of Indian Commissioners:

> Our missionaries feel very decidedly on this point, and that is as to their work in the teaching of English. They believe that it can be better done by using Dakota also, and that it will be done by them in their regular educational methods. While it is not true that we teach only English, it is true that by beginning in the Indian tongue and then putting the students into English studies our missionaries say that after three or four years their English is better than it would have been if they had begun entirely with English. So our missionaries say that if this experiment is to be carried out at Hampton and Carlisle, let us have the same opportunity to show at our school at Santee what can be done there. And we think, after so large an experience, that the same work can be accomplished at the Santee Agency, and reaching far more in number than can be done by simply transporting them to a distance [to an off-reservation boarding school]. But with the two together we believe that a

> splendid work will be done both in the way of English education and civilization of the Indian. (*Report*, 1880, p. 98)

The Santee Normal School, although one of the best, received criticism for teaching Natives to read and write in their own language. Many missionaries continued efforts to preserve the Native languages by researching and publishing dictionaries. Some of these dictionaries still serve the people today.

But, despite the expressed, educated opinions that Native languages were worth preserving, the Indian Bureau stepped up efforts to end, not only the Native languages, but all Native customs and religion. In 1881, the Sun Dance was banned, and led the way in 1885 for the general policy which forbade traditional Native religious ceremonies and all customs relating to those ceremonies. In 1886, Native men were ordered to cut their hair short. The cultural genocide was continued through allotment of American Indian lands. **It is important to note that current research indicates similar conclusions as those of the early missionaries: that language-minority students who receive at least three to four years of formal schooling in Native language, generally achieve more in all subject areas, including the second language. Certainly, self-image is more intact.**

Education Barriers: Where is Equity?

In 1991, we have many barriers which stand in the way of equity for Indian students. The failure of national policy and the prevalence of stereotypical attitudes about American Indians were addressed in Part I: A National Tragedy: Subcommittee Findings. Felix Cohen was quoted:

> It is a pity that so many Americans today think of the Indian as a romantic or comic figure in American history without contemporary significance. In fact, the Indian plays much the same role in our American society that the Jews played in Germany. Like the miner's canary, the Indian marks the shift from fresh air to poison gas in our political atmosphere; and our treatment of Indians, even more than our treatment of other minorities, reflects the rise and fall in our democratic faith. (Cohen, 1953 as cited in 1969 Report on Indian Education, p. 9.)

Among the barriers are certainly issues of number, coupled with scarcity of financial resources. The diversity of American Indian and Alaska Natives is a challenge to anyone who really wants his/her teaching to empower students in retaining Native language and Native culture. The diversity includes skin color, height, hair texture, and facial features. The ways of survival were also quite diverse, ranging from fishing, hunting and gathering to agricultural lifestyles. Native people spoke approximately 2,200 different languages, which anthropologists have attempted to categorize into six major language families. Political institutions also varied greatly, as they still do today. There were/are contrasts of confederacies to small family units and contrasts of warring ways and peaceful ways. Students learn much about diversity when they study the various homes, clothing, tools, environment, foods, hunting methods, oral traditions, political organizations and world view. A class project of charting diversity could cover all school walls, and greatly increase the knowledge base of not only students, but teachers.

Ironically, when studying diversity, a realization of some uniting similarities will emerge. Spirituality was/is at the core of the belief systems, and permeated/permeates not only ceremony and ritual, but everyday life. We hold deep respect for the earth and acknowledge that all life is sacred, and does not belong to us, rather we are stewards. Native beliefs uphold an unparalleled respect for the rights and dignity of each individual. Both individual and tribal autonomy were/are maintained. Consensus had/has to be reached before decisions could be made. Great respect was/is given to Elders. Children were/are revered. Generosity and sharing what one has is another Native value. All these beliefs are integrated into a holistic style of living, and express the connectedness of life. There are subtle communication nuances that also spread across Native cultures. Many of these similarities are noticeably opposite mainstream America's ways. The values in themselves are seen by some as barriers to communication and to "progress."

The supplementary nature of Indian education and bilingual programs creates difficulty in integrating language and culture into the regular school curriculum. Reyhner notes that educators are searching for ways to improve the poor student achievement that has been documented in all the major studies of Indian education (for example, Fuchs & Havihurst, 1972/1983; Meriam 1928). Gilliland (1986) lists eight sociocultural factors that are potentially responsible for this poor academic achievement:

- Differences between Native culture and school culture
- Ignorance of Native culture among school staff

- Differences between students' and teachers' values
- Difference in Native students' learning styles
- Poor motivation of Indian students
- Language differences of students and teachers
- Students' home and community problems, and
- Inappropriate use of tests with Indian students.

Other barriers which directly affect the education of our children are the lack of Native teachers and administrators in the schools. Also missing, when Native values are considered, are eminent persons. The Elders are the ones who hold the most knowledge, the key to keeping our treasures, our cultures and languages intact. Alternative certification must be provided to guarantee survival of our people. The schools have ways to certify Spanish, French and German teachers (FOREIGN LANGUAGES!) but what of **our national treasures, our Native Languages?**

John Tippeconnic, III states that "the total population of American Indians is less than one percent of the total population of the United States. There are more Blacks, more Hispanics, and more Asians. American Indians are truly a minority among minorities. This fact has political, economic, and social consequences when money is allocated or programs developed; or when data is collected for minority groups. Often American Indians are forgotten because of their small numbers or grouped under "other" when data is collected and analyzed. At times it appears that American Indians are just low in priority when compared to other ethnic or special interest groups." (Tippeconnic,)

The American Indian and Alaska Native are often thought of as vanishing races, museum relics. In The Smithsonian Institution, The National Museum of Natural History, a teacher recently was overheard answering a question from one of her schoolchildren: "Where are the Indians now?" to which the teacher replied, "Oh, I don't think there are Indians anymore."

To this incident, hundreds more could be added. There is a touching poem by Simon Oritz called "The Significance of a Veteran's Day" in which he says: "I happen to be a veteran/ but you can't tell in how many ways/ unless I tell you."..which he then proceeds to do in a typically Indian manner:

> Caught now, in the midst of wars/ against foreign disease, missionaries,/ canned food, Dick and Jane textbooks,/ IBM cards,/ Western philosophies, General/ Electric, I am talking about how we have been/ able/ to survive insignificance.

American Indian and Alaska Native leaders and Elders are struggling to retain their cultures and languages, their values and belief structures in the face of being an invisible minority in their Native land.

In 17 states there are English-only laws. I don't understand that philosophy/movement, but I see it all around me. I recently attended a most inspiring and hope-filled national meeting called "Keepers of the Treasures" in Hominy, Oklahoma, with the United States Department of the Interior, National Park Service and the Osage Nation hosting a tribal cultural heritage/historic preservation conference. Upon returning to my home in central Oklahoma, only about 100 miles away, I bought our local paper and was shocked and dismayed to read the following editorial by Ed Livermore, Jr., entitled "English Assailed by Hypocrites":

> America could someday become a poly-lingual babel if we fail to insist the English language remain the only one used in public and private business affairs.
>
> American humor describes the problem. Perhaps you heard the joke about California voters recently approving Proposition 7-11 which made English the official language of convenience stores! Such humor only underscores what is a very serious problem.
>
> There is virtually no support in the nation for discourse to be conducted in foreign languages for the convenience of those who don't wish to learn English. But certain ethnic leaders are raising such demands. They are doing so in an organized and single-minded way, and they are winning skirmish after skirmish against the disorganized opposition of the general public and elected officials.
>
> Newcomer classes are packed nationwide with immigrants who recognize that the best way to share the benefits of America is to speak English well. But some ethnic groups, particularly Hispanic, reject the melting pot concept, resist assimilation as some sort of betrayal of their culture and demand government pay for the cost of maintaining bilingual institutions.
>
> Here are the fruits of their fight so far: bilingual ballots and voting aids in many jurisdictions and publicly funded voter registration campaigns aimed solely at those who vote in a foreign language. In education, those who favor developing foreign language pressure groups are winning against those

> who wish to build a bridge to help immigrant children learn English.
>
> It appears to us that bilingualism could better be named "anti-assimilationism." This is particularly troubling because right now our nation is receiving the largest wave of immigration in history, and the tide will not decrease. This gigantic influx strains the ability of America to assimilate newcomers and provides a fertile opportunity for hypocrites who seize upon the language issue to turn minorities into pressure groups.
>
> There is one organization attempting to do something about this problem: U.S. English, a nonprofit tax-exempt organization in Washington, D. C. The chairman of U.S. English is S. I. Hayakawa, a former United States Senator of Japanese extraction.
>
> What must be done is to adopt a constitutional amendment to establish English as the nation's official language. Laws mandating multilingual ballots must be repealed, and funds for bilingual education programs should be targeted at short-term transition programs only.
>
> This doesn't mean English should become the refuge for redneck chauvinism. U. S. English includes the following among its guiding principles: "The study of foreign languages should be encouraged" and "the rights of individuals and groups to use other languages must be respected. But in a pluralistic nation such as ours, government should foster the similarities that unite us, rather than the differences that separate us." (Livermore, Dec. 7, 1990, pp. 1-2)

This article is reminiscent of federal policy for the last few hundred years. **Will we progress with positive action and respect for humanity or will we backslide into more of the same ethnocentric lack of concern and awareness for issues of justice and basic human respect? Will we realize that the Native languages of North America are our treasures to keep? We must decide today. Our Elders are dying.**

The American Indian Policy Review Commission (1977) concludes that: One of the greatest obstacles faced by the Indian today in his drive for self-determination and a place in this nation is the American public's ignorance of the historical relationship of the United States with Indian tribes and the lack of general awareness in the status of the American Indian in our society today.

American Indians and Alaska Natives are unique by having a legal government-to-government relationship between their sovereign Native nations and the United States government. There is no other minority or ethnic group with this status. It is based on treaties (approximately 400 treaties between the years 1778-1871, of which 120 have specific provisions for education). Education was one of the services exchanged for land. **Education is an entitlement for American Indians and Alaska Natives, not a handout. Understanding this unique relationship is necessary in order to fathom the complex nature of Native education today. Education has been thought of as a privilege, but actually is a right, based on trust responsibility.** There are several laws already on the books which mandate multilingual and multicultural Native education but are not being implemented:

- *Public Law 100-297, Section 5106* (formerly 25 CFR 32.4) which stipulates that "The Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs shall, through the Director of the Office of Indian Education Programs, provide for a comprehensive multicultural, and multilingual education program including the production and use of instructional materials, culturally appropriate methodologies, and teaching and learning strategies that will reinforce, preserve, and maintain Indian and Alaskan Native languages, cultures, and histories..." This has been in the CFR since 1979 but the BIA has refused to implement it. Now that it has become a statute, the BIA is required to do so, but for 1990, 1991, and 1992, they have not asked for any money to implement it. (Locke, INAR Task Force Testimony, San Diego, CA, 1990)
- *Public Law 100-297, Section 5106* also requires the Assistant Secretary to assist tribes with development of departments of education, educational codes, and plans. Again this has been part of the CFR since 1979 but has not been implemented. It has been a statute since 1988. Despite having no money, six tribes — Northern Ute, Southern Ute, Tohono O'Odham, Pasqua-Yaqui, Red Lake Band of Chippewa, and Mille Lac's band of Chippewa — have enacted language and culture codes which their tribal governments require within the exterior boundaries of their reservations. These codes are very comprehensive and they have the full force and effect of law. (Locke, INAR Task Force Testimony, San Diego, CA, 1990)

The National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) has recognized these critical issues of cultural diversity and has adopted new standards which require that teacher education institutions give evidence of planning for multicultural education in the curricula. In 1978, the American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education (AACTE) in collaboration with The Teacher Corps, United States Department of Education, published a most definitive work, *The Schooling of Native America*. It is an excellent example of quality ideas and blueprints for action; although, I believe it is not yet utilized in ways that will impact our educational system.

Vine Deloria, Jr. wrote an article recently called "Knowing and Understanding: Traditional Education in the Modern World." He explains that education in an English-American context resembles indoctrination more than it does other forms of teaching because it insists on implanting a particular body of knowledge and a specific view of the world which does not correspond to the life experiences that people have or might be expected to encounter... Because the product is so refined and concise, education has become something different and apart from the lives of people and is seen as a set of technical beliefs which, upon mastering, admit the pupil to the social and economic structures of the larger society. In this article Mr. Deloria also identified two other critical problems in education today:

- "Education trains professionals, but it does not produce people." The goal of modern education today is to train workers to function within institutional settings as part of a greater social economic entity. (Deloria, 1990)
- "The European American separation of knowledge into professional expertise and personal growth is an insurmountable barrier for many Native students. The problem arises because in traditional Native society there is no separation. There is in fact a reversal of the sequence in which non-Native education occurs: in traditional society, the goal is to ensure personal growth and then develop expertise." In our English-American system of education today, elements of kinship and service to one's people are rarely considered. (Deloria, 1990)

Ethnocentrism is at the root of many problems in Native education. It creates the following cultural and linguistic dilemmas (and more):

- Curriculum content and design which are not culturally- relevant, authentic, tribal-specific, nor free of cultural bias and stereotypes.
- Conflict of values, attitudes and behavior which result in confusion.
- Negation of self for Native student; robs him/her of pride of cultural identity; impedes success and makes student feel inferior and insecure.
- Too few Native teachers and administrators.
- Lack of preparation of teachers and administrators to respond effectively to the cultural and language minority student.
- Lack of effective action or change on a national level in the way teachers are educated to respond effectively to the culturally different child.
- Lack of effective staff development and in-service training for working teachers.
- Extremely poor textbooks and history classes (American history, state history and absence of local history). Textbooks relate inaccuracies and perpetuate the myth of "the Indian." Most are written by non-Native authors. Most are filled with propaganda from the mainstream society's perspective, untruths, half-truths, obvious omissions, and terminology laden with cultural bias.
- Virtually no mandated (local, state or federal) classes in the United States in which all students learn about accurate history of Natives in America (pre-history, history, transition, contemporary, and implications for the future). There are piecemeal, token efforts which allow students to think they've learned the history, when in reality they have just learned "the state's version" of a dark side of American history.
- Lack of accountability to students, parents and Native governments and communities.
- Many classroom-based language development activities disembody language and culture, depriving students of the opportunity to use language and culture in real communication. Often verbal labels are confused with the infinite creativity of a language.
- Classroom experiences which are not compatible with children's learning styles and community insights and values. Differences between local Native culture and school culture.

- Lack multicultural approach across disciplines on all grade levels.
- Insufficient and ineffective educational outreach to parents and families, especially to families who are alienated.
- Inflexibility of public school systems to provide creative scheduling and instruction to Native students.
- Failure of school systems to look honestly at their long history of prejudice, discrimination, and institutionalized racism. Failure of these systems to place "anti-racism" educational efforts and actions at the top of the educational agenda with students.
- Failure of schools to provide creative opportunities for American Indian and Alaska Native students to access positions of leadership within student bodies and communities.
- Failure of Native governments and communities to accept responsibility that they can determine the future of their people in all areas, including education. Failure to break out of the perception of themselves as victims.
- Focus on past, if anything, rather than dynamic contemporary cultures.
- High anxiety situations that occur when environment is threatening, unaccepting or devalues a child's culture or language or family.
- National and state policies fail to adequately address and mandate meaningful change.

Current Conditions of Language and Culture: Act Now!

The nature of language and culture today is as varied as the diversity of the Indian nations themselves.

In spite of federal policy intended to destroy Indian languages, it is estimated that 206 indigenous languages are spoken in the United States today (Education Week, Aug. 2, 1989). Leap (1981) documents (Table 1) that the remaining languages survive with different levels of fluency by showing the relationship between the number of speakers and age range. Of these surviving native languages, it is estimated that approximately 50 are on the death list. **If we value diversity...if we value language and its connection to culture, we must act now. There is no more time to consider the question.**

According to Bea Medicine, the prohibition of Native language use has had great repercussions on the communicative skills of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Language is the core of the expressive elements of culture, music, song, dance, art and religion. She also points out the fact languages have persisted, attests to the great vigor of Native cultures and their members. It also indicates the value placed on Native languages by parents and grandparents who still teach their children a Native language. To them, language is critical in maintaining cultural continuity and Native identity. (B. Medicine, 1981, p. 3)

Some current examples of language preservation from The Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, D.C. include:

1. An example of **flourishing language** is Navajo, with well over 100,000 speakers, more than any other American Indian language north of Mexico. It is also the largest tribe and has the largest reservation. Most Navajo children on the reservation learn only Navajo until they begin school. Louisiana Coushatta is also a flourishing language, with a population of only 1,000 people. The most important indicators of a flourishing language can be summarized as follows:
   a. It has speakers of all ages, some of them monolingual.
   b. Population increases also lead to the number of speakers.
   c. It is used in all communicative situations.
   d. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.
   e. Speakers become increasingly more literate.
2. An example of an **enduring language** is Hualapai. The Hualapai and related Havasupai have fewer than 2,000 people, of which 95 percent, including most children, speak Hualapai. The language is not expanding. An enduring language is characterized in this way:
   a. It has speakers of all ages; most or all are bilingual.
   b. The population of speakers tends to remain constant over time.
   c. English tends to be used exclusively in some situations.
   d. The language adapts to the changing culture of the community.

   e. There is little or no Native language literacy in the community.

3. A **declining language** is Shoshoni. The Shoshini nation has approximately 7,000 members, but their language is now spoken by no more than 75 percent of the Shoshoni people, with an ominous concentration of abilities in older people. The characteristics of a declining language are:
   a. There are proportionately more older speakers than younger.
   b. Younger speakers are not altogether fluent in the language.
   c. The number of speakers decreases over time, even though the population may be increasing.
   d. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in many situations.
   e. The language begins to conform to and resemble English.
   f. The population is essentially illiterate in the language.
4. Pit River exemplifies an **obsolescent language**. More than half the Native languages are obsolescent. Perhaps fifty tribes have fewer than ten speakers, all of them elderly. The language can be heard only when the Elders get together. The characteristics of an obsolescent language are:
   a. An age gradient of speakers that terminates in the adult population.
   b. The language is not taught to children in the home.
   c. The number of speakers declines very rapidly.
   d. The entire population is bilingual and English is preferred in essentially all situations.
   e. The language is inflexible. It no longer adapts to new situations.
   f. There is no literacy.
5. An example of an **extinct language** is Chumash. Approximately 25 years ago, the last speaker died, although the language had not been used for many years before that.

According to the 1980 U.S. Census there are 20,000 speakers of Eskimo-Aleut languages; 3,662 speakers of Athabaskan-Eyak-Tlingit languages; 150 speakers of Tsimshian; and 100 speakers of Haida. In total, in 1980 there were 23,912 speakers of Alaska Native languages out of a population count of 53,430 persons. Roughly 45 percent of Alaska Natives spoke an Alaska Native language in 1980. Presently, that number has decreased and continues to do so. (MacLean, 1990, p. 5)

The following testimony from Native educator, Ahgeak MacLean of the Alaska Department of Education, summarizes current conditions of Native languages and cultures/problems and solutions including creative policy and legislation:

> For most children who speak an Alaska Native language with more competence than they speak English, the language of instruction and language development activities is in that Alaska Native language. The language that they speak is accepted in the school and is used to teach them until the second grade. (Henze, et al, 1990). Most of these children are Alaska Yupiks or Siberian Yupiks.

In regions where the children still speak their Native language, the primary language of instruction from kindergarten through the second grade is usually in that language. After the second grade, instruction in the Native language is reduced due to various factors, including the shortage of bilingual teachers, lack of curricular materials, and most importantly the lack of commitment by the community and the school to promote the growth and enrichment of the Alaska Native language. (MacLean, 1990, p. 7)

Since the support for bilingualism has been low, and the status of Native languages as ones worth studying has also been low, teaching of Native languages has not been actively promoted by school boards and administrators. This lack of commitment and enthusiasm for Alaska Native languages as the language of instruction or of study in schools, I believe, is the direct result of the negative attitudes and social stigma that have evolved around bilingualism and biculturalism, and against the worth of Native languages and cultures in Alaska. For many years, being bilingual was seen as a negative attribute for optimal learning to occur. **Current research strongly suggests that being proficient in more than one language enhances positive cognitive development**; although many administrators, teachers, and parents still believe that instruction in Alaska Native languages will retard English language use and proficiency of children. (MacLean, 1990, p. 7)

The decreasing numbers of Alaska Native students in bilingual-bicultural programs may indicate that many Alaska Native students are not receiving any instruction which promotes further development of their Native language for cognitive or affective purposes. This trend is disturbing in light of educational research that strongly suggests that students' school success appears to reflect both the more solid cognitive and academic foundation developed through intensive primary language instruction and the reinforcement of their cultural identity. (Cummins, 1986)

In September of 1987, in hope of rectifying this situation, the Alaska Department of Education, through the Office of the Commissioner and in collaboration with some members of the Alaska Native community, the University of Alaska, and school districts initiated a process to establish an **Alaska Native Language Policy for schools in Alaska. The policy acknowledges that Alaska's indigenous languages are unique and essential elements of Alaska's heritage, and thus distinct from immigrant languages.**It recognizes that although some children learn their Native language in the home and community, many Alaska Native children no longer have the opportunity to learn their heritage languages in this way.

The policy encourages schools to teach, and use as the medium of instruction, the Alaska Native language of the local community to the extent desired by the parents of that community. This is a renewed attempt by educators to establish a process whereby Alaskan Natives can make decisions concerning their Native languages for the educational system. It is hoped that parents of Alaska Native children will begin to use their Native language much more freely with their children when they learn that current research indicates the use of the minority language in the home is not a handicap to childrens' academic progress (Chesarek, 1981; Bhatnager, 1980; Carey and Cummins, 1979; Cummins and Mulcahy, 1978; Ramirez and Politzer, 1976; Yee and La Forge, 1974); that it is okay to use their Native languages at home with their families.

The Beginning of a New Day

In June 1988, Indian people from all over the country met in Tempe, AZ for the purpose of attending the Annual Native American Language Issues Institute. The tone of the Institute was unique that year. Everything that could go wrong did. As NALI went into its third and final morning the round table discussion began with separate issues. However, as each table and its debaters began to bring forth concerns, one topic was repeated over and over: NALI must adopt a resolution that speaks up for our beliefs about Native language and that message must be strong. Participants, after all, were sitting in a state which was preparing to vote on an English-Only bill. Native people were *more* than concerned.

A resolution was adopted and the path that it traveled over the course of the next three years would become a matter of public record. This document would rewrite and formally reverse a 104-year old federal policy which had been developed to destroy Indian languages and hence our cultures.

Those OLD federal policies were clear. On December 14, 1886, the policy forbidding the use of any Indian language was announced. (House Executive Document No. 1. 50th Congress, 1st session, Serial 2542, pp. 12-21). The document states **"...No books in any Indian language must be used or instruction given in that language...the rule will be strictly enforced.**170 A supplemental Report on Indian Education of December 1, 1889 (House Executive Document No. 1. 51st Congress, 1st Session, Serial 2725, pp. 9397, states, **"Education should seek the disintegration of the tribes. Only English should be allowed to be spoken and only English speaking teachers should be employed in schools.**170

These policies did work. At the very time they were becoming law, we had some 604 Indian languages that were, for the most part, healthy and alive. (McGee, The Smithsonian Institute, 1896.) Today as a direct result of that disintegration, we have about 200 Indian languages left. Of that 200 it is estimated that 1/4 are on the death list.

As the Native American Language Act labored its way through the bureaucratic process, Native people kept the vigil. On October 23, 1989, Senator Inouye introduced the following bill.

S13851 & S13852
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD-SENATE
October 23, 1990

S. 1781. A bill to establish as the policy of the United States the preservation, protection, and promotion of the rights of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages, to take steps to foster such use, practice and development, for other purposes; to the Select Committee on Indian Affairs.

NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ACT

Mr. INOUYE. Mr. President, I am pleased to introduce legislation to establish that it is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights of Native

Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages.

Mr. President, as you know, traditional languages are an integral part of Native American cultures, heritages, and identities. History, religion, literature, and traditional values are all transmitted through language. When a language is lost, the ability to express concepts in a certain way is also lost. For example, names for objects or events in nature reflect the way people understand those phenomena. When they no longer know the name of something in their own language, they no longer have the same relationship with it, and part of their culture dies along with this communication loss.

As part of its termination policy, the U.S. Government sought to abolish Native languages. Indigenous Americans, including American Indians, Alaska Natives and Native Hawaiians were punished for speaking in their Native tongues. The purpose of this policy was to mainstream Native peoples so that they would no longer be different from non-Native Americans.

Fortunately, this policy has not been repudiated. The Federal Government's policy of self-determination has meant that Native Americans can decide for themselves how to manage their own governmental affairs, educate their children, and live their lives. While some Native languages have become virtually extinct before Native people realized the magnitude of their loss, there are now strong efforts nationwide among Native people to recover and perpetuate this part of their cultural heritage.

The bill I am introducing today is similar to the joint resolution which I introduced at the end of the 100th Congress and which passed the Senate. Instead of a joint resolution, I am introducing this initiative as a bill to make clear the serious intent that Federal policy supports the use, practice, and development of Native languages. This proposal is based on a resolution adopted by the Native American Languages Issues Institute. I believe that it is appropriate that Native people and language practitioners participated in developing this proposal. It is consistent with my policy in dealing with Native American issues to have the solution come from Native peoples. Clearly, the initiative for developing and implementing Native language use will continue to come from the people who speak their Native languages. With the explicit support of the U.S. Government for these efforts, we will ensure that the self-determination policy of the Government is carried out and that we in Congress and Federal government are continuing to fulfill our responsibility to the Native people of this country.

Mr. MCCAIN. Mr. President, I rise in strong support of the Native American Language Act, a bill introduced this day by the chairman of the Select Committee on Indian Affairs, my esteemed colleague from Hawaii, Senator INOUYE. This bill will establish as the policy of the United States the preservation, protection and promotion of the rights of Native Americans to speak, practice, and develop Native American languages, and to foster the use and practice of Native American languages. This bill will provide a basis for the United States and the Bureau of Indian Affairs to begin to reverse the policies of the past which resulted in the erosion of Native culture and language by forcibly preventing Native American children from speaking their Native languages in Bureau of Indian Affairs boarding schools. An entire generation of American Indian children were forcibly deprived of their Native Language, and in turn their culture, through the policies of the Federal government.

It is now time for this Government to develop a uniform Federal policy that supports the use of Native languages in schools. A policy that will ensure the continued survival of Native American cultures, literatures, and histories through Native American languages. A policy that allows Native American children to learn in their own languages and a policy that encourages academic success and achievement among Native American children. Mr. President, I would like to commend Senator INOUYE for his initiative and fine work on this bill. I am pleased to be a co-sponsor of this badly needed legislation.

Although the Bill was to repeatedly gain unanimous approval in the Senate, it was to continually reach impasse not in House, but rather in the House Education & Labor Committee. This baffled many people including non-Indians. Especially when that very committee stated in disbelief "that more written and oral support has come across its table on this Native American Language Act than any other Indian Education issue."

How could it be that, that committee, with its learned members, could not remember some very basic facts. The very fact that this country has repeatedly engaged in war and war-like conflict when their beliefs and freedoms of religion were threatened.

And here, once again, were Indian people fighting for their basic beliefs, the belief in the need for language. After all, when a people loses its language, it has lost its cul-

> ture and the right to a basic freedom: the freedom of its religion and its beliefs.
>
> After many meetings and much encouragement, the Bill was again introduced and again it passed the Senate unanimously on the evening of October 11, 1990. Then, in the early hours of October 12, 1990, in less than 70 seconds, the House unanimously passed a bill that its Education and Labor Committee had sat on for three years. American Indians all over rejoiced and waited with anticipation for President Bush to bring into law, our new policy.

On October 30, 1990 at 6:13 p.m. President Bush signed into legislation Public Law 101-477. Title I of that Bill is the NATIVE AMERICAN LANGUAGE ACT.

That act brings to Native people, not only a change in the old policy, but also the following:

Declaration of Policy

SEC. 104.

It is the policy of the United States to —

1. preserve, protect, and promote the rights and freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages.
2. allow exception to teacher certification requirements of Federal programs, and programs funded in whole or in part by the Federal Government, for instruction in Native American languages when such teacher certification requirements hinder the employment of qualified teachers who teach in Native American languages, and to
3. encourage State and territorial governments to make similar exceptions;
    - A. Native American language survival,
    - B. educational opportunity,
    - C. increased student success and performance,
    - D. increased student awareness and knowledge of their culture and history, and
    - E. increased student and community pride:
4. encourage State and local education programs to work with Native American parents, educators, and other Native American governing bodies in the implementation of programs to put this policy into effect;
5. recognize the right of Indian Tribes and other Native American governing bodies to use the Native American languages as a medium of instruction in all schools funded by the Secretary of the Interior;
6. fully recognize the inherent right of Native American governing bodies, States, territories, and possessions of the United States to take action on, and give official status to, their Native American languages for the purpose of conducting their own business;
7. support the granting of comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a Native American language the same academic credit as comparable proficiency achieved through course work in a foreign language, with recognition of such Native American language proficiency by institutions of higher eduction as fulfilling foreign language entrance or degree requirements; and
8. encourage all institutions of elementary, secondary and higher eduction, where appropriate, to include Native American languages in the curriculum in the same manner as foreign languages and to grant proficiency in Native American languages the same full academic credit as proficiency in foreign languages.

Strategies for Success: Strengthen the Connection

Testimonies at the regional hearings for the Indian Nations at Risk Task Force were insightful, touching, and amazingly consistent when describing educational needs and concerns. Fortunately, we have some research, idea sharing through journals, newspapers, Native education meetings, and the old "Moccasin Telegraph" to continue to formulate new solutions for our educational challenges. We must pursue them with renewed vision and strength of purpose.

Assistant Secretary John MacDonald wrote a recent editorial on Readiness, the first national education goal. What he wrote is very appropriate to this INAR Task Force's charge to consider that more than the student be made ready:

> Readiness...in my opinion...holds the key to all the other national goals for education. A child's experiences in his first few years are a central determinant of his future development, so attention on early intervention symbolizes a focus on prevention rather than remediation. By readiness we mean not only the readiness of a child to enter school, but also the readiness of the school to provide an

> opportunity for every child to succeed...the school must provide equity and personalization in its approach. By personalization, we mean that each child should have an opportunity to learn in a way that best suits his learning style and needs, regardless of handicap or language proficiency. Let us make sure each child has equal access to school and receives equal opportunities once there. Let's also make sure that every school has standards to ensure program quality...

To ensure that schools in the United States are ready for Native children, it is necessary for educators to realize the relationship between language and culture. One of our First Nations Elders, Eli Taylor, of the Sioux Valley Reserve in Manitoba, provided a strong rationale for the revitalization of Native languages:

> Our Native language embodies a value system about how we ought to live and relate to each other...it gives a name to relations among kin, to roles and responsibilities among family members, to ties with the broader clan group...There are no English words for these relationships because your social and family life is different from ours. Now if you destroy this language, you not only break down these relationships, but you also destroy other aspects of our Indian way of life and culture, especially those that describe man's connection with nature, the Great Spirit, and the order of things. Without our language, we will cease to exist as a separate people.

It is apparent to me, after much investigation and 20 years of diverse experiences with Native students, communities, educators, and governments, that we perhaps have one point on which we are more unified than any other: **we all want the very best we can provide in educational experiences for our most precious treasures, our children.**

It is also apparent to me, more than ever before, that **our Native population has an incredibly brilliant pool of educators, parents, Elders, tribal leaders, students, and families who are eloquent and articulate in expressing needs of the heart and mind.** This is no accident. It is one of those results of challenging circumstance. Through adversity, we have had to develop strength and endurance. Our recent history has been filled with conflict, adversity, pain, suffering, losses, and factionalism ... but our hearts have remained full of the ancient values of respect, generosity, love for our children, our Elders, and all of life's circle. Our minds keep the remembrance of oral tradition, the histories of our ancestors, the images of our grandparents, and even the memories of their memories. We are spiritually connected to our past, our present, and our future.

We, as Native educators, have had the "OPPORTUNITY" for many years to deal with educational reform on the local grass roots level, as well as state and national levels. We have learned needs assessment, design, curriculum development, implementation, and evaluation ...all within the context of community and tribal cultures. We have learned much. We have learned from our Elders, our children and each other. Now it is time to evolve ... to come full circle and put the best we have to give, together ... for our future, our children.

From testimony, research, and experience, I propose the following strategies to incorporate Native languages and Native cultures into our elementary and secondary curricula:

Community Participation and Community Control: A Necessity

Rosemary Ackley-Christensen, Director of Indian Education for Minneapolis public schools, testified in St. Paul:

> Tribal people need to come to the aid of Tribal children. Their education must be contrived by us from start to finish. Our Tribal governments must provide us with leadership to educate Tribal citizens. That big, powerful, rich system called public schooling, in these United States may be all right and just right for the immigrants and their children. It is not, and has not been even close to all right for our children. We Tribal people must structure the education of our children. We must, because we are citizens of dependent nations, appeal to and demand through American Laws and Congress the wherewithal to structure the educational system of our children **with our tribal governments and with public funds.** (Ackley-Christensen, INAR Task Force Testimony, St. Paul, MN 1990)

Communities must be the educators. They were in the past, they can be today. When communities produce education, values and beliefs are expressed, languages are spoken, songs are sung, and histories are heard. The people determine their priorities, and develop a loving, collective ownership of the curriculum which is produced. The curriculum is alive and used often.

> The best way we can initiate this change is to begin to work on the content of education, and not on the techniques and procedures of education. We must initiate the study of tribal customs on a grand scale and they must be taught at school on an equal basis

> with any other academic subject. But they must not be confined to the school or classroom. They must be under constant discussion with the community itself, and subject to continual and disciplined use by the people. Perhaps the first feature of revival would be to begin comprehensive studies of the old clan and kinship patterns, and establish social rules for the reinstitution of some of the old patterns of kinship responsibility. There is no good reason why we cannot expect every Indian to accept the old social responsibilities for his/her extended family, and why we cannot enforce social responsibilities for relatives on a deliberate and measurable scale of behavior. (Deloria, 1978, p. 25)

Traditional education among Native people assisted the children in finding meaning in life. Curriculum was well-balanced. Cognitive learning, the factual information necessary for survival was related to the affective, emotional learning through oral tradition and knowledge given by tribal Elders. Physical strength and skills were fully developed with games and activities. Social responsibility was developed through group experiences demonstrating the philosophy that we are born into a life of service — that we do not exist alone — that the community is important. All these learnings were connected to spirituality — the center of our existence.

Amid our cultural and linguistic diversities, there are generic values which unite us. These guiding principles for life could be a beginning focus for a tribal code of education, or actual curriculum content with interdisciplinary activities:

- Generosity — Cooperation
- Independence — Freedom
- Respect for Elders — Wisdom
- Interrelatedness — Love
- Courage — Responsibility
- Indirect Communication — Non-interference
- Silence — Reflection — Spirit

At a recent meeting in Oklahoma, a colleague summarized the issues of responsibility, equity and action: As long as we, the American Indian and Alaska Native parents, allow school policy makers to continue to educate our children as they have, then we are responsible for the rape of our beliefs, values, language, and health. Every local community should have curriculum that is designed to address its residents. Local education agencies who don't address community needs become active participants in the destructive deterioration of all children regardless of race. They segregate our children with daily dosages of "you're not equal to," "not as good as," "what you are is unimportant," "what you believe has no meaning." These messages are reiterated day after day, grade after grade, year after year with untruths in textbooks, negative and stereotypical teacher attitudes, and persons unprepared to deliver the message as teachers, which was written as a personal guarantee for every citizen of the United States. That message is **equality**, NOT upper class white rights, just plain old equal rights.

Granted, this process will not be easy, but it need not be complicated. All governments, local, state, and federal, have established educational goals to be accomplished by the year 2000. Unless stringent local changes and wide scale improvements are begun now, and proceed with rigor and enthusiasm, these goals will not be met, with few exceptions. The federal government has a responsibility to take the lead and disallow state and local education agencies the funds they are dependent on, unless they begin a viable and visible process to rectify the existing problems. Superficial pretense of meeting the needs of all children must not be tolerated. Standards must be developed, implemented, and ensured by the states.

The Process

States must establish learner outcomes which have high standards, yet take more than one race into consideration. Every district must have curriculum relevant to its community but also utilize multicultural approaches and methods. Every district must be responsible for utilizing the rich resources it has at hand, ***its community***. This doesn't mean holding one or two meetings where one Joe and one Jane show up and then conclude that parents don't care. Historically, schools have deliberately alienated its parents. Sadly, this trend continues today. This negative cycle must be broken. The few LEAs who have made significant sincere progress in establishing positive communication with parents must be nationally recognized and awarded the opportunity to share their secrets of success with all, raising the standards and the expectations of respectful relationships.

Textbook companies must be made to understand the need to fairly represent all people with truth in print or be shut down. Textbook commissions must assist each state in solving the problem of institutionalized racism by refusing to buy any books which denigrate any group or continue any stereotypes, cultural bias, or insufficient information (omission of history).

Every LEA school board should have representation of each minority in its district, elected by that minority.

Every LEA must have equal classroom representation of teacher to student in relationship to race.

Every LEA has the responsibility to recognize the relationship of language to culture, and establish programs which utilize the languages and which reflect their importance.

Teachers must be trained, retrained, or eliminated if they can-not meet all needs and the needs of our minority children. Where qualified teachers do not exist, then programs must be designed to allow for Special Certification to meet student needs until teachers can be trained.

Districts who receive federal funding must be forced to include Native parents in these communities the right to establish policies when their children generate those federal dollars. The ratio of parents has to be reflective to the number of children in the district, as well as the amount of money those children have created. These communities must be utilized where LEA expenditures include Impact Aid, Title V, Title VII, Johnson O'Malley., Chapter 2, Special Education, Title IV...

The federal government must take the initiative and positively enforce such laws as Title I of Public Law 101-477...

Without such changes, we can expect the continuance of the same unhealthy situations which have placed us in this crisis.

Culturally-Relevant Curriculum: It's About Time!

Great numbers in every geographical area responded to the INAR Task Force hearings in a most definite way concerning cultural relevance in curriculum. In the St. Paul hearing, Edward Benton-Banai is concerned with the social dysfunction among Native families and communities. He believes the concept of culturally-based curricula is a means of revitalizing Native cultural values and traditions that will in turn help minimize social dysfunction. (Testimony, 1990, St. Paul) The Lac Courte Oreilles Ojibwe School K-12 curriculum is "designed to incorporate the wisdom and beauty of the Ojibwe heritage and to teach necessary skills to live and compete in the modern technological society...The school is endorsed by our greatest community resource who are knowledgeable, capable, giving, and caring...the Elders of the Ojibwe Nation." In Montana, William L. LaForge, believes **curriculum should begin "at all local education agencies to reflect the local cultures and values and to address the bicultural classroom population and community."** Dr. Duane Hale of the University of Oklahoma, American Indian Institute, believes in preserving what is left through both audio and video, and collecting what has been written; from these documentations developing curriculum materials which will perpetuate culture and values and be an essential key to preventing social dysfunction.

David Gipp, President of United Tribes Technical College in Bismarck, North Dakota testifies that:

A. "There is a need to encourage state education agencies and public schools to institutionalize commitments toward the cultural preservation of American Indian communities through state Indian Education policies." Minnesota, Montana and Washington have adopted state policies that provide a foundation for progressive Indian education programs which potentially strengthen institutional commitments to preserve America's unique tribal cultures.

B. "The development of a culturally-relevant curriculum base by state education agencies is essential for the on-going promotion of curriculum reform toward multi-cultural education on a state-wide basis." North Dakota's Centennial activities included a four-part Native curriculum for primary, intermediate, junior high and high school levels based on whole language approaches, student-centered objectives and both traditional and contemporary content about American Indian culture. The author is Native educator, Sandra Fox. This kind of project can serve as a model for many curriculum units by LEAs and others, to improve educational opportunities, awareness, credibility and relevance for all students.

C. "Collaborative efforts among education resource agencies must be implemented and sustained for the on-going development of teaching skills of educational personnel, particularly teachers and administrators, who are currently serving Indian children." Summer language institutes and cultural curriculum workshops are offered in a number of states, including Minnesota, Montana, North Dakota, South Dakota, Arizona, New Mexico, Oklahoma... Incentives for participation must be considered. Among these are graduate credit, staff development credits, and new curriculum resources.

D. "Schools should be recognized for successfully integrating Indian cultural curriculum resources into the local system." Gipp cited Minnesota's Cass Lake-Bena Schools, Nebraska's Macy Public Schools and South Dakota's Todd County Public Schools as exemplary in integrating curriculum resources and teaching methods that address the cultural needs of Indian students. How this was achieved needs to be documented so the process will be available for replication.

E. "There is a need to establish new teacher training requirements or to strengthen existing requirements that mandate minimum post secondary course work for teaching American Indian children. Gipp identifies Montana, North Dakota and South Dakota as having teacher certification requirements that allow potential teachers to be exposed to American Indian education. However, the courses have not been refined since their inception. He recommends that state education agencies follow the lead of Montana and North Dakota in examining what types of educational preparations are necessary to adequately train teachers for the instruction of American Indian students. (Gipp, INAR Task Force Hearing St. Paul, MN, p. 4)

An example of Native philosophy of education was submitted by Herbert John Benally which discussed the facets of a curriculum based upon traditional Navajo philosophy. "It provides a culturally-focused purpose for Navajo education which relates well to concern for student character and moral development as well as establishing principles for a program of general education which, if implemented, will provide for integration of the curriculum." Governor of Tesuque Pueblo, Gilbert Vigil, states that "no program, no matter how well funded or staffed, can succeed if it fails to incorporate and reflect the values of its community. American Indians fail to see their own values reflected in the majority educational system and until they do, they will continue to drop out. They too, must be given reasons for success and must be treated as cherished and valued members of our culture. The state of Indian education tells them one thing; Indians don't count." (1990, INAR Task Force, Testimony, Phoenix)

American Indians and Alaska Natives have worked at developing relevant learning experiences, and have had varying degrees of success. As a preliminary step, it is important to consider what use the curriculum will have, and what steps can be taken to assure it will be presented and used effectively. Too many pieces of curriculum have ended up on dusty shelves. We need to create learning materials and instructional techniques that will become a part of the core curriculum, and will be widely used and disseminated.

Robin Butterfield writes that:

> Culturally appropriate curriculum for Indians, in order to reflect the cultures of Indian students and their communities, must also take into consideration all these instructional elements...*materials* must be authentic, relevant, compatible, complete and neutral in content...the manner in which the cultural materials are presented remains consistent with the overall instructional framework and relevant to the goals of instruction. To be culturally appropriate, *instructional* techniques or methods should consider the sensitivity, empathy, relevance and effectiveness with which a lesson is taught. This means that teachers understand the culture of their students and their underlying value systems. Further, it requires that the learning environment be organized in a fashion most appropriate for the unique characteristics of the students. The *learner characteristics* simply dictate that the techniques and cultural appropriateness of the content differ for the learner population to be served. Culturally appropriate instructional resources include those designed to meet the specific educational and culturally-related academic needs of Indian students and those designed to enhance cultural understanding and appreciation among Indian and non-Indian students. (Butterfield, __________, p. 50-51) Two related monographs are very helpful in creating educational experiences of meaning for the American Indian and Alaska Native student. Both Butterfield's curriculum monograph and Pepper's teacher's monograph are noted to be practical, thorough and effective.

In written testimony, Susanna Hayes is concerned with the social, economic and cultural changes that have been forced upon the Lummi Tribe in Washington. Her article,"Educational Innovation at Lummi" relates that the Lummi Tribal School originated through the people's wish to provide their children with an educational program that reflects their unique cultural heritage and contemporary values. Expressive language development is encouraged through content based on Lummi observations, experiences, traditions and expressive conventions. Blending cultural content with conventional academic disciplines involve the study of life on a salt water peninsula. An early childhood event with a Lummi grandma taught the little ones about herbs, plant identification, and the preparation and use of medicines. Both the Lummi and English languages were used. The teachers recorded the presentation and worked with factual content to study plant textures, colors, root systems, shapes, sizes and locations. The students wrote a book for her called "Grandma says," which included their newly learned knowledge from her and an illustration. Multiple copies of the text were distributed. The curriculum integrated language arts, science, art, personal and tribal history, and emphasized learning in the context of community relationship and serving one another. **The culturally relevant curricula requires school board leadership and community participation in many levels.** (Hayes, 1990, pp. 8-9)

In the southwest, the Hualapai Cultural Environmental Curriculum at Peach Springs, Arizona is based on a thematic, interdisciplinary format. Historical perspectives and contemporary experiences have been researched to form the content of the curriculum. Activities include interviewing Elders, harvesting native foods, reading rock writing, and researching traditional stories. **This manner of education validates the child's culture and language.** The Hualapai child's interactive learning environment is charted and included here to show the extensive planning and integration of culture and academics. The Hualapai Literacy Model uses language experience methods which encourage each child to speak and write about his/her own experiences on his/her own ability, while constructing meaning. The entire curriculum is language-based. A whole language approach is used to develop children's language and literacy skills. The entire set of models are ingenious and should serve as prototypes to educators who really want to develop an education of meaning. Included is the circular interactive learning environment chart which was submitted to the INAR Task Force.

(INSERT CIRCLE CHART HERE)

The following suggestions may help the process of defining the path of learning you want to create for your students:

1. As a community, examine curriculum that has already been developed, and brainstorm your hopes, wishes and dreams for your children.
2. Talk with tribal Elders and community about traditional learning which they have experienced or about which they have been told. Wa-He-Lute Indian School at Frank's Landing, Washington, developed a seasonal-environmental curriculum based on their ancient values and beliefs, oral traditions, their Elders, the Nisqually River, Mount Rainier, and the flora and fauna (huckleberries, salmonberries, alder, cedar and fishing). Discuss how science, language, mathematics, arts, social studies, music, and physical education can be taught in concert. **Culture as the common denominator creates a high interest motivational vehicle for teaching. Then the interdisciplinary curriculum exemplifies the ancient wisdom that "All things are interrelated."**
3. Discuss common stereotypes and cultural biases to which your children have been exposed. Examine your school's textbooks for stereotypical or untruthful representations. One person summed up the comments of many at the INAR Task Force hearings by noting that "textbook vendors must be firmly persuaded to publish texts that do real justice to the contributions of Native Americans and other minority groups. Paragraphs and sidebars inserted here and there are not an adequate response to this demand." Another Native person at the Juneau hearings said textbooks need to be revised to "reflect a less stereotypical image of Native Americans and to present non-biased accounts of historical events." Become advocates for your students. Serve on textbook commissions and school boards. Keep positive, direct communication with school administrators, staff, community, and students.
4. Define priorities and begin formulating sequential lessons. Start with what is most important. Kent Nerburn of Red Lake Public Schools in Bemidji, Minnesota related the motto of Project Preserve:

"Honor the past, serve the present, and prepare for the future." Honoring the past includes compiling a book of memories and photographs of Elders on the reservation. Serving the present means that they have a strong volunteer program. They also prepare for the future by taking college classes and doing well. This holistic project has characteristics which are crucial to Indian education: (1) students focus on their own culture and learn Native cultural skills. (2) The projects are collaborative rather than individual efforts, but they allow individuals to offer their own talents to the group. (3) The teacher is a facilitator, thus reshaping the teacher-student relationship. (4) Student work is product oriented. (5) Participation in projects is voluntary. (6) Projects have a multi-generational characteristic. (7) Knowledge is derived from experience rather than textbooks. (8) The program includes close support services.

5. The following suggestions are related to curriculum materials and the development of a positive learning environment:
   a. Demonstrate that cultural diversity is a national treasure, not a national burden;
   b. Recruit more Native teachers, principals, superintendents, and school board members; Start developing a mind set of empowerment in preschool and grade school;
   c. Assist teacher assistants to acquire certification;
   d. **Require textbooks free of cultural bias and stereotypes; Require that Indian history courses be created and taken by all students in the United States.** Many respondents urged the INAR Task Force to **mandate that more Indian history be incorporated in the school curriculum.** Charles Hines, an elected tribal official in Oklahoma expressed the feelings of many Native parents, students, Elders and educators when he said, **"Don't start American History with the discovery of Columbus."** In examining many textbooks, it is sad but true that the misinformation is still there, despite our attempts to improve the situation. In my son's fourth grade social studies textbook, I reviewed the time-lines of history which precede the study of each geographical region in the United States. In the textbook writer's mind, history began when the visitors got here, and that prevents our young, questioning minds from noticing the extreme injustices that were done/are being done to an entire group of Native people. All children need to see the patterns of history, and decide what course they would have taken/would choose to take today. **Children are extremely capable of knowing what is fair or unfair. We owe them the truth.**
   e. Develop more culturally-relevant curriculum in all content areas;
   f. Encourage culturally-sensitive staff development. In testimony to the INAR Task Force, a large number of people expressed concern for teacher and staff training. I urge each parent and educator to listen to the years of experience and wisdom in Rosemary Ackley-Christensen's proposed ideas on staff development: First of all, she questions **why colleges of education and departments of educational administration in graduate schools would graduate people who do not have the necessary skills to teach the children.** She discusses the methodology of change, accountability and entrenched bureaucracy. In very concise terms, she lists specific assumptions for cultural competencies. She suggests four competencies in staff development. To be judged competent to teach American Indian children, teachers and other staff must demonstrate knowledge and understanding of at least one competency. The remaining competencies must be accumulated within a three year period. The cultural competencies are: (1) Independence, (2) Age-related respect, (3) Connectedness and (4) Indirect communications. These recommendations are fully explained in the text of her testimony. I would recommend the article as required reading for anyone in education.
   g. Mandate quality teacher education;
   h. Provide innovative leadership training for students and adults;

i. Offer training for paraprofessionals and teachers to work together more effectively;
j. Empower students and their parents to make the most of the educational experience, and make learning a lifelong activity;
k. Improve academic achievement;
l. Lower drop-out rates;
m. Ensure respect of every student by carefully examining team and mascot names — be certain they are not derogatory toward any group of people, i.e., Southeastern Savages, Tecumseh Savages, Hominy Bucks, Northeastern Redskins...;
n. Enable Natives to serve on review panels which affect the education of their children (textbook commission, state history, core curriculum, staff development.);
o. Encourage communication between Native governments, parents, communities, school districts, and students;
p. Employ eminent persons of the tribe as faculty;
q. Create videos, films, and voice recordings to preserve the knowledge and language if permission is given;
r. Develop whole language curricula built around eminent persons and other community-generated topics;
s. Encourage intergenerational learning as in the past;
t. Revitalize language and culture at the same time;
Welcome cultural diversity — compare and contrast.
u. Dr. Rennard Strickland, a legal historian of Osage and Cherokee heritage, makes two major points in his testimony in Oklahoma City. They are: **(1) The study of Native American culture and history should be required of students of Indian heritage; and (2) The study of Native American culture and history should be required of non-Indian students as well.** He believes, as do many others who testified, that it is important to men and women, boys and girls of Native heritage that they study their cultures to build pride, confidence and understanding. He says, "It is important as an antidote to the poison which has been spilled out for almost five hundred years in traveler's narratives, dime novels, and at Saturday matinees." Dr. Strickland also adds that this question of false image "profoundly impacts upon contemporary American Indian policy and shapes the general cultural view of the Indian as well as the Indian's own self-image. It can be seen from the smallest details of an everyday children's game of cowboys and Indians to the international arena where a movie star President of the United States gives Hollywood rooted answers to Soviet students' questions about Native Americans."

Incorporating Culture and Language: Preserve, Promote, and Protect

The following ideas are ones that will incorporate students' language and culture into the school program. They will not only assist in academic success, but will reinforce cultural identities. Dr. Steven Pratt (Osage) has discussed how to teach language and revitalize culture at the same time. "Language and culture are two sides of the same coin" according to James Banks. (Banks, 1988, p. 261) Osage Elder and language teacher Hazel Lohah Harper says **"if Native language is not preserved, cultural preservation will be impeded. Some Indian languages will never be spoken again; therefore language preservation and instruction are necessary."** Culture can be defined as a set of attributes, such as values, beliefs, behavior patterns and symbols unique to a particular human group. Language establishes the bond between individuals, and between individuals and groups, that makes group life possible. Language gives a group a way to communicate among itself, sharing the same meaning. Language transmits group values, beliefs and attitudes. Language contains a group's ethnicity, culture and history, a cord binding the past to the present. (Banks, 1988, p. 262) These suggestions from New Zealand, where cultural revitalization is alive and well, have been recommended in Jim Cummins' book *Empowering Minority Students*.

- Reflect the various cultural groups in the school district by providing signs in the main office and elsewhere that welcome people in the different languages of the community;

- Encourage students to use their first language around the school;
- Provide opportunities for students from the same ethnic group to communicate with one another in their first language where possible (e.g., in cooperative learning groups on at least some occasions);
- Recruit people who can tutor students in their first language;
- Provide books written in the various languages in both classrooms and the school library;
- Incorporate greetings and information in the various languages in newsletters and other official school communications;
- Provide bilingual and/or multilingual signs;
- Display pictures and objects of the various cultures represented at the school;
- Create units of work that incorporate other languages in addition to the school language;
- Encourage students to write contributions in their first language for school newspapers and magazines;
- Provide opportunities for students to study their first language in elective subjects and/or in extracurricular clubs;
- Encourage parents to help in the classroom, library, playground, and in clubs;
- Invite second language learners to use their first language during assemblies, prize givings, and other official functions;
- Invite people from ethnic minority communities to act as resource people and to speak to students in both formal and informal settings. (New Zealand Department of Education, 1988)

These suggestions to elevate respect for Native language will enhance the self-image of the Native student, as well as preserve, promote, and protect the language. The Assembly of First Nation's *Aboriginal Language Policy Study* contains the powerful quotation: **"If we can speak and understand our language, our Elders can tell us who we are."**

Networking: Share Success

There are many exemplary Native education programs in the United States and Canada. We need to publicize their successful practices, so all students may benefit. They are as varied as the people they represent, and I believe that is part of the key to their successes. Each seems to have been borne out of expressed needs and thoughtful vision of what ought to be for their children. Some programs have been discussed in the previous pages. In the United States today, we have exemplary programs for rural, urban, public, alternative and tribally controlled schools. The descriptions by necessity will be brief:

Hualapai tribal members in Peach Springs, Arizona, have formulated exciting models for cultural-linguistic-environmental studies. Hualapai Bilingual Academic Excellence Program provides a firm foundation for the development of curriculum based on the linguistic and cultural background of a community and its children. The program philosophy and learning theory base are congruent with community beliefs and values. The Hualapai Cultural Environmental Curriculum is a thematic approach. The theme formulates the content of the units and is based on topics with a special relevance to the local Native community. Science, math, and language arts studies relate to the environment and life experiences of the Hualapai reservation. Discovery and experience are integral to the curriculum experiences. (Watahomigie, INAR Task Force Testimony, 1990, Phoenix)

At Isleta Pueblo, a computer program developed by a University of New Mexico professor, Ted Jojola, (an Isleta Native himself) assists Headstart students in learning the language and folkways of their ancient tribe. There is differing opinion on whether to continue this project. The children are learning, but so too, are non-Isletans. Traditionalists, understandably are concerned (from the last 500 years of siege) by those who would destroy the culture in one way or another. The Zuni Literacy Project, a spinoff from Isleta's language and culture computer program, has made tremendous progress. They have been compiling a Zuni/English dictionary and creating a series of film strip-like "storybooks" which use sound and static visual images to tell stories in the Zuni language. Their goal is "to promote literacy in Zuni so the tribe retains its language and traditions in a rapidly changing world. Acoma and San Juan tribes of New Mexico have also evolved Macintosh computer programs to help teach the Native language.

In testimony to the INAR Task Force in St. Paul, MN, Verna Graves, Director of Education, Red Lake Band of Chippewa Indians, stated **the tribal government of the Red Lake Band is the only tribe in the western hemisphere which has prepared a comprehensive code**

for education. The band has developed seven educational goals and four general education objectives. The tribal council has declared the Chippewa language the official language of Red Lake. The education goals encompass a broad knowledge of Chippewa culture, and are intended to be integrated into all phases of the curricula. The Red Lake Tribal Education Goals are as follows:

1. The Chippewa culture will be integrated as a functional part of all the curricula. Culture includes our language, values, ethics, the arts, law, history, philosophy, psychology, health, medicine, and social structures.
2. Parents and family will be involved in their children's educational development.
3. All schools will strive to meet the educational needs of individual students. Students will achieve to the maximum of their potential. More students will pursue post-secondary education and become contributing citizens of our Nation.
4. Social problems will be minimized.
5. The unemployment rate will diminish and employees will be more successful and productive in their jobs.
6. The Red Lake Band will attain increased human resource expertise and the leadership necessary for further growth and development.
7. Tribal unity and a stronger tribal government will be realized through the continued exercise of sovereignty in education. Excellence in education will be continually defined and redefined as we achieve our educational goals and objectives.

The general education objectives are as follows:

1. To provide learning experiences and educational opportunities which enable Red Lake children to function competently when encountering changing circumstances.
2. To develop, monitor and upgrade educational experiences which will lead to the progressive enrichment of individual, familial, and tribal life.
3. To reinforce positive experiences in the home which will enable parents to become more resourceful and effective in facilitating the educational development of their children.
4. To provide successful experiences for Red Lake children in the school environment that will stimulate a positive attitude toward school and education.

Ms. Graves quoted Public Law 100-297 (Section 5106) which guaranteed that the Assistant Secretary of the Department of Interior "...shall provide for comprehensive multicultural and multilingual education programs including the production and use of instructional materials, culturally appropriate methodologies and teaching and learning strategies that will reinforce, preserve and maintain Indian and Alaska Native languages, cultures and histories." Though these policies were written for Indian Nations who are federally recognized (which policies recently became law), it was anticipated that these policies, written by Indian people, would be adopted by other school systems which enrolled American Indian students.

She eloquently stated a common theme when she testified: "We believe it is necessary and inherently proper for each tribe to develop systems of education. For years we have danced to the tune of others as education plans were written for us; we will now go forward with our own plans to serve our own people governed and prescribed from within to serve the individual member and our tribe as a whole." The Language Policy of the Education Code is an excellent example of tribal autonomy in education. The declaration begins: **"The Chippewa language is a gift from the Creator to our people and, therefore, shall be treated with respect."** There are sections on:

1. reciprocity of language use
2. protection of language use authority
3. general application
4. status of the Chippewa language
5. parent involvement
6. eminent persons/Elders
7. Chippewa language as an integral part of all school curricula
8. orthography
9. teacher, administrator, and guidance counselor competencies for language instruction (preservice and inservice)
10. teachers and teacher-aides: certification for language instruction
11. establishment of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission
12. composition of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission

13. role and function of the Red Lake Language and Culture Commission
14. research and external studies that require tribal approval
15. funding for language policy implementation

The Indian Reading Series is an example of curriculum created by Indian authors, authenticated by the participating tribes and field-tested in over 93 classrooms. The student books show the cultural diversity of Indian America, and are designed to improve reading comprehension, classroom participation and written and oral language skills. The teacher manuals relate cultural background information, program objectives and rationale, and teaching activities organized around Native culture utilizing the language experience approach to learning. **The activities are designed to help students learn how to think, rather than what to think.**

The North Dakota Department of Public Instruction believes public school curricula must reflect instruction in the history and culture of American Indian and Alaska Native and other ethnic societies. The Department of Public Instruction offers three teacher training programs as models for other states, as well as a four-part Native curriculum built around the North Dakota Centennial celebration. These efforts were put forth because a survey showed that 99 percent of the teachers in North Dakota indicated they do not have books about Native Americans in their classrooms, 75 percent do not frequently plan activities reflective of cultural diversity, and 91 percent do not plan activities reflecting Native culture. (Cheryl Kulas, INAR Task Force Testimony 1990, St. Paul)

A school in Pawnee, Oklahoma, has found a unique solution to a political, social and legal dilemma. Helen Norris's, Title V-C Indian students visited Pawnee homelands in Republic, Nebraska, and toured the original earth lodges of their ancestors. In 1985, 42 students and their parents traveled to Chicago to the Field Museum to visit the largest display of Pawnee artifacts in the United States. In 1988, students wrote letters to the Nebraska Historical Society, asking the Society to release 378 skeletal remains of their ancestors and their burial goods that had been "dug up." Their letters are a part of a congressional hearing report and were instrumental in the reburial of 146 Pawnee, Arikara and Wichita ancestors who had been put on public display in Salina, Kansas. The students also raised money for a Pendleton blanket to be placed on one of the bodies for burial. This labor of love encompassed cultural and linguistic tradition, writing, speaking, listening, researching, and communicating with Elders, staff, attorneys, legislators, and one another. (Norris, INAR Task Force Testimony, Oklahoma City, 1990)

A successful venture between the University of the State of New York and the New York State Education Department has produced a publication, *Ogwehowe:ka? Native Languages for Communication, New York State Syllabus.* This is a framework for the development of local curricula which will integrate principles of second language acquisition with New York State program requirements and the Board of Regents goals for elementary and secondary education. The Syllabus places emphasis on communicative proficiency and the understanding and appreciation of other cultures.

The Southern Utes have a language program for retention, preservation and maintenance. The activities that accompany the language lessons are all culturally relevant, and designed for easy use by teachers. Elders and educators collaborated on this project which includes major concepts and key historical information in a context that will interest children.

The Makah have a Language Retention, Preservation and Maintenance Program. Included are an illustrated Makah Alphabet Book, First Lessons in Makah, A Counting Workbook, oral tradition coloring books, and Makah Reservation Place Names. All these were done through the efforts of many Makah Elders.

The REACH Center (*R*especting *E*thnic *a*nd *C*ultural *H*eritage), based in Arlington, Washington is providing much-needed educational services to schools, social service agencies and businesses throughout the United States. The Center specializes in cultural awareness training and the production of educational materials which build a positive understanding of cultural diversity.

UNITY (United National Indian Tribal Youth, Inc.) an Oklahoma based national organization is involved in activities which enable Native youth to meet together, define problems, identify solutions and develop strategies to address their concerns. The goals and strategies are built around

- spirituality
- unity
- environment
- heritage
- sovereignty
- family
- individual

- education
- health
- economy
- sobriety
- service

The Cheyenne Circle Keepers are children in four communities in western Oklahoma who have pledged to keep their bodies, minds, and spirits strong — in holding with ancient tradition. They have special interactions with their Native Elders, learning the history and traditions that keep a people strong. Their gourd dance clan is a powerful presence, showing what love for children and Elders can produce. The values of using our cultural roots is echoed by one of the leading educators of our time, Ernest Boyer, who said,

> But if we have learned anything from our relationship with the American Indian, it is that people cannot be torn from their cultural roots without harm. To the extent that we fail to assist Native Americans, *through their own institutions*, to reclaim their past and secure their future, we are compounding the costly errors of the past.

Summary of Recommendations

- Begin a program of curriculum revision with the assistance of eminent persons, Elders, tribal leaders, historians, educators, parents, and students.
- Encourage tribal education codes to ensure autonomy and leadership in education. Encourage partnerships for change. Native governments need to interface with local education agencies, state education agencies and federal programs that affect Native students.
- Require boards of education to develop policies and plans of action to ensure that local outcomes are consistent with national and state goals.
- Initiate a major textbook review commission. Ensure that all tribes in state and nation are represented. Involve tribal Elders, historians, authors, educators, parents and students.
- Encourage publishers to produce textbooks, software, and other materials which reflect cultural and linguistic diversity.
- Assist school districts in selecting materials that are authentic, nonstereotypical, tribal specific and free of cultural bias.
- Ensure that no school district or any team have a mascot or team name which is derogatory to any ethnic group.
- Require that teacher education programs in the state prepare teachers to work with culturally and linguistically diverse populations. Coordinate efforts with NCATE and AACTE.
- Assist school districts and institutions of higher learning to recruit and retain more diverse faculty and staff.
- Offer Native language instruction from preschool through higher education and adult education. Work to get quality Native language instructors through alternative certification.
- Mandate that Native history be taught at all levels. Assist educators in teaching about Native people in core curriculum for all children throughout the year. Prohibit stereotypical representations of Thanksgiving and Indian-Day or Week superficial (often untrue) activities.
- Encourage Elders and other eminent persons to serve as faculty with respectable pay scale.
- Encourage intergenerational learning experiences at every opportunity. Set up mentoring with eminent persons.
- Create an educational experience of meaning through traditional wisdom.
- Enable all students to serve Elders and younger children, their parents and communities.
- Empower students to become true stewards of Mother Earth, to learn about ecology, conservation and the interrelationship of all things.

In conclusion, it is imperative that educators and parents recognize the value of a child's language and culture. Educators must learn how to respectfully incorporate learning within a Native context, and Native context within the learning structure. American Indian and Alaska Native children are most often forced to grow up experiencing at least two very different, and usually conflicting views of the world in which they live. Educators must come to understand the difficult, and often traumatic cultural and linguistic conflicts that Native students undergo as they attend schools of the dominant society. Because of the incongruity of the conflicting cultures, insecurity, ambiguity, and alienation are common results of the failure to appropriately and adequately address a child's needs as he/she comes into the school. Alienation leads to failure, anger, hopelessness, confusion, and in many cases directly to dropping out of school altogether.

What is needed is a curriculum of meaning which is relevant to the present lives and future goals of students, and importantly, a curriculum which is reflective of their ancient and dynamic contemporary cultures and their diverse languages. The educational experiences of students will lead to empowerment or disablement, depending on the attitudes of the educators, parents, and communities. Much also hinges on the institutional characteristics of the school which include:

1. how culture and linguistics are incorporated
2. how the community is empowered and enabled to participate in a collaborative way to influence the education of their children
3. how the pedagogy genuinely incorporates student's backgrounds and experiences into the school program.

I believe, in order to adequately meet the educational needs of Native students, it is essential that we now begin by establishing a National Native Curriculum Project, funded by the United States Department of Education, as entitlement based on treaty rights. The need is clear, not only in Native communities for Native Students, but to benefit all students by creating more accurate learning experiences related to the American Indian and Alaska Native.

This National Native Curriculum Project should have a central office, director and staff of Native curriculum developers, with years of experience in Native communities and education. Regional offices should also be established in each of the identified culture areas to develop locally researched Native curriculum which accurately reflects the life-ways of the people. The results will necessarily be tribal-specific, non-stereotypical, authentic, and free of cultural bias. All regional centers will feed into the national center (and vice-versa) and the result will be a curriculum of empowerment for students, enhanced by the generous contributions of all Native groups for all Native children. This curriculum (and accompanying resource materials) will be placed in every school site in the United States, as an accurate resource to bring children honor, and to ensure that even the children "seven generations to come" may benefit from this decisive action.

It is in this way, we change the years of misinformation to a future beyond the "Thanksgiving and Indians" syndrome. Not only will contributions of Native peoples be discussed, along with heroes and holidays, but a higher level of learning will result. The structure of the curriculum itself will be transformed to enable students to view concepts, issues, events, and themes from the unique and diverse perspectives of Native groups. Then, and only then, will students gain the level of critical thinking to enable them to make thoughtful decisions on issues and be proactive.

As we move together, toward this end, I ask that we remember the difference of merely seeing with our eyes and the "seeing" that encompasses much more. In the *Lakota Times* it is explained this way:

> ...two Ojibwe words rank ways of knowing in a different order from the ranking scholars assume. *Moozhitaming*, says an Ojibwe scholar, refers to "feeling what you do not see" — the knowledge and insight a person might gain by careful attention to dreaming, for example. Ojibwe tradition values *moozhitaming* more highly than *ganawaabandaming* — "seeing without feeling." But non-Indian schools rank these kinds of knowledge the other way around. More likely they dismiss *moozhitaming* as no knowledge at all.

In the book, *The Little Prince*, Antoine de Saint — Exupery says it this way: **"It is only with the heart that one can see rightly; What is essential is invisible to the eye."**

Helen Chalakee Burgess wrote a poem which expresses the essence of how culture and language are woven throughout our beings:

Este Mvskoke Forever (Muscogee People Forever)

Basketmaker, your clever fingers lace
the honeysuckle with the secrets and strengths
of our people. Your baskets hold the yesterdays
and the tomorrows of our nation.

I watched as the old woman formed
a circular base — a never ending circle
crisscrossed with outside support
...I could see our people overcoming in-
trusion. We intertwined with the outside
world and became stronger.
Basketmaker reached for another piece of
vine —
her work uninterrupted
...one by one, our elders die. At those very

moments new life is born to replenish and
continue the circle.

Silently, I watch as a form emerges from the
stringy, root-like vines
...and I remember the old ones saying
in the beginning our people climbed out
of the earth like ants — we are of the earth.

Swiftly, Basketmaker prepares more vines —
treating them in the rainwater for suppleness
so she can finish her work
...the resiliency of our people has
caused us to go forward and restructure.

Finishing, the old woman lifted her basket
and motioned me to follow her into the woods.
She knows exactly where to go. Stopping here
and there — placing a leaf, a sprig, a whole
plant, inside her woven continuum. She stoops
to dig a root, then lingers beside an ageless
cedar — carefully tearing a tiny branch to
add to her collection
...the medicines of our people are now
self-contained within the circle of endurance.

Slowly, she turned to me
with the faintest of smiles upon her face,
knowing she had opened my mind to the
secrets of este mvskoke, forever.
—Helen Chalakee

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About the Author

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Strategic Plans for Use of Modern Technology in the Education of American Indian and Alaska Native Students

Paul K. Berg and Jason Ohler

Introduction

Numerous reports from governmental and private agencies have documented the failure of public education to meet the needs of Native students. As educational technologists, we set out to find an explanation for this phenomenon and to identify successful educational strategies.

Using technology, we traveled thousands of miles, stopped many places and met many people without leaving our homes. Through phone, computer, and mail, we gathered information from people about their experiences with technology in Native education. We used computer networks to post requests for information. We searched databases thousands of miles away and learned from the insights of many practitioners and researchers. We contacted hundreds of people for help. The ability of technology to amplify our requests for information helped us to see patterns and to identify potential solutions. This paper presents strategies using educational technology to benefit American Indians and Alaska Natives.

America's Industrial School System

Industrial technology has been a major influence in American education. The education system is a creation of an industrial society. The public school system developed and grew to maturity during a period of rapid industrial expansion. The education system adopted the principles and metaphors of factory production. For example, the theme of productivity recently came to the educational forefront. A report published by the National School Boards Association tells educators that productivity must become the main concern of the next wave of school improvement (as cited by Komoski, 1987, p. 3).

The technology of the industrial revolution provides the tools for teaching. In the early years of the nineteenth century, textbooks were expensive, shared resources. The ideal of one textbook per child for each major subject was made possible by the development of steam-powered printing presses and the mass production of textbooks. The textbook evolved from a valuable, shared reference to a personal instructional tool. Mass produced textbooks, workbooks, and worksheets now dominate the classroom. The Educational Products Information Exchange Institute (EPIE) estimates that 90-95 percent of in-school learning involves the use of printed instructional materials (Komoski, p. 4).

Industry provided the organizational model for the growing public school system. Millions of immigrants arrived in North America during the latter part of the nineteenth century. The managers of the public education system looked to industrial models of organization for methods of processing large numbers of new students through the system. Young people attended schools to learn industrial roles in a lock step, cohort method of group processing (Hathaway, Summer, 1989, p. 25). Secondary schools became larger and larger as education managers strived to achieve the industrial management goal of economy of scale. Many of the larger secondary schools began to look remarkably like factories from the outside. The resemblance is more than coincidental.

The organizational technology of the industrial era focused on vertical management structures, economy of scale, and the assembly-line method of production. The vertical teacher-principal-superintendent-school board organizational structure parallels the worker-foreman-president-board of directors pattern of corporate organizations.

Industrial methods of measurement have influenced the way schools assess educational achievement. School systems evaluate education with standardized, machine graded tests. The multiple choice question format dominates the tests, not because it is a superior format for evaluating a student's responses, but because it is acceptable to industrial era grading machines. The public evaluates educational achievement with a numerical grade equivalent score similar to a production output figure. This phenomenon of the industrial mind ... the desire to reduce a complex phenomenon to a numerical score ... reached its zenith of absurdity with the weekly body count issued by the Pentagon during the Vietnam War.

The industrial structure of school systems brought about a corresponding development in employee behavior. Union negotiations, strikes, and picket lines are common occurrences in American education. Industrial labor relations are the status quo in school systems.

Schools have also internalized the industrial principle of mass production of standardized parts. As a factory produces standardized products, public schools strive to produce children with standardized minds for an industrial society. Without apology or afterthought, industrial schools measure the quality of their product with standardized achievement tests.

Industrial Secondary Schools — A Low Context Environment

Schools are low context, cultural environments according to anthropologist Edward T. Hall. In low context educational environments, students have access to minimum amount of background information. "That is, there is a need to tell everybody everything in great detail (this applies particularly to instructions)" (Hall, 1989, Fall, p. 25). Students in a low context education system need a continuous flow of directions and information from the teacher.

Large secondary schools are low context educational environments. In many classes, few of the students know each other. The context changes hourly. Imagine a work situation where workers change desks, rooms, bosses, co-workers, and expectations each hour. This creates an impossible work situation for the students. In low context secondary schools, the teachers are the workers and the students are passive receivers of information (Boyer, 1983, p. 147). The Carnegie Report on American High Schools states that American high school students are characterized by passiveness and low engagement in the learning process (Boyer, p. 147).

In contrast, students extract meaning from the environment in a high context educational setting. Verbal communication serves more as a releaser for what is already known. The person in a high context setting inhabits a "sea of information" (Hall, 1989, Fall, p. 27) and there is little need to transmit detailed directions about expectations and procedures.

Native people have high context cultural traditions. They strive for harmony, do not generally promote their needs over others, value moderation in speech, and value being a good listener (*American Indian/Alaska Native Education: Quality in the Classroom, Human and Civil Rights National Association*, 1983, p. 11). High context people, according to Hall, experience discomfort and feel put down in low context environments (Hall, p. 26). Gregory Cajete, an educator from Santa Clara Pueblo, described the effect of low context education on Native children. "When the Indian children had to leave the 'home room' where they were all together with one teacher and take separate subjects with different teachers, the trouble began. All those different teachers held different views. They arranged their subjects differently. That's when the world started to come apart" (as cited by Hall, p. 27).

We submit that large, low context, industrial schools institutionally discriminate against Native students.

The Scientific Myth

A system of beliefs about the nature of reality underlies the industrial education system. Vine Deloria refers to this underlying principle as reductionism — the tendency to perceive reality as being naturally divided into discreet categories. This view of the world, according to Deloria, is enhanced by the success of modern technology in the physical world (Deloria, 1990, Winter, p. 12).

Science has produced a system of thought to explain the questions of existence (Burke, 1985, p. 334). Science has replaced myth in the modern mind. According to James Burke, "Myths confer stability and certainty because they explain why things happen or fail to happen, as does science" (Burke, p. 336). He further writes, "Science, therefore ... is not what it appears to be. It is not objective and impartial since every observation it makes of nature is impregnated with theory. Nature is so complex and random that it can only be approached with a systematic tool that presupposes certain facts about it" (Burke, p. 336).

Scientific reductionism has become the modern western myth. The prevailing dogma of the myth is that information is valid only if it is observable, quantifiable, and replicable. This belief is institutionalized in the disciplines of western science and technology to the degree that the western mind has identified scientific "truth" with reality. However, science is not reality. Science is a way of perceiving and structuring the observable world.

The limitations of the scientific method are apparent when we examine phenomena which are inexplicable in terms of science. Plausible examples abound. Acupuncture was dismissed by western science as superstition until the early 1970s. The auras photographed through specialized photographic techniques defy scientific explanation. The Gaia hypothesis suggests that earth's steady states may not be lucky coincidence, but part of a larger scheme of life.

A notable feature of scientific reductionism is that it is an absolute myth. Many cultural myths are accepted by their followers as methods of metaphorically organizing and explaining reality. They recognize the limitations of their way of organizing knowledge and give credence to other ways of perceiving reality. In comparison to many other world views, western science is rigid and absolute.

Scientific reductionism is intolerant of other sources of knowledge. Information that is not processed through the quantitative procedures of scientific rigor has no validity from the scientific perspective. The education system supports this absolute view, especially at the university level. Professional training reinforces the undisputed supremacy of western science. Educators trained from the scientific point of view share an absolute perspective. The unconscious baggage of many teachers of Native students is an unquestioned attitude of cultural superiority supported by the absolutism of the scientific myth.

Impact of the Industrial School on Native Students

An overwhelming body of evidence suggests that the experience of the Native students with America's industrial education system has not been successful (*Educating the American Indian/Alaska Native Family*, 1989). The industrial schools have systematically attempted to eradicate non-western cultural traits and produce a student with a standardized set of skills and standardized world view. For Native students, formal education has too often meant relinquishing their culture and becoming "white" (O'Brien, 1990, p. 15).

The Native student is usually taught by non-Native teachers who serve as advocates for cultural assimilation. The cultural and technological supremacy of the scientific myth are continually reinforced in the classroom. From the non-Native teachers' perspective, assimilation remains the primary purpose of education (O'Brien, 1990, p. 18). In the words of Vine Deloria, Jr. (1990, Winter, p. 13):

> Education in the English-American context resembles indoctrination more than it does other forms of teaching because it insists on implanting a particular body of knowledge and a specific view of the world which often does not correspond to the life experiences that people have or might be expected to encounter.

Native students encounter cultural absolutism, forced assimilation, and low context secondary schools in the industrial education system. This system has not served the Native students well. However, there are few villains. The problems are systemic, organizational, structural, technological, and cultural. The industrial education system is also unsuccessful for many non-Native students for the simple reason that it is out of phase with reality. We are no longer living in the industrial age.

Paradigm — Information Age Education

In his landmark book, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Thomas Kuhn (1970) describes the phenomenon of paradigm shift. Paradigms are patterns that guide normal practices within a social system. Practitioners of the old paradigm regard new ideas with suspicion. The emergence of a new paradigm is always associated with crises (Kuhn, p. 69). Crises loosen the rules of the existing model and the system breaks down. Finally, the system shifts to a new paradigm — a new way of viewing reality and a new way of doing things.

A recent example of paradigm shift occurred throughout Eastern Europe in 1988. Information age technology was a driving force behind the overthrow of the Communist regimes. The deluge of electronic information from democratic societies overwhelmed the state information control apparatus throughout Eastern Europe. The governmental systems broke down and a new pattern is emerging.

The industrial paradigm of education is also entering a time of crises. There is a gap between the expectations of society and the outcomes of education. Numerous commissions and researchers have concluded that school performance is inadequate to meet the needs of modern society (Branson, 1987, p. 15). National task forces appointed to study the problem invariably urge educators to intensify existing educational practices — more homework, higher standards, more math, and more basic skills. Robert Branson suggests that school performance has reached the upper design limit (Branson, p. 15). Reforms directed toward increasing performance in the existing education system produce disappointing results. The existing model of schooling cannot be patched up to meet current and projected educational needs.

Fortunately, a new paradigm is on the horizon. We cannot predict the final form that it will take.

Nor can we accurately predict the time required for the shift. A paradigm shift can be a sudden transformation or it can be a gradual change. However, we can identify the technological and social forces moving education toward the new paradigm. We can describe several of the changes that are now occurring as the educational paradigm shifts from an industrial to a post-modern or information age model. Bramble, Mason and Berg have illustrated the paradigm shift as shown in Table 1.

For Natives, the industrial age educational paradigm has been a disaster. Industrial education

TABLE 1
Education in the Industrial Age and the Information Age

Industrial Age	Information Age
1. Promotes uniformity while stressing self-reliance.	1. Promotes individual variation while stressing collective responsibility.
2. Defines the core of education as knowledge of a set of basic mathematics and communication skills necessary for minimal economic survival in an industrial society	2. Stresses training of the mind in high level cognitiveskills and acquisition of knowledge. The term "to know" is redefined to include being able to locate facts, to interrelate data, and to evaluate.
3. Education is primarily for individual benefit. imperative.	3. Education is a national economic
4. Insular outlook.	4. Stresses a national economic imperative.
5 Promotes linear, sequential thinking. thinking.	5. Promotes non-linear, multi-dimensional
6. Textbook oriented.	6. Multimedia, experiential approaches to education.
7. Promotes rigid hierarchies among students and staff.	7. Hierarchical relationships are de-emphasized.
8. The teacher is the purveyor or knowledge. guide.	8. The teacher is a resource manage and
9. The teacher tends to deal with people in groups and categories	9. The teacher deals with groups and individuals.
10. Views the outcome of education as a set of knowledge. The school is conceived of in industrial terms as the production center for a product that can be measured with standardized tests.	10. Views the outcomes of education as a process. The results of education are indirectly observed and inferred
11. Education terminates at graduation.	11. Education is a lifelong experience.
12. Education creates economic and social mobility.	12. Education creates national wealth.

Source: Bramble, Mason & Berg, 1985, p. 300.

is inherently antagonistic to the goals of Native education. The industrial education system standardized human beings and denied the cultural rights of Native people. Schools do not meet the needs of Native students because they were never designed to serve this purpose. The good news is that the information age model is not inherently antagonistic to the goals of Native education.

Paradigm shifts create new ways of viewing old realities (Reaves, 1989, p. 17). The information age paradigm is a shift from a monocultural, reductionist world view of reality to multiple models of thinking and knowing. Industrial technologies were limited to supporting one view of reality and one way of knowing. The multiple models of communication available through information age technologies can support alternative views of reality and divergent paths to knowledge. This shift to multiple ways of knowing is central to education in the age of computers and television (McCracken, 1989, p. 20).

The technology of industrial education — the hardware, organizational structure, underlying assumptions and educational methods — has reached its upper limit of performance. How, then, can we improve Native education? Aircraft designers confronted a similar problem in the 1940s. Piston-engine aircraft had reached its theoretical upper limit of design performance. The designers used technological advances to design a new type of aircraft. A new paradigm emerged. The jet plane was born. The upper design limitations of speed, payload, and range were reset (Branson, 1987, p. 23).

In this paper, we are examining the jet engines of education, the advances in information processing technology which are bringing in the new paradigm.

New Tools for Education

Technology has changed the way that banks, travel agencies, hospitals, and industries do their work. Yet, schools remain relatively unaffected by the advent of computers and other information age technologies. The Office of Technology Assessment recently reported that the classrooms of today more closely resemble classrooms of 50 years ago than operating rooms or business offices resemble their ancestors despite a tremendous expansion of technology in schools during the 1980s (*Power on*!, pp. 1-4).

Several factors are responsible for the conservatism of the schools (Hathaway, 1989, Summer, p. 26):

1. The majority of teachers have little or no educational technology training according to the Office of Technology Assessment.
2. There is a built-in resistance to change the existing model of schooling.
3. New technologies tend to be used as improved versions of the previous technology. Radio was used as wireless telephone for over 20 years. Gradually, people realized that radio could serve as a mass communications media. Likewise, educators tend to use the new technologies in ways that reinforce the established methods of teaching. Computers made their debut in schools as electronic workbooks for drill and practice.
4. Useful technological tools have been slower to develop in the field of education than in other fields.

Revolutionary new tools are now becoming available in the field of education. These include local area networks, integrated learning systems, computer managed instruction, multimedia, and computer information systems. These tools are in their introductory phases. Schools are adapting them to the existing paradigm of instruction. They are not yet transforming schools. However, they have the potential to change the way curriculum is organized and presented. Collectively, they may be the jet engines of education.

Local Area Networks

"The days of the standalone computer are drawing to a close. Networks will dominate the educational technology scene into the 1990s" (Reinhold, 1989, March, Spec. Supp., p. 34).

A local area network is any computer system in which a single source computer drives more than one microcomputer or computer terminal. In a typical local area network in schools, cables connect 25 to 35 computers to a main computer called a file server. The file server "serves" the microcomputers by controlling software, messages, and the data flow between the microcomputers, the microcomputer and the server, and between the microcomputers and peripherals such as printers. Software is stored on the hard disk drive of the file server and uploaded to the individual microcomputers.

Local area networks are typically set up as computer labs in schools. The disadvantage of this arrangement is that the labs are a fixed schedule resource. Limited access restricts the impact of the computer lab to that of a supplemental activity. Some educators regard the computer lab environment as artificial, separate from the classroom context and a poor place for educational activities (Barnes, 1989, March, p. 15). The network may not become integrated into the curriculum as a tool and resource for students. In an attempt to overcome this limitation of networked computer labs, we are beginning to see computer networks distributed throughout the school building.

A distributed local area network consists of one or more file servers and a large number of interconnected computers located in classrooms or other key locations throughout the school. Distributed local area networks have the advantage of providing the students with more open access to computers. The computer resources are immediately available to the teacher and the student. For example, if the network is connected to a CD-ROM player, students can to access an interactive encyclopedia, reference books, graphic data, or other information resources from the classroom.

Local area computer networks offer many potential benefits to education:

1. More time on task for teachers and students — teachers no longer must keep stacks of floppy disks around the computer lab and waste time trying to load software on a room full of computers.
2. Enhanced access to software — each microcomputer can call up different programs from the server. Networks do away with the need to purchase multiple copies of software.
3. Learning management and report generation — when combined with learning management software, computer networks enhance the ability of educators to generate accurate information about student progress.
4. Expandability — networks are expandable as student population or user needs increase.
5. Increased access to shared resources — computer networks allow for open student access to information and tool software.
6. Electronic mail — networks can be connected to the outside world via modem and telephone line.

In addition to the above advantages, computer networks equipped with CD-ROM drives can provide students with immediate access to an encyclopedia, dictionary references, maps, images, important facts, and entire literary works. CD-ROM drives use laserdiscs similar to the compact audio discs which are replacing long playing records. A single CD can store up to 680 megabytes of information as printed text, images, sound, or graphics.

The success of computer networks in education is not a certainty. In a worst case scenario, computer networks may be used to intensify the principles of industrial schooling — automated lockstep instruction with trivial and impersonal learning objectives. The fate of language labs illustrates the misapplication of industrial school principles to educational technology.

During the 1960s, American public schools and colleges built over 6,000 language labs (Locke, 1965, May, p. 295). Language labs were the state-of-the-art educational technology at the time. The labs used sophisticated electronics to teach low level, vocabulary memorization skills. Students sat with their backs to the teacher and faced a machine. When researchers in the late 1960s and early 1970s found that there were no significant educational advantages to using this approach (Ackerman, 1966, August, p. 68), the labs fell into disuse. Very few language labs remain in use today.

Despite the difficulties associated with computer lab environments and fixed scheduling, the future of computers in education appears promising. The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment recently concluded that hundreds of studies reveal that elementary students who received brief, daily computerized lessons as a supplement to daily instruction showed gains equivalent to one to eight months over their peers who received traditional instruction only. (*Power On!*, p. 46)

Educators are only beginning to explore the potential of this new tool. Networks have the potential to empower Native students. The massive storage, retrieval, and branching capability of computer networks can provide immediate access to cultural information. Networks can promote student-to-student communication and direct access to resource people when linked to the outside world through telephone lines. Computer networks signal to us that education is no longer restricted to textbooks with one cultural frame of reference. However, the full potential of local area networks awaits the development of software which reflects a pluralistic and Native perspective.

Integrated Learning Systems

An integrated learning system (ILS) is a comprehensive educational software program designed to run on a local area network. The term, integrated learning system, refers to the software and the computer network. The majority of integrated learning systems marketed to schools teach reading, English, math, science, or writing for the elementary grades.

Typically, an ILS is located in a lab environment which must be shared by classes throughout the school. This limitation can be overcome by delivering the instructional software over a distributed local area network. Educators have been reluctant to rely on ILS training as the main instructional delivery system in core subject areas. Integrated learning systems are generally a supplement to traditional classroom instruction.

Kenneth Komoski notes that integrated learning systems tend to be closed-in systems in three ways. First, the systems that have been on the market for several years tend to use proprietary hardware made by the company. However, market pressures are encouraging ILS producers to write software for a variety of network hardware systems. Second, they are based on a proprietary set of software and, in some cases, print materials. This provision limits the ability of the end user to integrate other software or instructional materials into the instructional sequence. Third, most of the systems on the market today are aimed at basic skills for the at-risk learner (Komoski, 1987, p. 26). However, there are encouraging indications that this focus is expanding. Wasatch Education Systems, for example, includes word processing, a calculator, graphics tools, a spreadsheet, and a database as part of the instructional package to encourage students to use the computer as a tool.

Computer-Managed Instruction

Computer managed instruction (CMI) is the natural partner to integrated learning systems. Most integrated learning systems include a computerized management system for monitoring and reporting student progress. CMI may be used to manage a traditional, non-computerized instructional program. The general characteristics of CMI include:

1. a student database;
2. a bank of test items which includes a number of test items for each educational objective;
3. ability to evaluate student progress in the mastery of specific learning objectives;
4. a computerized testing capability or optical reader to score multiple choice handwritten tests; and
5. the ability to produce test data and produce reports about individual and group progress. (Tyre, 1988-89, December-January, p. 17)

Computer-managed instruction offers the advantages of minimizing the amount of time that educators spend grading tests, computing grade scores, and assessing progress toward learning objectives. CMI also has the potential to help educators identify learning problems and make necessary adjustments in the educational program. The use of computer-managed instruction does not guarantee increased educational achievement. Computer-managed instruction must be focused on valid learning objectives in order to be effective (Tyre, 1988-89, December-January, p. 25). A potential disadvantage of CMI is that it assumes a rigid, industrial model of learning through the mastery of separate, sequenced skills. This may not be effective in all subject areas for holistic learners.

Evaluation of Computer-Assisted Instructional Packages

The software industry has produced numerous computer-assisted instruction (CAI) software packages to meet the demand of educational systems. The CAI software packages vary greatly in purpose and quality. Mike Charleston, Lauren Villagomez and Lynette Shaffer (1989) developed a process of evaluating the appropriateness and effectiveness of CAI packages for the National Commission for Employment Policy. They developed and used the taxonomy presented below to organize the criteria used in an evaluation form for evaluating CAI software.

I. Types of CAI packages
    A. Purpose of the package
        1. Drill and Practice
        2. Supplemental Instruction
        3. Primary Instruction
        4. Simulation and Application
    B. Context Orientation of the Package
        1. Specific and general functional contexts of work
        2. Life skill context
        3. Child orientation
    C. Instructional Level(s) of the materials
        1. English-as-a-second language
        2. Basic literacy and adult basic education
        3. General Equivalency Diploma
        4. Advanced Skills
II. Quality Measures
    A. Curriculum design features
        1. Content
        2. Flexibility
        3. Feedback
        4. Learning styles

B. Software design features
   1. User interface with equipment
   2. Functional design components
      a. Menu systems
      b. Design components
      c. Interaction with user
      d. Management services

C. Implementation features
   1. Installation
   2. Speed of operation
   3. Performance options
   4. Maintenance and technical support

The evaluation of the appropriateness and effectiveness of commercial software for particular educational purposes is critical to successful implementation and use of CAI packages in Native education.

Multimedia

A lively drama unfolds on the screen. Native actors help teach Lakota language to students by engaging them in the role of a mediator in a civil dispute. Students pause the action, replay scenes, and touch any word on-screen to call up a visual dictionary with translations in either Lakota or English.

A team of students visits an elderly woman who lives along the creek bed. The students record the interview on videotape. Later, they combine the videotaped sound and images with historical photographs to create a multimedia presentation of life on the Pine Ridge Reservation during the 1930s.

These scenarios demonstrate realistic educational applications of multimedia technology.

Young people are no longer content to sit passively and learn from books. Textbooks present information in a controlled, linear sequence from the mainstream society's cultural perspective. Young people are aware of the power of computers and telecommunications as they grow up with Cable News Network and Music Television at home. Young people regard immediate access to information as a right. Awareness of the discrepancy between information access in the real world and the industrial school increases the dissatisfaction with public education.

Multimedia is a result of merging audio-visual electronic media and the computer. Computer aided instruction has limited ability to model real-world objects due to low level graphics and synthetic sound. Multimedia combines life-like images and sound with the organizational and interactive capability of the computer. With the storage capability of CD-ROM, multimedia systems have the capacity to present students with video lessons using photographs, music, moving pictures, animation, text, and narration (Dillingham, 1990, May, p. 49).

Multimedia is not limited to presenting lessons to students. Multimedia provides a medium for students to become interactive learners. Students can create customized multimedia programs with specialized software such as Apple's Hypercard or IBM's Linkway. A student report may be an electronic presentation of text, sound, and visual information. Multimedia also has the potential to increase opportunities for team work and to develop inter-personal skills.

Multimedia stands out as an application that has the potential to play a major role in the future of Native education. Students with very little technical background can create customized multimedia programs that combine sound, images, and text. Multimedia can present lessons within a familiar cultural context. The fulfillment of this potential, however, awaits the development of culturally based instructional materials.

Large Scale Computer Information Systems

Educators are looking for computer systems that can serve entire schools, school districts, and colleges. Large scale computer information systems have the ability to track populations of students over time and evaluate large amounts of student data.

State-wide computer information systems are developing incrementally with the growth of computer networks. Several states now require school districts to submit financial and student data via direct computer link between the district's computer and the computer at the state level. The growth of computer information systems may help alleviate the lack of reliable data about Native education.

Bobby Wright, a member of the Chippewa-Cree tribe and researcher at Pennsylvania State University spoke of the need for a national database of information about Native education at the regional hearing in Billings, Montana. He testified, "We have typically undersampled American Indians causing our national data to be insufficient and unreliable. In most recent data released by the National Center for Educational Statistics (NCES) on the condition of education in 1990, information was reported by ethnic groups, but Natives were not included because of this lack of data" (High Plains Hearing, Wright, 1990).

These technologies have the potential to transform education. In actual practice, however, the application of educational technology tends to be similar to the early experiences with radio as a wireless telephone. New technologies are often used as more efficient versions of the previous technology. Too frequently, sophisticated local area networks deliver low level drill and practice to eager minds. Integrated learning systems that support a narrow and ethnocentric view of education may merely be a more efficient means of achieving industrial educational goals. Realistic planning, achievable goals, and staff training are necessary for success with educational technology.

Scenario No. 1:

In the village of __________, the school has undergone a rapid change in recent years. The previous administrator initiated 21 new programs in the village school over the past five years.

As part of a technology initiative, the school district installed a state-of-the-art local area network in the school with an integrated learning system and learning management software. The computerized learning system began to dominate the curriculum. The integrated learning system became the core curriculum in this Alaska Native village. Faculty turnover ranged from 70-100 percent annually.

At the end of the fifth year, testing indicated that basic skills were the lowest of any public school population in the state (Leland Dishman, telephone interview, February 14, 1991).

Scenario No. 2:

Kwethluk Integrated Learning System

The village school of Kwethluk initiated a pilot project during the 1989-90 school year focused at improving basic reading and math skills for students in grades 2-8. The project made use of an integrated learning system from Jostens Learning Corporation and an IBM local area computer network with 20 computer stations. The network system included a CD-ROM player.

Principal Bob Medinger (Kwethluk Integrated Learning System Pilot Evaluation, 1989-90) reports that lessons were devised to have the students interact with the computer and focused on application skills. "Students read text, manipulate figures and shapes with a mouse, use calculators, have access to full color graphics and motion, hear digitized voiced instructions, and even talk to their computer with their individual headphone microphones. Students' voices are digitized and repeated on demand. This is a great feature for second language speakers."

Medinger reports that successful implementation of the system is dependent on staff involvement in the decision-making and training.

Results of the pilot program after the first year are as follows:

1. a mild increase in school attendance;
2. a 24 percent decrease in disciplinary referrals;
3. grade school reading scores improved substantially; and
4. math scores improved dramatically.

Scenario No. 1 illustrates the risk of regarding technology as a panacea. Lessons are not ennobled nor empowered simply because they are on a computer screen. Technology which does not meet the needs of Native students can damage education. In Scenario No. 2, the integrated learning system focused on limited objectives in reading and math. The staff carefully monitored the effects of the implementation. Staff commitment to the program was considered vital to success. The system directly addressed Native Education Goal #3 — Reading. While the Kwethluk application of an integrated learning system is too new to be considered exemplary, it is an example of a rational application of educational technology to an achievable educational goal.

Finally, it must be noted that educational technology is not currently revolutionizing schools. Few advances in the way lessons are organized and presented are incorporated into software of the new instructional systems (as cited by Borton, 1988, Summer, p. 95). Real advancement in the use of these new tools awaits the development of new software and methods of instruction. However, we believe these new educational tools have the potential to empower Native students when employed to serve the goals of Native education. Computer systems, with their ability to access and present large amounts of information, have the potential to overcome the restrictions of monocultural, industrial education.

Distance Education and Educational Networking

A natural extension of local networking and large scale computer systems is the use of geographically dispersed information networks (phone, mail, and TV) to expand learning resources and to personalize learning. Students using these systems engage in distance education. Distance education is education that occurs when students are in one place and teachers, peer learners, and/or resources are in another.

Distance education is best explained by example. Parts of the following example are borrowed from the report on distance learning prepared for the Office of the U.S. Congress, Office of Technology Assessment (OTA) (Ohler, 1989). Although this example is fictitious, variations of the system described below exist at a number of places in the United States.

> Imagine: Instead of sitting in a classroom to learn American history, your teenage daughter goes to a special viewing room at school or at a community center with a group of her peers, or perhaps even stays at home by herself, and settles in front of the television. With a glass of juice, notebook, telephone, and computer close by, she punches the remote control. On comes Mr. Johnson, standing at the blackboard in Studio B somewhere on the East coast of the United States explaining the origins of the Civil War. Confused by something she has just heard, your daughter places a telephone call. Seeing the red light flashing on his portacom, Mr. Johnson stops. "Yes?" "Mr. Johnson, this is Becky in San Francisco. I don't get it when you say the Civil War had more to do with economics than slavery. Can you explain that more?"
>
> "How many other people are having that problem?" asks Mr. Johnson. He checks a bank of monitors and discovers that 78 of his 135 students in 11 states have registered an affirmative answer through their computers. "Hmmm. I see there are a number of you. It looks like I need to go over that area more thoroughly. First let me send you a map of the United States that shows the kinds of economic activities that were going on around the time of the war. This will be very useful in my explanation." The promised map immediately begins to appear on Becky's printer, as well as those of her on-line classmates. "And let's switch gears in terms of tonight's assignment. Each of you should send your tutor a half page about this concept, and they will post the best from each learning group to the electronic bulletin board. Log on sometime Monday with your computer and read what the others have said. You have much to learn from each other."

The Social Context of Distance Education

Distance education may appear to serve only the geographically disadvantaged. Public education originally turned to distance delivery as the most cost-effective means of extending equal education to those who did not live within busing distance of a school. Distance education is suitable for many types of students sharing a similar trait: they all feel somehow *distant* or excluded from the educational system. For some, the distance is physical. For others, it is cultural or psychological.

Distance learners do not necessarily live in remote areas. We need a redefinition of terms. We are talking about dispersed or *decentralized* learners who are recombined or *networked* to form new learning communities that are less dependent upon common space and old formulae for the maintenance of public education. *Decentralization* often individualizes, while *networking* reconstructs, often in cooperative situations.

Those who turn to distance education are in search of options. Ten years ago, the options were limited. Today, they are numerous and growing rapidly. Those willing to seek will find that media can effectively transport experts from around the country and the world into their homes and schools.

Distance education is the first significant experiment with the medium of the learning environment in centuries. It counters the trend of centralized, norm-minded, teacher-oriented pedagogy that dominates the industrial age learning model.

Distance education can be developed by and for specialized audiences. To understand the broad appeal that distance education has, consider it from Becky's point of view. Why has she turned to using a non-traditional method of learning? In the report to the Office of Technology Assessment, Ohler identified 19 possible reasons for using distance education. However, reasons 7 and 18 are particularly appropriate for the Native community:

> 7) **To avoid having to abandon a life-style or culture.** Perhaps Becky lives an alternative life-style, on a farm, on the road, or even on a boat ... The refusal to abandon culture is perhaps one of the most poignant rationales for the use of distance education by the Native population. Perhaps Becky is a Native American and chooses to live in her community in order to retain her cultural context as the framework of her learning while importing western education on her own terms. This approach is very imperfect in its design concept, ensuring the displacement of some indigenous life-style practice. Also, the unusual nature of learning by audio convener or TV can be intimidating. But, this approach allows students to straddle two cultures. The proposed Native Open Learning Network in British Columbia offers an instructive example in this regard. It proposes to tie together seven Native communities or in-

stitutions with Native concerns with an electronic educational delivery system, allowing them to teach one another and avoid non-Native, non-multicultural mainstream education which they feel has done a poor job of meeting their educational needs.

18) **To associate with a particular segment of society or, conversely, to become diffused within a heterogeneous population** ... Decentralized, on-line education can enable students to associate academically, socially, or politically with a particular homogeneous segment of the population. That is, a geographically dispersed segment of society, such as the disabled or the elderly to name just a couple, can learn or interact "together" despite their lack of co-location. This allows Becky to change or experiment with her sense of identification by joining groups with which she might not normally associate herself. Efforts are underway already, linking the news of indigenous populations.

Conversely, those who do not wish to identify with a particular segment of society to which they may belong can often become diffused in the mainstream of heterogeneous, on-line community because of the anonymity it can offer. It can offer Becky the escape she may need from prejudice or social stigma that might be associated with her.

These two points highlight the dilemma faced by a Native educational community: assimilating to some degree into mainstream culture versus maintaining the integrity and uniqueness of the Native society. In reality, some combination is probably desirable, and this is precisely the opportunity afforded by distance education and educational networking. Students are allowed to hold a citizenship in two educational systems, one traditional and one mainstream.

The Technologies of Distance Education

Distance learning relationships can be maintained using different technologies. The more common ones are described below.

1. **Correspondence Education**. This involves the exchange of printed, and recently taped, material between teacher and student via post. This is an inexpensive, time-honored approach to distance education. Correspondence methods are nearly always used to some extent in distance education programs.

Many distance educators draw a sharp distinction between correspondence and modern distance education. Interactivity is the important ingredient between the two. Not until technology allowed interaction among teachers and remotely located students did the education community feel distance education was credible enough to use within a school setting.

2. **Computer Networking**. Often called *going on-line*, networking connects computers via the phone system in inexpensive and powerful ways to send messages (called electronic mail), to access data, or to join conferences. Networking allows people from many parts of the world to share information, to work on joint projects, and to act as a unified though geographically dispersed body. In the example above, when Becky's teacher asked her to "Log on sometime Monday with your computer and read what the others have said," he asked her to join a computer network that connects her with classmates who share ideas and information. A unique strength of computer networking is it does not happen in *real time*. Network members leave and pick messages when it is convenient, allowing maximum schedule flexibility and reflection time between responses.

Hundreds, perhaps thousands, of educational networks, resources, and on-line projects are in existence, most of which were not in existence ten years ago.

3. **Radio**. This underused technology has fallen into disfavor in an era of highly visual media. However, it is much cheaper to produce than TV, and when supplemented by print-based material can be an effective teaching tool.
4. **Audio-Conferencing**. This allows geographically dispersed people to place a phone call to a "bridge" that connects them together. In Alaska, audio-conferencing has become a way of life in many educational districts committed to delivering education to remote regions.
5. **One-way television**. One-way TV contains no interactive portion of the information presentation. The TV technologies below are used in this way:
   a. **Broadcast TV** — This is "regular" TV, the audience receives the TV signal without special antennas or connections. Local TV stations (usually affiliated with one of the large networks such as CBS, NBC, ABC) provide service on a community basis.

b. **Public Broadcasting Service (PBS) TV** — This is a form of broadcast TV that is far less commercial in nature. PBS can be a rich source of educational programming.

c. **Community Access TV (CATV)** — CATV, often referred to as "cable TV", is only available to those hooked directly by cable to the local programming service. Changes in FCC law no longer require cable companies to provide public access to facilities and channels; many stations still do. Several education programs have been launched using CATV services.

d. **Direct Broadcast** — Owners of satellite dish receive TV signals directly from satellite, often bypassing cable operators.

e. **Instructional Television Fixed Services (ITFS)** — The FCC has reserved part of the TV broadcasting frequencies for communities to broadcast to all parts of a school district.

6. **Talk Back TV**. This is the common name for the system using one-way video (TV teacher) and a two-way audio (phone link), as in Becky's case. The printer and computer network in Becky's system are not standard, but they are becoming increasingly desirable and are appearing more often. About a half dozen talk back networks are in existence, covering most of the United States and offering courses in most academic areas.

7. **Two-way Video**. This allows teachers and students continual video contact. It is quite expensive, though a special form of it called "compressed video" offers substantial savings.

8. **Audio Graphics**. This combines audio conferencing with an electronic chalkboard. Students and teachers draw on a table or screen that transmits the image to all others on the network. It is an inexpensive way to transmit graphic images and can be used effectively to deliver quality education in subject areas such as science and math.

9. **Phone Line Technologies**. Common facsimile machines, simple phone and phone recording technology, slow scan (allowing for the very slow sending of pictures), and other technologies have a potential role in distance education. These technologies require a regular phone line for transmission of information.

10. **At-Home and Stand-Alone Technologies**. Computer software, television, optical disks, and multimedia technologies that function as individualized learning stations offer a quasi in-house-yet-at-a-distance learning alternative. However, as the quality of these machines increases and their prices decrease, it is easy to envision them being used in schools and homes as primary staples of distance-delivered education, serving much the same capacity as books. In such cases, most of the work is carried out between the student and the machine, with human guidance via telephone, computer networking, or a learning assistant. Videocassette recorders (VCR) are particularly important in a distance education program. At one point, 80 percent of Alaskan distance education students had VHS VCRs.

Although this list is not complete, it highlights the common distance delivery systems used today. The continual evolution of these technologies, combined with the reinterpretation of older technologies promises to maintain a fresh supply of learning options.

Current Native Programs

Two problems confound the identification of Native distance education and networking programs. First, modern distance education data is hard to find. The educational community has not considered distance education as a learning option until the development of interactive technologies during the past decade. Thus, much of distance education is new and undocumented.

Second, there are very few completely "Native" distance education programs or networks. The rural and distance education programs that serve cross-cultural communities rarely keep data on the ethnicity of their clientele.

1. **Native American Teleteaching Network (NATN)**. This successful pilot project uses audiographic technology to connect five of the American Indian colleges in the 21 college American Higher Education Consortium and is seeking to expand its connections.

2. **NativeNet**. This is an international computer network that deals with issues and current events affecting indigenous populations.

3. **The Russell Bulletin Board (Russell BB).** Also called the Native Art Network, this project is an innovative education computer network serving rural Montana. The Russell BB project consists of Native artists using computer graphic software to distribute their artwork via computer to anyone connected to the computer networks. Its members hope to attract Native computer artists from around the world and to serve as an international clearing house for the work.
4. **Educational Native American Network (ENAN).** This is a project of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the University of New Mexico, and Tandy Corporation. ENAN was targeted for Native American Schools. With approval, others may access this network for discussions and information, to converse with Native children and to take courses offered by the University of New Mexico.
5. **Oglala Lakota College**. The 11 centers that comprise this college in South Dakota make extensive use of FAX, centralized resource data bases, and a rotating library.
6. **Ktunaxa/Kinbasket Independent School System (KKISS) Audiographic**. This is like NATN except that it serves high school students in Eastern British Columbia. It is funded by the Native communities.
7. **Iowa Indian Defense Network**. This is a computer bulletin board system run by the Iowa Chapter of the American Indian Law School Association and the University of Iowa College of Law. An "IIDN is a computer bulletin board dedicated to the exchange of information, views, assistance, and materials relevant to the defense of American Indian Rights, to Indian Policy, tribal government, tribal news and other Indian Affairs questions" (E-mail message, 1991, February 16).
8. **Northern Arizona University (NAU).** NAU has an active Native outreach program that uses computer networking and an unusual form of distance delivery: cars. Teachers from the university drive to Native communities to assist with learning. This approach still meets both requirements of distance education; — students remain in their culture and school comes to them.
9. **Open Learning Institute (OLI) of British Columbia.** OLI uses many components, including a TV channel (Knowledge Network) and a correspondence study unit. One project within OLI uses on-site tutors to serve remote communities with high Native populations. On-site tutors facilitate and support students. Toll-free phone support is a available when on-site tutors cannot be hired.
10. **Audio-conferencing and other delivery systems in Alaska.** Alaska uses audio-conferencing extensively to reach rural students. In *Distance Education in Rural Alaska*, Barry Sponder (1990) reports that up to 40 percent of western Alaskan students are Native. Many experience some form on non-traditional educational delivery. An audio-graphic pilot project lead by Greg Moore at Chukchi Community College serves Native communities. In addition, video services and correspondence serve Alaska's "bush" communities.
11. **Summer Beaver Distance Education**. Summer Beaver, Ontario uses radio, FAX, audio-conferencing, computer networking and correspondence to offer high school courses to remote Native student populations.

Technology Training for Educators

"The use of technology requires qualitative new skills because it shakes up what teachers are used to doing in the classroom" (Revenaugh, 1989, March, p. 20).

The majority of teachers have little or no computer education or training according to the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment (*Power On!*, Summary, p. 16). Technology has outpaced the ability of many universities and school districts to provide adequate preservice and inservice training. Without adequate training for teachers and administrators, technological innovation in education will not succeed and may lead to lower educational achievement. In this section, we examine the training methods that support the introduction of successful technologies into education.

Technology Redefines the Role of Teachers

The role of the teacher is changing. Educators are examining the cherished practices of the self-contained classroom. Traditional classroom practices promote teacher talk, individual competition, and textbooks. The introduction of computers, telecommunications, and video technology in the classroom destabilizes this paradigm.

Effective technology training assists teachers to expand their roles as managers and facilitators of learning (*Power On!*, Summary, p. 14). Facilitators of learning are more accepting of diverse perspectives and methods of instruction. When teachers become managers and facilitators of learning, students can be engaged in more individualized and customized education (Hathaway, 1989, Summer, p. 30). Facilitators of learning are more open to teaching with multiple cultural perspectives than teachers who perceive themselves as the primary source of knowledge for their students.

Teachers Select Useful Innovations

The educational historian Larry Cuban observes that the school and classroom organizational framework establish the boundaries in which the teacher's beliefs and work practices develop. Changes that teachers have embraced, according to Cuban, are those that have solved problems that teachers have identified. Teachers adopt technological innovations that enhance the authority and stature of the profession. Cuban notes that over time, it is teachers who ultimately decide what innovations are accepted or rejected in education. Only a small fraction of long-term, classroom changes have resulted from the designs of policy makers (Cuban, 1986).

Educational technology is rarely adopted successfully through a top-down decision-making process. Successful implementation of educational technology involves bottom-up adoption or the development of a broad-based, community-teacher-administration consensus. This challenging situation requires new strategies for training both teachers and administrators. The following are techniques and ideas that we have used ourselves, have found in the literature, or have discussed with experts and practitioners who work in the field of educational technology training.

Introduce Educational Solutions —Not Technological Solutions

Trainers can introduce teachers to technology by linking technology to existing needs and priorities of the classroom. One successful training strategy is to present the computer as a teacher's aid for accomplishing daily tasks such as recording grades, writing letters to parents, and maintaining classroom records. Many teachers also use a classroom computer as an audio-visual demonstration device (Nasman, 1987, October 6, p. 3). Teachers who began using computers for daily classroom tasks generally develop new skills and new ways of teaching.

Technology is a means to an educational goal, not an end in itself. For example, the goal of providing students with 60 minutes of computer time each week is a technology goal, not an educational goal. A legitimate and desired educational goal would be to improve writing proficiency. Even when the educational goal is expressed in narrow terms such as scores on an achievement test, we believe that such uses of technology are a first step in the adaptation of these new tools to education. The process of shifting from the industrial model to an information age model begins with using the technology to accomplish familiar tasks. The accumulated effects of successful experience with computers and other advanced technologies in schools are transformational.

Effective Technology Training Techniques

Revenaugh has identified a set of effective practices for a staff computer inservice training program.

1. Make sure the objectives are clear and relevant.
2. Maintain an appropriate balance between lecture and hand-on experience.
3. Have lesson plans, guides and handouts available.
4. Relate instruction to common classroom (or administrative — author's note) practices.
5. Allow plenty of opportunities for peer interaction.
6. Consider whether the program will meet the needs of advanced computer users as well as those of beginners.
7. Follow-up the initial training with additional training and support (Revenaugh, 1989, March, p. 22).

Administrator Training

Administrators prefers to adopt technological innovations that meet perceived needs and solve problems. Computers can be introduced as a budgetary analysis tool using spreadsheet software. The ability to perform if-then-what budget analysis and projections is a valuable aid to administrators (Nasman, 1987, October 6, p. 4). Administrative staff also find the communications capabilities of microcomputers valuable, especially word processing and telecommunications.

Technology is only one training area among numerous others that have been identified as important to administrators in schools with Native students. Pavlik notes that the majority of school administrators lacks the necessary characteristics and training to cope with the unique challenges of Native education (Pavlik, 1988, May, p. 17).

Barnhardt found that most school administrators are trained to be managers of bureaucracies. Training in budget, law, finance, and personnel management are designed to enable them to function in a uniform environment characterized by likeness and control (as cited by Pavlik, 1988, May, p. 18). Administrators are indoctrinated in the culture of the industrial system of schooling.

Barnhardt calls for a new style of administration for schools serving Native populations. Barnhardt believes that the Native school administrator should:

1. Generate, rather than produce variables.
2. Decentralize control.
3. Maintain informal, rather than formal relations.
4. Maintain a loose structure.
5. Be difference-oriented.
6. Emphasize horizontal relations.
7. Be non-directive.
8. See that information flows in, not only out.
9. Assume a facilitating, rather than a managing role.
10. Establish implicit rather than explicit rules.
11. Maintain open communication channels.
12. Be process/direction, rather than content/product, oriented.
13. Have a diverging rather than converging focus.
14. Be receptive to change
15. Maintain an evolutionary rather than static structure and function.
16. Be downward responsive.
17. Emphasize personal relationships (as cited by Pavlik, 1988, May, pp. 18-19).

Barnhardt's model is consistent with the information age model of schooling. It rejects the rigidity of the industrial model and stresses a flexible and adaptive style of administration.

We believe that universities should prepare administrators for the leadership roles identified by Barnhardt. Administrators need to be trained to use computers and related technologies to support administrative functions. Administrative training should not be an indoctrination in the industrial model of schooling. Stress should be placed on training administrators to empower students, parents, community, and staff. Most important, we believe that administrators must be aware of the transformational power of technology and the potential for using technology to support a culture based curriculum for Native students.

Connie Fulmer and Mike Charleston (1990) studied the integration of microcomputers into educational administration courses. They found that such courses should progress from highly structured computer assignments for students with low levels of computing skills to more ambitious and ambiguous assignments that develop higher level thinking skills. For success, students need a threshold level of functional proficiency with computers prior to integration of technical skills with the theoretical content of the courses. Personal access to computers rather than public access via computer labs greatly enhance learning and creativity. Educational administration students working and learning in cooperative problem-solving work groups with computers helps prepare future administrators for modern organizational structures and administrative experiences in schools.

Technology Education

Computer Competence ... the Fourth Basic Skill

In 1983, A Nation at Risk identified computer competence as a fourth basic skill (Nation at Risk, 1983, April, p. 3). Computer literacy quickly became a new educational buzzword. State and local education agencies mandated computer literacy training. Regional and local definitions of computer literacy proliferated. For some educators, computer literacy meant the ability to program a computer. Others felt that computer literacy should include the ability to use tool software such as word processing, data bases, and graphic packages. Yet to others, computer literacy meant the ability to turn on the computer and run simple software.

Despite the initial rush to use computers in schools during the early 1980s, the first national assessment of computer competence conducted by

Educational Testing Service (ETC) in 1988 found that students seldom used computers in subjects such as reading, science, or mathematics (Martinez & Mead, 1988, April, p. 3). ETS also reported racial/ethnic differences in technology competence that favor white students (Martinez & Mead, p. 6).

Computer Literacy ... A New Perspective

In 1985, the Alaska Department of Education issued model curriculum guides for elementary and secondary computer education. The guides suggested that schools teach computer skills at specific grade levels and implied that computer education was a new and separate educational subject (Computer Education, Alaska Elementary and Secondary Curriculum Guides, First Edition, 1985, Alaska Department of Education).

In 1990, the Alaska Department of Education published the second edition titled "Computers and Related Technologies." The guide states that students should use computers and related technologies as tools as part of the school curriculum. The Model Computer Curriculum Guide is now followed by a publication titled "Design Strategy for Implementation of Computers and Related Technologies in the Curriculum" (Alaska Department of Education, 1990, April). This shift in philosophy concerning computer training is the result of collective experience with educational computing over the past decade.

The Alaska Department of Education defines computer literacy as "... the knowledge, skills, and values needed for students to use computers and related technologies efficiently and appropriately as tools to solve problems" (Alaska Department of Education, 1990, April, p. 4). The most effective method of training students to be technologically literate is to incorporate computers and related technologies into the total instructional program of the school.

Technology as a Tool

Computers and other educational technologies are effective when used actively by students. Computer applications such as word processing, spreadsheets, graphics packages, and telecommunications increase the ability of students to express themselves and to solve complex problems. By actively using computers and related technologies, students can extend their learning beyond the boundaries set by printed instructional media. The role of the student changes from that of a passive recipient of information to an active participant.

Examples of Technology in Native Education

The following are technology applications that address one or more of the goals of Native education identified by the Task Force.

Cooperative Learning With Computers

The Hupa, Yurok, Karuk, and Tolowa tribes in California and Humbolt State University have developed a cooperative learning methodology for teaching writing and reading and computer skills. The tribes produce their own bilingual materials using a phonetic alphabet installed on MacIntosh computers. Ruth Bennett (1987) of Humbolt State reports that the teamwork and peer coaching involved with the cooperative learning closely parallels the traditional teaching style found in the homes of the children (Bennett, p. 4).

The project developed bilingual dictionaries to assist in the learning of sentence-building skills, to increase knowledge about the natural world, and to integrate computers and cooperative learning (Bennett, 1987, p. 3). The project involved several steps:

1. creation of a font for each of the four languages;
2. installation of the fonts into MacWrite and MacPaint; and then
3. creation of a dictionary.

> Groups of elementary school children, grades three through eight, were divided into teams of 2-3, and each team was told that their task for the day was to create one page in a dictionary. The dictionary was to contain names for plants or animals familiar to them. Each of the children chose one dictionary entry, and the child was told to 'tell what they knew about the animal or plant.' The child then composed sentences that were transcribed in Hupa or Yurok, using the Uniron fonts, and translated into English with the help of the bilingual resources teacher. (Bennett, 1987, p. 4)

Project participants reported that modeling is a major learning role for the students. Younger students were strongly influenced by the work done by the older students. This method of learning is consistent with traditional patterns and represents a blending of an information age technology with a traditional cultural learning style.

Cooperative learning allowed older students to serve as role models and the teacher to function as a resource. "The advantage of cooperative learning is that it involves teacher, older student, and younger student in a triad of participation that utilizes the teacher's knowledge, but emphasizes the older students' expertise as a teacher" (Bennett, 1987, p. 7).

The Hualapai Cultural and Environmental Curriculum

Peach Springs is a small town in Arizona and home to most of the 1,500 members of the Hualapai tribe. The school has 236 students in kindergarten through eighth grade and a classified staff of 36. The economy of the area consists of cattle ranching, forestry, wildlife, recreation, and federally funded programs. Children attend ceremonies and special gatherings presided over by Elders and adults throughout the year. Tribal members are expected to learn to speak Hualapai at these special gatherings. The oral tradition is strong. Sharing of wealth among the members of the community is encouraged.

By the time the children reach school, they have participated in important cultural events and have a strong sense of their place in the world. Children as young as eight years old care for younger siblings and assist with chores at home. Parents encourage children to be independent and to make decisions for themselves.

The school program at Peach Springs is an extension of the culture of the community. The program philosophy states:

> The Hualapai Bilingual Academic Excellence Program promotes a positive order of beliefs: that man is a social being who interacts with his world in a significant role in harmony with nature, that the nature of man is active, and knowledge as the dynamic process of becoming and the purpose of life is to develop human uniqueness. An individual's culture and language shapes his perceptions and values. Each individual is important to the community, and everyone has a role of significance within the community. (The Hualapai Cultural and Environmental Curriculum Model and Exemplary Features, 1988, HBAEP Peach Springs School District No. 8, Peach Springs, AZ)

Peach Springs school has integrated technology into the education program. Project Technology and Tradition (Project TNT) is described by the school district as a process oriented curriculum development model that identifies the needs and expectations of a community for its children and makes extensive use of community resources including Elders, parents, community members, and tribal government (Project Tradition and Technology, 1988).

The goals of the technology program are to provide students with access to a variety of computer and audio-visual tools and promote proficiency in their use, increase student communicative competence in Hualapai and English through technology, and to develop awareness of the future impact of technology.

Students use computer and video technology to support bilingual education throughout the curriculum. Using networked computers, students have maximum access to computers for computer-assisted instruction, word processing, compatible speller, and data bases. Staff members administer individualized instruction with computer-managed instruction. Students also learn video production and produce their own video programs to develop their communication skills. The school district reports that this technology model is one of twelve programs recognized by the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Language Affairs, U.S. Department of Education (Project Tradition and Technology, 1988).

Teaching Writing with Alaska Writing Machine

In 1982, the Yukon Koyukuk School District in Alaska received a Title VII grant to use microcomputers for improving English language skills among 300 Koyukuk Athabaskan fourth through twelfth grade students in ten villages. Over the past eight years, the school district has developed a comprehensive set of writing software called collectively, the Alaska Writing Machine.

The school district developed the software after extensive investigation into the writing skills of the students in the Yukon Koyukuk region. Care was taken to ensure that the software followed the research on effective writing instruction (Wresch, 1989, p. 39).

The courseware development process followed six steps:

1. Conduct a contrast analysis of local English.
2. Establish the instructional priorities.
3. Identify appropriate commercial software.
4. Select objectives for software development.
5. Develop the software.
6. Implement the software through staff training and distribution (McCurry & Kleinfeld, 1986, May, p. 34).

The school district developed 13 different kits offering hundreds of hours of instruction. At the present time, more than half the schools throughout the state of Alaska are using the materials (McCurry & Kleinfeld, p. 37). According to the project director, Dr. Miki McCurry, "Writing and reading must be personally relevant to the child ... Cultural relevance is one of the validated techniques of effective instruction" (McCurry, telephone interview, 1991, January 7).

Since the project began in 1982, student reading and language use scores in the Yukon Koyukuk School District have climbed from below the 10th percentile to just below the 40th percentile (McCurry & Kleinfeld, p. 37).

The Yugtarvik Museum Project

Teachers and students at the University of Alaska-Fairbanks, Kuskokwim Campus have developed a multimedia, MacIntosh-videodisc program that uses exhibits from the Yugtarvik Yup'ik Eskimo Museum in Bethel, Alaska. The MacIntosh computer controls a locally developed videodisc which narrates in the Yup'ik language and teaches about many aspects of traditional Eskimo culture. The program is used for teacher preparation and as part of the distance delivery of courses in rural areas of the region.

The project is helping to preserve Yup'ik culture by recording information about Alaska Native artifacts found throughout Alaska, according to the project directors, Barry Sponder and Dennis Schall. "These treasures will now be accessible to future generations of Native and non-Native students through the use of the computer-videodisc technology" (Sponder & Schall, 1990, April, p. 6).

Eskimo students programmed the computer to control the videodisc with Apple's Hypercard program. "Teaching students to develop their own multimedia applications has been the real benefit of the Yugtarvik Museum Project" (Sponder & Schall, 1990, April, p. 44). The success of the museum project has encouraged additional multimedia development. The United States Department of Education recently awarded a grant to the University to develop a videodisc using the Yup'ik Eskimo context to teach biology to nursing students.

Problem Solving in Gamble, Alaska

Gamble, Alaska, is a small Siberian-Yup'ik Eskimo village. The high school consists of five classrooms, a gymnasium, and 36 students. Classes are conducted in English, but outside the school, Yup'ik is spoken. Knowledge of the outside world is minimal.

In 1984, two teams of students from the village stunned the world of academic competition by winning at the International Problem Solving Competition. The subject of the competition was generic engineering. Both teams from Gamble won first place in their respective age divisions, the first double win in the history of the International Problem Solving program.

George Guthridge, Gamble teacher and team coach, realized that the standard teaching techniques did not work with his students. Guthridge observed the way parents and Elders taught the children. Youngsters observed silently, absorbing information and memorizing details. Success must come with the first try. There is no room for error for a hunter out on the ice at 20 degrees below zero. Guthridge saw that his students were astute observers and that they had excellent memories.

Guthridge applied Eskimo training to the school setting. His students read and memorized possible problems and solutions for the Future Problem Solving competition. The work proceeded at a slow pace; memorization first, then familiarization, later conceptualization, and finally, creativity. The students learned to apply the skills of a subsistence hunting culture to modern scientific problems.

The results were astonishing ... the double win at Future Problem Solving in 1984, six state awards and five international short story awards ... this in a village infamous for student absenteeism and indifference to education (Guthridge, 1986, pp. 66-74).

The Gamble experience demonstrates that Native cultures have evolved sophisticated teaching "technology." George Guthridge incorporated the teaching methods of the Yup'ik culture into his classroom with astounding results. When asked by reporters, "How did they do it?" Guthridge felt the question improper. Rather, they should ask, "Why shouldn't they win?" (Guthridge, p. 69).

Conclusions

People worldwide are using computers and related technologies to maintain language and culture. Natives have been slow to benefit from the power of technology (Sponder & Schall, 1990, April, p. 6). However, we see evidence that this is beginning to change.

As part of our research, we contacted people from every major region of the United States. As we traveled via electronic mail, phone or mail, we came across indications that Native educators, organizations, and tribes are beginning to turn to technology to help meet challenges and solve problems.

We identified six basic reasons why Native groups are turning to technology-assisted solutions to address educational problems:

1. To gain skills to compete in mainstream culture.
2. To maintain traditional knowledge and/or blend it with a contemporary understanding of the world to create new knowledge.
3. To discover and strengthen Native identity within the tribe and within the broader world of Native culture.
4. To organize as a Native community, sometimes across tribal lines and over great geographical distance in order to:
   a. provide more culturally relevant and informed education,
   b. share news and information relevant to Native concerns, and
   c. to organize politically.
5. To share Native culture as an educational or artistic product.
6. To teach non-Natives about Native culture.

It comes as no surprise that the use of technology is increasing among Native educators and political leaders. Natives are a technological people. The technology of the Eskimo kayak is unsurpassed. Corn and potatoes, which are products of generations of selective planting by Native farmers, feed the world. Natives have also adopted technology as needed. The iron pot and trade goods contributed to the flowering of the Great Plains cultures during the 18th and 19th centuries.

We believe Native education is at a turning point. The American education system, based on industrial technology, has inadequately served Native students. Computers and related technologies are creating a window of opportunity for Natives to seize the initiative. There is no one best way to use educational technology to improve the quality of Native education. The power of the technology rests in its varied capabilities to expand the learning experiences of students (*Power On!*, p. 9).

Technology can increase the depth and breadth of the educational experience and make Native culture accessible to students within a redefined school environment. If Native people seize the technological initiative, Native education can experience a new age of excellence.

The transformation that we perceive is not inevitable. In the absence of organized and concerted efforts to direct educational change, information age technologies may be used to promote the outdated assumptions, curricula, and methodologies of industrial schooling. Native direction of the development and implementation of educational technology is essential.

Underlying the transformation of education is a redefinition of freedom to include the cultural rights of Native people. No individual, agency, education system or government has the authority to deny Native people the right to live according to their own cultural direction. Technology can be a powerful tool to help ensure this freedom.

Recommendations

A window of opportunity exists. Natives must seize the technological initiative to advance the cause of cultural rights and Native education. We recommend the following to achieve these goals:

1. Native parents should form parent advocacy groups to advocate for access to cultural resources for Native students. School systems serving Native students should be encouraged to make use of educational technology, especially multimedia, to provide access to Native cultural resources.
2. School systems serving Native students should integrate computer training within the context of the total school curriculum. Students should actively use computers and related technologies as tools for exploring and creating.
3. Natives should take the lead in teaching non-Natives about Native culture. A potential area of development lies in Native-created courseware for non-Native and Native communities via distance delivery means. Native educators should influence publishers to include the Native perspective in textbooks. At the University of Calgary, there is an effort to rewrite science books to include a more holistic perspective of indigenous cultures. Television, computer software, laserdisc, and distance delivery are means of sharing the Native cultural perspective with non-Natives.
4. Native organizations, school systems serving Native students, state departments of education, and the federal government should make a concerted effort to develop culturally relevant software for Native students. There is a lack of culture-based instructional material available for computers and multimedia instructional systems. Consideration should be given to developing materials for specific Native tribes and nations.

5. Natives should make increased use of computer networking as a vehicle for organizing as a social and political voice and share information among the geographically dispersed Native community. Computer networking can be a powerful tool for organizing to influence the politics of education.
6. Native organizations, in partnership with the federal government, should establish a National Native Education Institute. The Institute should include research, materials development, and training staff to provide the following services to educational institutions that serve Native students:
    a. Conduct research and identify effective educational strategies for Native students. Particular attention would be paid to educational strategies that involve the use of computers and related technologies.
    b. Develop instructional materials — print, computer software, and video format.
    c. Provide training and training materials to educational institutions that serve Native students.
    d. Disseminate information to focus national attention on the educational needs of Native students.
    e. Establish a national Native Education Computer Network to serve as a communication link and information resource for educators and students.

The creation of a national institute requires a national commitment at a policy-making level. This level of commitment is necessary to achieve results.

Korea provides us with an excellent model for the national institute approach. The Korean War destroyed the education system. From this shattered base, Korean students have become the world leaders in mathematics education based on international math assessments. The Koreans began by clearly documenting the problem. The Korean government then made a strong national commitment to make the necessary changes. They created an infrastructure in the form of the Korean Educational Development Institute to provide training, research, materials design, and evaluation services to the school system (Branson, 1987, p. 22). The commitment and multi-year effort succeeded in institutionalizing the successful practices in the nation's schools. What is stunning about this success story is that this achievement was organized with the help of American educational consultants and paid for with American money! This approach can work for Native people.

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Reading and Language Arts Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indians and Alaska Natives

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Introduction

American Indians and Alaska Natives are the most educationally disadvantaged of all Americans, with the highest dropout rate among all minorities. Little progress has been made toward meeting the educational needs of this group. The shortage of information about American Indian and Alaska Native students presents problems in determining what types of educational practices work best among these groups.

A cursory review of the literature regarding Native student achievement indicates that this population ranks far below the norm in reading, language arts, and language arts related categories (e.g., science, mathematics, social studies, etc.) (Brown, 1986). Basic to this problem is the reality that many Native students are not successfully accessing the language so essential for being successful in American academia. In other words, they have not been successful in developing an adequate cognitive academic language proficiency (CALPs). Since traditional American education is textbook driven and requires high levels of cognitive academic language proficiency, the educational establishment does not appear to be very effective in providing Native students with the necessary cognitive academic language proficiency (Fox 1987, 1988, 1990).

It appears necessary to start at a very basic level in addressing strategic plans for reading and language arts curricula in elementary and secondary education for Native students. It has been well established that not only are many teachers of Native students not prepared to adequately teach such students, but there is very little opportunity for them to find the necessary training and education. With this in mind, this paper will follow an evolutionary approach of starting with language acquisition and work its way to content area language arts — leading to the development of cognitive academic language proficiency (CALPs). At appropriate points, current efforts in Native education will be used as examples of what can been done to implement effective practices at various stages of language development (INAR Task Force hearings, 1990). The process and the approaches recommended are applicable to the maintenance and development of the Native language as well as the English language. Also, special attention needs to be given in using these tools to transition Native students from their home language (whether it be a Native language or "Reservation" or "Village English") to achieve English in a dignified and a psychologically and educationally sound manner.

This paper is the result of an ongoing effort to keep current with the literature and research on reading and language arts and special efforts to identify exemplary American Indian and Alaska Native educational programs that are meeting the needs of Native students in reaching educational parity. As requested in the initial charge by the INAR Task Force, the research and literature will be presented in solution form rather than a statement of a problem.

Language Acquisition

Three questions will be given primary consideration under the topic of language acquisition:

How do Children Acquire Their First Language?

It is useful to examine briefly some of the theories that seek to explain the language acquisition process of children. These theories have helped to provide a framework on which current theories of second language acquisition are based. This discussion is divided into the following components:

Language Acquisition Theory

Using language to communicate is a natural consequence of being human. Almost all children who speak are exposed to language regardless of the environment in which they are raised. When children acquire their language, they produce the grammar of that language, which is a finite system of rules: phonological (the sounds of a language), morphological (the structure of words), syntactic (the relationship among words in an utterance), and semantic (the meaning of words). No one teaches them these rules; no one tells them to form a sentence by adding a verb phrase to a noun phrase. The rules are learned unconsciously as children acquire their language. A number of theories have evolved to explain how children acquire language.

The **behaviorist view** supports that a child is reinforced positively or negatively in response to various stimuli. For example, a mother will most likely provide a positive reinforcement in response to her infant saying "ma-ma." On the other hand, a positive response to "ma-ma" is less likely when the child is three or four, as reinforcement becomes progressively more dependent on how closely the child's language matches adult speech. Thus, the reinforcement theory hypothesizes that children are conditioned to speak correctly by being negatively reinforced for "errors" and positively reinforced for "correct" usage. In this context, language acquisition is viewed as a result of an innate general learning capacity plus an environment that shapes the child's behavior. The behaviorist view, however, does not explain how children are able to manipulate language to make unique and novel utterances.

The **innatist view** that emerged during the 1960s offers a theory that attempts such an explanation: Noam Chomsky presents the strong version of the innatist's point of view that maintains that every child is born with universals of linguistic structure "wired in." According to Chomsky, children pick up the rules of their language in such an efficient way as to suggest that their brains are programmed for language learning or that they have some kind of innate language that allows them to know what a possible language looks like. The child then makes guesses or hypotheses as to the rules that underlie the patterns. Chomsky suggests that this innate language acquisition device allows children to make increasingly complex theories about the rules of their language (Chomsky, 1965).

This strong position was modified in the 1970s. While still giving recognition to the substantial role of innate contribution to language acquisition, many innatists now define the innate component not as a body of unconscious "knowledge" about the structure of human language, but rather as a "substantial innate cognitive potential for processing human language, so as to derive its structure" (Lindfors, 1980). Rather than possessing advance information, children are born with processing abilities that enable them to find out about language and to analyze data (Derwing, 1971; Slobin, 1973). The grammatical system is not given as innate knowledge, but when these processing capacities are applied to the speech they hear, children have the innate means to construct a grammar of their native language (Slobin, 1973).

Whether or not a child is programmed with a full set of linguistic universals, as Chomsky suggests, or if (s)he comes equipped with special innate abilities for processing linguistic data, the child is likely to end up with the same set of linguistic universals that allows for progressive language development.

Stages of Language Development

It is clear that a child does not learn a language "all-at-once." Language is acquired in stages of increasing complexity with each stage more closely approximating the grammar of the adult language. Observations of children in different language areas of the world reveal that the stages are very similar and possibly universal.

Children demonstrate comprehension of the language long before their first utterance. A child responds correctly to such commands as "Pick up the ball" or "Point to your nose" or "Get the book" without being able to produce these utterances. Sometime after their first year children begin to produce single words. At this point, they have learned that sounds are related to meaning. These first words are usually linked with the child's own action or desire for action. For example, "Up" for "Pick me up" or "Carry me," and single words such as "dog" or "juice" convey desires or basic needs. Because children at this stage can comprehend much more than they can produce themselves, it is not possible to determine the extent of the knowledge of the grammar that the child possesses merely by observing or noting speech production.

Around the end of the second year, children begin to produce two-word utterances such as "Mommy book." When a child starts stringing more than two words together, the number of words can vary. Words used are usually those that carry the main message, or the "content" words. Because it often sounds like a Western Union message, these utterances are called telegraphic speech: "No sit there" or "Cat stand up table" (Brown, 1973).

Table 1 summarizes the development of language in children from four months to six years of age.

Influence of the Environment

If human communication is innate, what difference does environment make? Children must be exposed to speech in order for speech to develop. A child will not learn unless there are models around from which (s)he can learn. Children must receive language input from their caretakers and other speakers of the language. Caretakers adapt their language in order to accomplish meaningful communication with the child. They use shorter, simpler sentences than in adult communication. They rely heavily on concrete, contextual support; they often repeat and exaggerate intonation. The content of caretaker speech to young children tends to focus heavily on the here and now, and on activities presented in the environment as they interact. For example:

- Child: Mommy eat juice.
- Caretaker: Yes, Mommy is drinking juice.
- Child: Billy juice.
- Caretaker: You want some juice?
- Child: Yeah, Billy firsty.
- Caretaker: You're thirsty, hmmm? Well, here's some juice for you.

The caretaker responds to the meaning and not the form of the child's communication. The child is not corrected in his or her efforts to communicate. There is no explicit instruction of language rules. Even if we could teach grammar to children, there is no evidence that it would significantly improve the rate of their acquisition or their communication skills. A child's language acquisition is an unconscious process; the child is not aware of the rules (s)he possesses.

Children are active participants in the process of acquiring language. Their cognitive and language development is a strongly interactive process that depends not only on specific linguistic and cognitive mechanisms, but also on their participation in a rich linguistic environment that is attuned to their communicative needs. In conclusion, current first language acquisition theory supports the following beliefs about children's language learning.

- The whole of language is greater than the sum of its parts.
- Language learning in not the result of having mastered tiny, discrete "skills" or "habits."
- Language use begins with a function and then involves experimenting with the language forms necessary to fulfill that function.
- Willingness to accept approximations (errors) is essential to the processes which accompany language learning. Given time and opportunity, the child's immature forms will drop out and be replaced by conventional ones.
- The language to which young language learners are exposed is always meaningful and in a context which makes some kind of sense.

Program Example

Current trends in early childhood education programs are to nurture the language experiences between child and caretaker by giving caretakers education, encouragement, and support to facilitate the natural evaluation of the child's language in a wholesome environment. Headstart and Early Childhood Home Visitor Programs are doing a lot in oral language development in Native and second languages.

What is the Relationship Between First (L_1) and Second (L_2) Language Acquisition?

Second language acquisition theorists have gained important insight and direction for research from studies in first language acquisition. Current perspectives on second language teaching have evolved from theories that have integrated models of how a child learns his or her first language. Specifically, three topics will be explored in response to the above question:

Second Language Acquisition Theory

Research conducted during the last 20 years supports that there are many similarities between first and second language acquisition. For example, children and second language speakers use shorter utterances composed of heavy content items first, and slowly progress to longer and more syntactically complex utterances. Second language learners frequently overgeneralize as do first language learners, regularizing the exception forms in the language, e.g., "goed," "taked." In addition, the same characteristics of a successful first language learning environment have been identified as present in the language learning environment of those students who have successfully mastered the second language. Language in a meaningful context, focusses on meaning and a low-anxiety learning environment.

Krashen (1982) has developed a model of second language acquisition that has greatly influenced second language teaching methodologies in recent years. In support of the similarities between first and second language acquisition, he theorizes that acquisition is a subconscious process by which one develops linguistic ability through exposure and interaction with the language. Krashen makes a distinction between acquisition and learning. Learning a language, on the other hand, is the result of conscious attention given to the rules and forms of the language. He suggests that conscious learning has a very limited function in language performance, that is to say, our formal knowledge of a second language, the rules we have learned in class and from texts, is not responsible for fluency. What is responsible for ultimate fluency is receiving messages (input) that are comprehensible or in a comprehensible context in an environment which promotes low anxiety levels, low-risk and non-corrective participation, similar to that in which children acquire their first language.

Krashen hypothesizes that language is acquired by understanding input (i) that is a little beyond a person's current level of acquired competence (+1). This accounts for what Krashen calls the silent period in informal second language acquisition. This is a period of time when the acquirer may say very little but is building up competence by active listening via comprehensible input (i+1), a prerequisite that triggers the whole process of second language acquisition: the message must be understood before acquisition can take place. When the message is understood, then structures that are a little beyond the current level of competence of the learner are ready to be acquired.

Socio-Affective Factors in L_2 Development

Second language learners are greatly influenced by attitudes they have developed toward the second language and its speakers. If the learner is highly motivated to learn the second language and actively seeks interaction with native speakers, (s)he is likely to experience greater success in acquiring the second language. Krashen's Affective Filter Hypothesis states that there are affective variables related to second language acquisition. A low filter means that the learner is more "open" to the input, allowing the input to be more easily internalized. A high filter suggests attitudes that will inhibit the acquisition process. Learners who are motivated to learn the second language and who have a high self-image have been identified as more successful acquirers of the second language. In addition, this hypothesis supports the notion that the best environment for second language acquisition is one which promotes low-anxiety levels in a non-corrective, low-risk climate, similar to that in which children acquire their first language.

The Second Language Environment

The language that learners hear and see around them is very important to the acquisition process (Krashen, 1982). Four qualifying features are identified:

- Naturalness of the environment. This is the degree to which the focus of communication is on content and not form.
- The learner's role in communication. Studies support that one-way (learner listens but does not respond verbally) and restricted two-way communication (learner listens and responds, but the response is usually nonverbal or in the native language) benefit the acquisition process. Also, delaying oral practice or observing a "silent period" until learners are ready to speak in the new language is considered to be more productive to the acquisition process.
- Availability of concrete referents. These are subjects, events, or activities that can be seen, heard, or felt while they are being talked about.
- Target language models. The acquisition of the second language is affected by the learner's choice of model. Research supports that learners would prefer to speak with peers over teachers, peers over parents, and members of one's own ethnic group over nonmembers.

Program Example

Bilingual programs and Indian education programs throughout the country are utilizing second language acquisition techniques that address socio-affective factors and the qualifying features of a second language environment.

What is the Distinction Between Language Learning and Language Acquisition?

As a result of current directions in second language acquisition theory, consideration has been given to the distinction between the two modes of gaining competence in a second language: language learning and language acquisition. As discussed above, Krashen suggests that these are two independent systems for developing competence in a second language. The differences between these two modes will now be defined along with a brief discussion of the role of formal language instruction in an academic setting.

Language Learning

Language learning is formal knowledge about a language; explicit knowledge of rules and structure that is taught in English classes. In a language learning environment, there is a conscious effort on the part of the learner to know the language, to be able to describe the rules governing its use, to commit these rules to memory, and finally, to apply them in order to generate grammatically correct utterances. An example of this is the conscious learning of the parts of speech such as noun, verb, pronoun, and the conscious analysis of the rules that control their order in a sentence (subject, verb, adjective: He is tall). The learner is presented with the linguistic features (the grammar) of the target language. Control of each of these features is considered important and viewed as fundamental to the learner's language capability. Language components are often isolated as a skill for deliberate study and practice in a language lesson. Error correction, deliberate attention to the structure of the language, and repeated practice of common language forms are all consistent with the instructional focus of a "learning" environment.

Language Acquisition

An acquisition-oriented language environment supports the belief that language evolves slowly through a series of proficiency stages very similar to how children learn their first language. At each stage, the learner/acquirer interacts with comprehensible language-use situations. The result is that language forms are internalized unconsciously.

> Children...are not necessarily aware that they are acquiring language, they are only aware that they are communicating. The results of language acquisition, acquired linguistic competence, are also unconscious. (Krashen, Terrell, 1983)

Krashen suggests that language acquisition is the "natural" way to develop linguistic ability. In an acquisition environment, language development resembles natural language progression and results from actual meaningful use in an environment that is low-anxiety and comfortable to the learner. At all times, the emphasis of instruction is on communication and meaning.

  - The Acquisition-Learning Distinction
- Acquisition
  - Similar to children's first language

  - "Picking up" a language
  - Subconscious
  - Implicit knowledge
- Learning
  - Formal knowledge of a language acquisition
  - "Knowing about" a language
  - Conscious
  - Explicit knowledge (Krashen, 1981)

Acquisition, therefore, is the unconscious formulation of grammatical principles, while learning is the conscious, cognitive-based study of grammar. In the past, most language classrooms were focused on grammar-based approaches that emphasized explanation rather than acquisition. Examples of such approaches included the grammar-translation method and the audio-lingual approach. In recent times, however, the trend has changed more toward the use of approaches that facilitate acquisition of the second language such as the Natural Approach and Total Physical Response (TPR), both of which will be discussed later.

The Role of Formal Language Instruction

It is important to note that the most current research in second language development supports the view that acquisition and learning are both important to the process of gaining competence in a second language. As Native children become more involved in the educational system and environment, they must be prepared to undertake academic tasks, the success of which is largely dependent upon formal instruction in the English language. Instruction must be given in developing competence in reading and writing, for example. In addition, attention must be given to vocabulary development because research has shown that it has a direct relationship to students' academic achievement in reading and in content areas (Saville-Troike, 1984).

Many current studies (Long, 1983) have shown that formal language instruction often benefits older English as a second language (ESL) learners because of their advanced cognitive development. There are many researchers in the field who strongly feel that learning about the grammar of a second language can enhance the acquisition process. Perhaps, as McLaughlin (1987) suggests, "it may be more fruitful to admit that correction and grammar teaching can help stimulate change and can lead to a different state in the acquisition process. Rather than looking on grammar teaching merely as a way of improving the monitoring abilities of the learner, it seems reasonable to see correction and grammar teaching as providing a short cut for learners. This is not to subscribe to language teaching methods that rely heavily on grammar teaching. But it does suggest that there is a role for correction and grammar teaching in language instruction."

While activities may be more limited in their use with beginning students and in the development of communicative competence, many in the field feel that learning and acquisition are transferable systems that can work together to reinforce one another (Higgs, 1985; Bailystok, 1978).

Program Example

In an effort to increase self-esteem and foster a positive self-image many schools with Native students have ascribed to a non-corrective/acquisition approach to language arts. Transitioning from a "home" language to academic English is difficult enough without the constant stress of being corrected in pronunciation or grammatical usage.

Current Perspective on Second Language Instruction

Some of the instructional perspectives that have evolved out of consideration given to current second language acquisition theory are as follows.

What is the Comprehension Approach?

Recent investigation in theoretical linguistics and child language acquisition, as well as experimentation in second language instruction indicate the primary role of comprehension in the acquisition of language. Teaching rules to language students has been a standard teaching practice. In recent times, however, the belief that students can acquire a second language in essentially the same way as they acquired their first language has motivated language researchers to develop instructional formats that model this first language acquisition process. Great emphasis is placed on initial listening activities. The students hear sentences in the second language for which the meaning is clearly indicated through actions or pictures. The umbrella term for this instructional system is the Comprehension Approach. This approach is based upon the belief that conversational fluency will develop as a result of first learning to understand the second language.

Definition of the Comprehension Approach

There is a common set of beliefs that defines the Comprehension Approach:

- Language rules are most easily and accurately acquired by inference.
- Language acquisition is primarily an implicit process.
- Language acquisition is viewed as nonlinear.
- Speaking will develop given sufficient comprehension training.
- The instructional focus is on teaching meaning through comprehension activities in a relaxed, stress-free environment.
- Comprehension is a teaching routine through which students are systematically exposed to the sentences in the second language.
- Language production is not taught directly through drills, forced imitation, or modeling.
- Language use is encouraged by providing interesting and motivating communicative interactions.
- Understanding a language is the primary channel through which language is acquired. (Winitz, 1981)

Importance of Meaning in the Comprehension Approach

This approach places highest priority on the students experiencing the meaningfulness of the linguistic input presented in the classroom. Comprehension and production are viewed as active processes that guide the students to an internalization of the phonological, syntactic, and semantic systems of the second language. Language learning is seen as a problem-solving process through which the learners figure out how the language works on the basis of meaningful utterances that they hear or see.

Example of Comprehension Methodology

Total Physical Response (TPR) is a methodology that has incorporated many of the tenets of the Comprehension Approach. TPR provides meaningful input via commands that the student performs with his or her body (e.g., "Walk to the board") during which time the student is not expected to produce utterances in the second language.

What is Communicative Language Teaching?

The Communicative Approach incorporates many of the tenets of the Comprehension Approach but is more extensive. It supports an interactive, communicative view of language development.

The Communicative Approach stresses activities that place emphasis on learning language appropriate to a given social situation. It maintains that in order to be communicatively competent, the student needs to have knowledge of the linguistic forms, meanings, and functions of language. Students must be guided to choose the most appropriate forms of communication given the social context. It is the social context of the communicative event that gives meaning to the utterance. Some assumptions of this approach are:

- Children learn language as a medium of communication rather than as a curriculum subject with sets of isolated topics, facts, or skills. Language proficiency is defined as a speaker's successful accomplishment of his or her communicative intentions across a wide variety of social settings.
- Becoming a successful communicator in the second language is synonymous with becoming "literate" in that language. Listening, speaking, reading, and writing are best developed simultaneously.
- Children learn how to communicate successfully through purposeful interaction in the second language environment and in a wide variety of contexts.
- Children's second language development is a holistic process. Children use all their available resources: linguistic, non-linguistic, internal (cognitive affective), and external (social, environmental) to become successful second language communicators.
- Children's second language development is facilitated by a comfortable classroom atmosphere in which the focus is on the meaning of the utterances rather than on the form used to say them. Errors are viewed as a normal part of the acquisition process.
- Communicative abilities depend not so much on the time spent in rehearsing grammatical patterns, but rather on the opportunities given to interpret, express, and negotiate meaning in real-life situations. (Savignon, 1983)

The Communicative Approach defines "competence" as the ability to function in an authentic communicative situation setting. It supports the belief that an analysis of the learner's needs and interests provides the most effective basis for materials development. True communication is a purposeful use of authentic materials.

What is the Holistic or Integrated Perspective on Language Learning?

The Holistic Approach to language learning is based on specific convictions about how and when students learn best. Many of the ideas discussed above are very similar to the holistic perspective. This perspective can perhaps be more appropriately identified as a philosophy of learning in general. While it has been discussed specifically in the literature in the context of language and literacy development, many educators feel it can apply to any learning. This philosophy incorporates the following key theoretical assumptions:

Individuals learn best when:

- They are supported by other learners.
- They are invited to take risks.
- Their learning environment provides safety nets to sustain them through failure as well as success.
- They are personally involved in decisions about their own learning.
- They are encouraged to take an active role in the learning process.
- What they learn is meaningful to them.
- They want to learn.
- They enjoy learning.

Instructional Implications

These assumptions provide the foundation around which much current second language instruction is being designed. This instruction includes activities that:

- Present language as a whole believing that the whole of language is greater than the sum of its parts. Language is never approached as something to be broken down and taught as tiny, discrete "skills" or "habits" to be developed.

- Generate comprehensible, interesting, and useful classroom language, i.e., "real" language, recognizing that this kind of language is most helpful to students in their language development.
- Develop language as part of a broader process of meaning-making development. This is accomplished by integrating the processes of listening, speaking, reading and writing, and believing that the development of one process supports the development of the others.
- Recognize that the new language learner brings a variety of resources to use in their second language development, including a diversity of prior native language and cultural experiences.
- Use the second language in many different settings, with a wide variety of people and for a wide variety of purposes.
- Facilitate a comfortable environment: one that values, encourages, and celebrates efforts to use the language; that focuses primarily on the meaning and intention of the utterances and messages rather than on their form; and that treats errors as a normal part of becoming an increasingly more proficient language user. (Enright, McCloskey, 1988)

Program Example

It is important to focus at this point on why it is necessary to understand second language acquisition for Native students. In those instances where students only speak a Native language and do not speak English, it is obvious why. However, it is not so obvious if it appears that students are speaking "sub-standard" English. In reality, it is possible that these students are not speaking "sub-standard" English, but are speaking "Indian-English" (Leap, 1982). In other words, the words may be English, but the grammar may be from the tribal language used in the home or community. The tendency in dealing with a "sub-standard" version of English is to "correct" it. As stated above, it is recommended that correcting be kept to a minimum.

There are many schools that use the Comprehension and Communitive Approaches for all students, but in those cases where there are non-English speaking or Indian-English speaking, it is necessary to use these approaches.

The Natural Approach to Second Language Teaching

The Natural Approach is a teaching methodology that has come to receive enthusiastic support by ESL instructors in recent years.

What is the Natural Approach?

The chief aim of the Natural Approach is to focus on the meanings of genuine communications in an atmosphere that brings anxiety down to a minimum. It is an instructional strategy used with beginning language students and has the goal of helping them to become intermediate students (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). The Natural Approach believes that:

- Comprehension precedes production.
- Students can internalize language structures without producing them.
- Oral responses will occur when the student is ready to make them.
- Students will display greater development in comprehension skills, as well as in speaking activities, if an atmosphere exists in the classroom that allows and encourages a wide "threshold of error" at all times. Correction, where it occurs, is indirect through expansion or reiteration.
  - Example: Student: "Boy play dog."
  - Teacher: "Yes, the boy is playing with the dog."

Natural Approach instructors believe that the purpose of the classroom is for acquisition activities that allow for the development of communicative abilities through natural acquisition processes. Acquisition does not happen through traditional grammar exercises or drills because these activities provide no opportunity for meaningful communication. This is why the curriculum of a Natural Approach classroom consists of communication goals. For example, a goal might be to talk about what the students did over the weekend. In the activities that are used to achieve a particular goal, the necessary tools (vocabulary and structure) are supplied. However, the "focus of the students during the activity must be maintained on the semantic content (in this case, the weekend activities), not the grammatical form (here, past tense)" (Krashen and Terrell, 1983).

What are the Stages of the Natural Approach?

The Natural Approach identifies three stages of development in language acquisition.

Comprehension

This is the period of time when students "tune in" to the new language, getting a sense of the way it sounds and fits together. It corresponds to what Krashen has labeled "the silent period." During this time, the student is learning how to make intelligent guesses.

Early Speech Production

The transition to this stage occurs after students have developed a passive vocabulary of about 500 words. Typical responses will be yes/no in reply to a simple question: "Is this a pineapple?" or identification of items that have been introduced several times: "What is this? What color are the grapes?"

Speech Emergence

At this stage, the sentences that the students produce become longer, more complex, and include a wider range of vocabulary. Students are able to speak in complete sentences and engage in dialogue and discussion.

What are Teaching Strategies and Activities Appropriate to Each Stage?

Comprehension

Using Total Physical Response (TPR)

TPR is an instructional approach that has been identified as very effective at the comprehension stage of the Natural Approach. TPR requires active physical involvement on the part of the learner in response to commands, such as "Stand up," "Walk to the desk," and "Turn on the light." Commands are used to manipulate the orientation, location, and locomotion of the learner's entire body, and become increasingly more complex and novel as the learner is able to demonstrate physical comprehension of the command. An example is: "Hop to the board and draw a picture of a monster." It is believed that this active involvement of the body with the language provides immediate "comprehensible input" of the message.

TPR presents an approach to second language learning that is based on a model of how children learn their first language: The child spends many months listening and interacting with the environment, trying to make sense out of the sounds going on around him or her. No one tells the baby when it must speak. The child chooses to speak when (s)he is ready. Accordingly, TPR theorizes that speech cannot be directly taught to students, just as a parent (caretaker) cannot directly teach the infant to talk. In addition, just as the child learned his or her first language in a stress-free environment, the environment in the second language classroom must also be stress-free. TPR activities should be enjoyable so that the learners feel at ease at all times.

Steps in a TPR Lesson:

- Teacher prepares "script" of TPR commands that may focus on a particular objective, such as students becoming familiar with the items in the classroom.
    - Example "Stand up."
    - "Go to the board."
    - "Touch the chalkboard."
    - "Pick up the chalk."
- The teacher provides the auditory stimulus, giving the command and simultaneously modeling the action so that the input is immediately comprehensible.
    - Example: Teacher says: "Stand up and pick up the chalk."
    - Teacher models standing up.
    - Students stand up and pick up the chalk with the teacher.
- The students demonstrate comprehension by carrying out the command.
    - Example: Teacher says: "Stand up and pick up the chalk."
    - Teacher does not model the action.
    - The students stand up and pick up the chalk.

Initially, the teacher, as "caretaker," directs all student behavior. At some point, usually after 10 - 20 hours of instruction (Asher, 1982), students will be "ready to speak." Then there will be a role reversal with individual students directing the teacher and other students.

Using Context, Gestures and Other Body Language.

At the comprehension stage, directing attention to the physical characteristics of the students can provide for immediate comprehensible input. Students need only respond with names at this point:

- Example: Teacher: "What is your name?"
- Student: "Susan."
- Teacher: "Everyone look at Susan. Susan has short, curly hair." (Teacher uses context and gestures to clarify meaning of short, curly hair.)
- Teacher: "What is the name of the student with short, curly hair?"
- Class: "Susan."
- Teacher: "What is your name?" (Teacher chooses another student.)
- Student: "Judy."
- Teacher: "Look at Judy. Does Judy have short, curly hair?"

Using Pictures

Pictures can be very effectively used at the comprehension stage. The instructor describes the picture, emphasizing only the key lexical items. Each student is given a different picture. The teacher asks questions about the picture that can be answered by giving the name of the student holding the picture.

To summarize, the following student responses can be expected at the comprehension stage:

- Physical action
- Gesturing or nodding
- Saying "Yes" or "No"
- Saying the names of other students

Early Speech Production

Speech opportunities at this stage, can consist of questions that require single word answers. These can evolve into either/or questions, e.g., "Is Susan's hair brown or blonde?" "Is Judy tall or short?" "What color is Susan's hair?" In addition, open-ended sentences can be presented, such as, "Susan's hair is ______ and ______ " or "I like ______."

At this stage, then, students can respond with:

- Yes/no answers
- One-word answers from either/or questions
- One-word answers from general questions or completion of open-ended sentences
- Two-word strings

Speech Emergence

Effective acquisition activities during this period are:

- Games and recreation activities because they focus on language as a tool for reaching a goal rather than as a goal itself.
- Content-area activities that are interesting to the students such as science experiments.
- Humanistic-affective activities which appeal to the students on a personal level and explore students' ideas and feelings, in addition to their experiences. Again, the focus is on the message being conveyed and not on the form of the language used to convey it.
- Information problem-solving using charts, tables, graphs, and maps.

Students at the speech emergence stage can be expected to respond in the following ways:

- Three words and/or short phrases
- Longer phrases
- Complete sentences
- Dialogue
- Extended conversation

As with children learning their first language, the stages of the Natural Approach overlap: some utterances are more complex while others continue to be expressed simply.

Those using the Natural Approach believe that the function of the second language classroom is to promote the acquisition of the second language. The focus of all activities in the Natural Approach is on the content of the message being conveyed and not on the form. This approach seeks to facilitate an environment that is relaxed and interesting at all times and to provide activities that allow for immediate comprehensible input.

How are Students Assessed in the Natural Approach?

Evaluating students' progress is a necessity in academic situations. Two kinds of language proficiency tests are recognized in second language assessment: tests of linguistic competence and tests of communicative competence in pronunciation, morphology, and syntax. Tests that measure communicative competence assess the ability to use language to achieve a particular purpose.

The goal for students is to eventually achieve both communicative and linguistic competence. The main thrust of the Natural Approach is communicative competence. In the beginning stages, therefore, preference is given to tests that evaluate the student's ability to understand and communicate ideas in specific situations.

Speech Comprehension

In the Natural Approach, testing for the ability to comprehend speech is seen as particularly important since it reveals to what extent the "input" has been comprehensible. What is tested at the beginning levels is the developing ability to recognize key lexical items and to use context as a means for guessing meaning. One easy way to measure this ability is to present students with various pictures and then describe one of the pictures, asking the students to identify the one being described. Another technique is to make statements about pictures, items, or actions and to ask the students to judge whether they are true or false. As students develop into the single-word stage, simple questions can be asked: "What color is the little girl's hair?" or "How many people are in the picture?"

Speech Production

Speech production is evaluated in beginning students only in terms of their ability to communicate ideas. The best way to prepare for such a test would be to participate in conversation. This is a difficult area to assess because it is almost impossible to set up real conversational situations in the classroom. The most widely used of oral exams is the oral interview in which the instructor asks open-ended questions in a relaxed, informal context but limited to the topics and situations with which the students have been dealing.

Reading and Writing

Tests of reading and writing are given in Natural Approach classes if they relate to the goals and needs of the students. A reading test is one that tests readers on whether they have understood the main point or idea of the text and provides a variety of interesting topics. A writing test is appropriate if writing tasks are part of the goal of the class. Examples of such tasks include filling out forms, writing letters, writing personal narratives, and writing fiction or poetry.

Writing samples can be evaluated in several ways: they can be regarded holistically as an indication of what the student has acquired, that is, in terms of content and not in terms of the correctness of the linguistic features. Or they can be evaluated in terms of grammatical accuracy. In the latter situation, the writer should know ahead of time that (s)he will be writing, and that (s)he will be graded specifically on grammatical accuracy for rules that have been studied (Krashen and Terrell, 1983). Those using the Natural Approach recommend that testing using written exams should not be used at beginning levels because its emphasis on grammatical features may inhibit the natural and more important development of language acquisition.

The Relationship Between Academic Competency and Language Competency

What are the Academic Needs of Native Students?

Native students need to develop the academic competence to compete successfully in the mainstream curriculum. Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) and Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS), constructs formulated by Cummins (1984) are both important to the second language student if (s)he is to succeed in an academic environment. The student must eventually have a command of the new language as it pertains to abstract thinking and problem solving. Schools require that the student have academic skills in addition to being able to cope with situations that are unique to the school environment. Research has shown that it takes as long as 5 to 7 years for a student to develop academic competence. Thus, even though a student may have a high level of communicative competence and interact in ways that suggest good second language comprehension, (s)he may be ill-prepared for the demands of the academic environment. The language demands made on second language learners in schools are diverse and varied in complexity. Students must learn to follow schedules, use textbooks, solve math problems, spell words, do grammar exercises, and define vocabulary words, to name but a few. Because schools require literacy skills and the ability to deal with decontextualized information, academic competency may be more difficult to specify than communicative competency. In recent years, however, instructional strategies have emerged that foster the development of second language skills through teaching modified subject matter content. It is felt that this content approach helps students to achieve academic competence, or "the ability to learn through English, rather than the ability to merely communicate in English" (Chamot, 1985). A discussion of content-based second language instructional approaches and relationship between academic competency and second language competency follows.

What is the Instructional Approach?

Goal

Content-based second language Instructional Approaches are viewed as most effective in developing a student's conceptual knowledge and academic competence. These approaches to second language development have the goal of developing both second language skills and academic concepts appropriate to the student's grade level. Both content and language teaching are formally incorporated into the Instructional Approach. Basic academic content can be taught using many of the approaches already discussed. For example, Total Physical Response could be used to teach math skills (Draw a hexagon; divide it in half with a vertical line). The Natural Approach and its extensions can be used to demonstrate how to make a specific meal or how to blend paints for an art project. The activities must make greater and greater demands on the students' cognitive abilities in order that they gain academic competence.

Focus of Instruction

A content area that is intrinsically interesting will more successfully motivate students than studying language for its own sake. Specifically, vocabulary and technical terms associated with the subject (math, science, social studies, etc.) need to be taught. In addition, language functions required for academic communication such as informing, explaining, classifying, and evaluating, need to be presented to the student. Other language skills that should be stressed in the classroom are those used for different academic functions; for example, listening comprehension for academic explanations, reading for information, speaking for oral presentations, and writing for reports (Chamot, 1985). Teaching English through the content uses primarily a cognitive approach blended with a content-based language development curriculum. The focus is on the communication of meaning through a second language rather than on drill and practice of grammatical forms. This approach places emphasis on small group activities where students can participate in cooperative problem-solving learning situations.

Teaching English through the content is considered a more cognitive than communicative approach to second language learning because the focus is more on the functions underlying academic and linguistic competence as opposed to the functions underlying socio-linguistic competence. The Communicative Approach emphasizes the development of listening and speaking that will allow the second language learner to interact in a socially appropriate way in a variety of contexts in the second language. The Cognitive or Content Approach stresses the development of academic language skills in order to allow the second language learner to access the mainstream curriculum of the school.

Reading and the Native Student

Three questions are important as we address the teaching of reading to Native students:

What is the Reading Process?

In order to understand what happens when a student picks up a text and attempts to "read," it is helpful to examine three factors:

Nature of the Text

Texts carry a message from authors to readers by means of written language. The message reflects the author's schema or prior knowledge and experience with a particular topic. The sophistication of the language chosen by the author will determine the readability of the text.

Language

An author selects language with which to communicate the intended message. Once the message is determined by an author, the thoughts that communicate these meanings are recorded in the words (lexicon) and the order of words (syntax) that the author chooses to communicate these meanings. This lexicon and syntax may vary in difficulty from that which is common and simple to that which is abstract and complex. For example, in *A Christmas Carol* by Charles Dickens, the statement "Scrooge gave no Christmas presents," has vocabulary that is concrete and the sentence structure is simple. However, in the sentence, "His inability to recognize Christmas with gifts was indicative of Scrooge's selfishness," the vocabulary (lexicon) and the sentence structure (syntax) are more abstract and complex. The text is a direct reflection of the author's language, including the author's skill in communicating via the written form of the English language.

Schema

In order to define schema as it relates to the text, it will be helpful first to define schema as it relates to people. Schema can be defined as the thoughts that come to mind when you hear or read language. These thoughts form pictures that we associate with particular words or concepts. We have a schema for objects such as paper and books, for places such as schools and gardens, for abstract ideas such as love and hate, for actions such as running and dancing, and for events such as parties and garage sales. Schema is an accumulation of the reader's knowledge about a given topic. It is the reader's prior knowledge, organized and interrelated to everything the reader knows about a specific word or concept.

For example, when the reader sees the word "library," thoughts or images may come to mind that reflect what the reader knows about libraries from personal experience. These images may include the library building where the reader can go to read books or the reader's favorite place to read while at the library. The reader may also know that when books are checked out they must be returned by the due date if a fine is to be avoided. The reader's knowledge about libraries can be called his or her "content schema" for libraries. The word "library" may also bring to mind a particular role or behavior the reader performs while at the library. The reader's ability to follow the sequence of steps necessary to locate a book and check it out are part of the reader's "script schema" for libraries. Another image that may come to the reader's mind may reflect the way a library is organized. This knowledge and experience with the Dewey decimal system is part of the reader's "structure schema" for libraries.

Just as readers have schema based on their prior experiences, so do authors. The author's schema becomes an integral part of the text and helps communicate his or her message. Text schema can also be divided into the categories of content, script, and structure.

- Content Schema. The information in the author's message (major ideas, important concepts, main information, central images, and crucial topics) all constitute the content schema of a reading selection. The explanations and interpretations of content schema can range from the concrete to the more abstract.

For example, *A Christmas Carol* can be said to be "a story about a miserly, stingy, and cruel old man who refused to celebrate Christmas." This would be a more concrete example of content schema, or the content schema can be said to be the moral statements: "Stingy people are lonely people" or "There is more to life than money." These are examples of more abstract content schema.

- Script Schema. Every person has specific roles or scripts that they perform daily at an unconscious level. These roles or scripts have been learned as a result of repeated experiences within the culture. One common script is shopping for clothes. Actions are organized around looking at clothing displays, asking to use a dressing room, trying on merchandise, and purchasing selected items. As children, we learn numerous scripts by modeling adults and peers. Scripts in communication allow us to leave out boring details as we are talking or writing, and insert them as we are listening or reading. A script can be defined as "a predetermined, stereotyped sequence of actions that defines a well-known situation." The author assigns scripts to the characters in a story. The characters behave in certain prescribed ways. The scripts the author includes in his or her message will be scripts from the author's experiences or knowledge.
- Structure Schema. The particular organizational pattern of the message is termed structure schema (sometimes "story grammar"). *A Christmas Carol* has a beginning, middle, and end section: (1) Scrooge is portrayed as a cruel, miserly person unwilling to celebrate Christmas; (2) Scrooge sees himself as he appears to others; (3) Scrooge changes and becomes a pleasant, caring and sharing individual. This is a typical English language structure schema. Schema is an important concept to consider when looking at a particular text. The text schema reflects the author's prior knowledge and experience, including the "content" of the message, the "scripts" performed by the characters, and the "structure" of the author's message.

Readability

Directly related to the language of the text is the text readability. Does the text require the reader to have sophisticated reading skills in order to unlock meaning? The following sentences, for example, may well be understood by an "average" English speaking six-year-old, if they were read to the child in the context of a story:

- This dog can run fast.
- The greyhound is an animal used for racing because of its quick speed.

However, if these sentences occur in the context of a story the child is expected to read without assistance, the latter will cause greater difficulty. The young reader may not have been introduced to the reading skills necessary to decipher the text. When selecting reading material for students, it is important to consider the readability of the material.

Nature of the Reader

The reader also brings language and schema to the reading situation. In addition, the reader brings reading skills that allow him or her to decipher the written symbols used to record language. The reader's language, schema, and reading skills interact and influence each other as the reader actively searches for meaning.

Language

Native students enter our schools with language that has been an integral part of their personal identity; language that has been a vehicle for helping them interact with loved ones, peers, and community members. The language of the student may be other than English, or include English and another of the many languages spoken by the diverse Native populations of the United States.

Native students bring varying degrees of English language development to the reading situation. The English language skills of listening, speaking, reading, and writing have been influenced by a variety of factors including:

- Age of the student
- Time exposed to the English language
- Home, school, and community environment
- First language of the home
- Educational levels of the student and the parents
- Influence of family and peers

Although the student may demonstrate the English oral language skills necessary to communicate in the day-to-day interactions at home and on the playground, the child may not have acquired the academic language found in our schools. This academic language often appears in the reading selections assigned to the student and may be very different from the English language brought by the student into the classroom environment. The student does not enter school devoid of language. The student's language, at whatever level of development, provides a bridge from the known to the unknown. By respecting and valuing this language, and therefore incorporating it into reading instruction, the reading teacher increases the opportunities for success.

Schema

The student also brings all his or her current knowledge and experience to the reading situation. The reader has schema for "content," "scripts," and "structure."

- Content Schema. A student's content schema includes all of his or her current knowledge and information. It is the student's understanding of the world. In reading *A Christmas Carol*, a student's content schema may include his or her awareness of the expected sharing that occurs during the Christmas season. It may not include an understanding of Christmas as celebrated in England in Dicken's time or at the present. The historical perspective, the relationship between employers and employees, the role of conscience in literature, etc., all constitute the content schema activated in a student as *A Christmas Carol* is read. Likewise, if the celebration of Christmas is not a part of the student's experience, the student may have difficulty under standing the story's message unless (s)he has a similar schema for giving and receiving that can be activated and used to provide meaning.
- Script Schema. The reader has numerous scripts that (s)he has learned. These scripts are dependent upon the roles the child has been given or has observed others performing in the home, school, and community; i.e., the script for "getting dressed in the morning," "eating meals," and "getting ready for bed." Without a script, some new experiences are totally incomprehensible. Scripts vary from culture to culture and depend upon the socio-economic status, lifestyle, and age of the reader.
- Structure Schema. In addition, students bring with them a manner of organizing their world, a structure schema. Prior storytelling or other reading experiences may have provided them with a pattern for organizing reading material that is culturally influenced. They use this structure schema for anticipating the type of information to expect in various parts of a story. In approaching the reading of *A Christmas Carol*, the students may have an understanding of an expected story line. When the students have heard or read this story previously, following the plot development can be relatively easy. The more often the

students have read or heard stories similar in structure to *A Christmas Carol*, the easier it will be for them to comprehend the narrative.

Reading Skills

The student's ability to decode written symbols also influences the search for meaning. The reader uses many strategies to decipher the text, including phonics, structural analysis, and context clues. When the decoding requirements of the text exceed the skills possessed by the reader, (s)he faces an undecipherable language from which no meaning can be obtained.

Interaction between Reader and Text

When a reader and a text interact, the encounter may produce a variety of results. A positive encounter may produce feelings of joy, excitement, interest, insight, and success; a negative encounter may evoke feelings of boredom, confusion, uncertainty, frustration, and failure. The positive results we desire for our students are dependent upon an important function of reading-comprehension. In order for comprehension to take place, the reader must make sense out of the author's message. Understanding occurs when there is a positive interaction between the language, schema and readability of the text, and the language, schema, and reading skills of the reader.

Readers approach print with a degree of uncertainty about the author's message. As they begin reading, they make predictions about the author's message based on their own language and schema. Authors are incapable of writing without omitting some information, description, or content. Readers fill in the gaps from their own experiences, check to see if their predictions make sense, and then integrate the message into their own concept of reality.

Reading is an interactive problem-solving process in which the reader predicts, confirms, and integrates meaning gleaned from the text into his or her world. When the language, schema, and readability of the text is very different from the language, schema, and reading skills of the reader, comprehension is limited at best.

The match between the text and the reader need never be a perfect one. Reading situations, by their nature, result in changes in the student's language, schema, and reading skills as the reader is exposed to new information. Reading activates language development, broadens schema, and provides an opportunity to practice and improve reading skills. However, when the differences between the text and the experience of the student are too great, comprehension is lost and reading does not take place.

What is Unique About the Native Student Reader?

The Native student may face three major impediments which can slow learning to read in English.

Limited English Proficiency (LEP)

Limited English proficient or "LEP" is a term used to describe a person from a language minority population with less than native proficiency in English. A "LEP student" is a language minority student who enters the school system at a level of English proficiency less than that acquired by his or her native English speaking peers, which means that this student usually has limited skills in listening, speaking, reading, and/or writing in English. These students most often come from homes where the primary language is not English but is an American Indian and Alaska Native language. On the other hand, however, these students may come from a home where a language that is a combination of English and an American Indian and Alaska Native language are being spoken. Often times the words may seem to be English but the structure or grammar are derived from the Native language (Leap, 1979). This phenomenon has been characterized as "Reservation English" or "Village English" depending upon whether it is used in the "Lower 48" or in Alaska. This group does not usually include bilingual students who are fluent in English and their native tongue, or students who are English dominant (Ovando and Collier, 1985).

The English proficiency of the Native student may range from minimal or nonexistent competence, to near fluency. The language (s)he is capable of understanding and using in English may establish an upper limit to comprehension of the text. Likewise, the LEP student may possess a vocabulary and language that varies from that encountered in the text. When a selection contains language including vocabulary, grammatical forms, and syntax beyond the experience of the student, the text will contain little or no meaning for the reader. For example, when a student's characteristic productive oral language is similar to the following: "Scrooge went home after work"; and the text primarily contains structures like: "When the Ghost of Christmas Past appeared, Scrooge was struck by fear of this strange apparition," the discrepancy may be so great as to impede comprehension of the language of the text. Students cannot be expected to read and understand text that is written in a language that is too different from their own. When this difference is substantial, students often cope with the lesson by concentrating their efforts on decoding words while limiting their attention to the comprehension of the author's meaning.

While language is a major concern in helping the language minority students learn to read, it is by no means the only factor that needs to be addressed.

Lack of Experiences with Text Schema

We know that as students read, they impose meanings from prior learning and experiences in an attempt to understand what the author has written. While language minority students are not devoid of experiences, they can be expected to have difficulty comprehending text written about content for which they lack familiarity. A language minority student's experiences and knowledge may or may not be different from the experiences written about in the text. If a student lacks an understanding of 19th century England (the setting of a particular historical fiction story), (s)he may anticipate and impose meaning which is quite different from the message the author intended to convey.

If the characters in the stories have roles or scripts unfamiliar to the reader, (s)he will have difficulty getting meaning from the story. For example, if a story portrays a humorous interaction between the main character and a waiter in a restaurant, the reader will need to understand the script for eating in a restaurant or the meaning will be lost. Likewise, a student's familiarity with text structure may be divergent from that followed by the author in organizing the written discourse.

American Indian and Alaska Native languages possess structures quite different from English. These structures influence the thought patterns of the Native speakers of these languages. Coupled with the oral traditions of the culture, these thought patterns determine the text structure of discourse or stories. Native students are familiar with the structure schema of the stories they have heard in their homes since birth. In analyzing *A Christmas Carol*, we found that the story has a beginning, a middle, and an end. It is common that many Native stories have four parts: a beginning; middle A: middle B; and an end. Furthermore, it is possible that each part has subparts determined by cultural values and traditions.

Kaplan (1966) has identified five thought patterns employed by writers as they construct discourse. Each of these patterns reflects a cultural tradition that imposes differentiated expectations for the organization or development of logic in a written piece. When the student's expectations of text structure vary from that which they encounter, comprehension will be less than that expected. On the other hand, when there is a consistency between the logical development of structure found in a text and that anticipated by the reader, comprehension increases.

- In the Western European and American pattern of discourse, a linear straightforward manner of writing occurs with elements of text structure sequentially arranged and built upon in a cumulative manner from beginning to end. The reader is led logically and directly to a conclusion through the discourse.
- In contrast, an Asian pattern of discourse would be circular, with the major thesis never stated directly. In this type of development, content is arranged so as to hint at the major point intended by the author, without it ever being developed directly.
- In romance culture writing, thought processes indirectly through a digression before it finally works its way around to developing its major point.
- Semitic writing is characterized by digressions, seeming contradictions, reversals in development, all eventually worked toward an ultimate conclusion.
- Russian discourse contains many subordinate ideas that digress from the central idea of a paragraph.

Students coming from a cultural tradition where thought progresses through a logic unlike that developed in Western prose may have difficulty predicting the sequence of meaning as arranged by the author.

Limited Reading Skills

Language minority students may face a third impediment to success with English reading, namely an inability to decipher written English. This problem manifests itself differently if the student is a non reader, than when the reader is a reader of another language but not skilled in English reading.

Nonreaders may lack the awareness needed for initial reading instruction. Involved in this awareness is a conscious ability to reflect on and talk about language. Understanding concepts such as "words," "phrases," "sentences," "sounds," and others have been found related to initial reading success.

A related problem is inexperience with print. Beginning students need to understand that print used in reading materials symbolizes language. Moreover, printed language is generally more complex. Limited English proficient students, like all others learning to read English, need to develop "print awareness."

Even those students who have print awareness may have no understanding of the decoding process. This process constitutes an important, beginning step in developing independence in early reading. Students need word recognition strategies that they can apply in deciphering new or unknown words encountered in reading. This is formally called "decoding."

While inability to decode can be an impediment to success in English reading, it should be understood that identification of isolated sounds or fluency in pronunciation of words, do not by themselves fulfill the intent of reading instruction. While limited English proficient students will need decoding practice, it should not occur at the expense of reading for comprehension.

Readers of other languages who are unable to read in English, will need to become familiar with the English alphabet. Initially, students may attempt to attach the sound system from their Native language to the English alphabet. As they acquire English reading skills, they also need to be made aware of the many inconsistencies in the English sound-symbol relationships. Some students come from language backgrounds with relatively consistent sound-symbol relationships.

LEP students who read in their first language already have print awareness and many reading skills that are transferable to English such as use of context clues, reading for the main idea, sequencing events, making predictions, and some decoding skills, depending on the first language of the student. LEP students who are taught to read in their first language before being introduced to English reading, have an advantage over LEP students whose first encounter with reading is in English, a language that they are still struggling to acquire.

How Can We Facilitate Growth in Reading?

Three factors influence growth in reading:

English Language Development

Reading experiences are rich in their potential for fostering language growth. Students have opportunities in a reading lesson to create language to help them communicate their understanding to others, experience the language transmitted by an author, and listen to the language employed by teachers and peers. In the lesson, the LEP student's attention should be focused on the meaning communicated by the text, teachers, and peers. Likewise, teachers and peers need to focus on the meaning the student tries to convey rather than the accuracy (form) of his or her language.

Language can be used to receive new information, generate new thoughts, clarify new understanding, mediate misunderstandings or disagreements, articulate new ways of thinking, and relate new learning to students' lives. In other words, reading lessons can provide situations for language to be practiced with the focus on the meaning (function) of the language. In this way, development of the language capabilities so needed by the limited English proficient student can occur.

To provide reading lessons with a language focus, teachers must plan prereading activities that motivate students to talk. The teacher must find out what the student already knows about the key concepts or events central to the meaning of the story. An introductory language activity gives the teacher insight into the student's ability to understand and use the language that the student will soon encounter in printed form. Speaking can be stimulated through the introduction of concrete objects or visuals, the involvement of students in roleplaying situations, or through the interaction of a problem-solving game. The teacher introduces key words and concepts while the communicating activity allows the students the opportunity to practice using the language in a meaningful context.

Activation of Student Schema

Research demonstrates that the ceiling on reading comprehension imposed by language limitations can be raised when LEP students are familiarized with the content, the script, and structure of the reading selection. Students can read and comprehend text written at a level higher than would be suggested by their limited language capabilities, when they are adequately prepared for it through activation of their content, script, and structure schema.

The students' content schema can be activated through prereading preparation. The students can be reminded of the knowledge or prior experiences related to the reading selection, or, a prereading experience can be planned to expose the students to the content of the reading they will be assigned. When the students' content schema is similar to that which they encounter in the text, comprehension is enhanced. For example, if the story content is about a young girl trying to find good homes for her dog's puppies, it is essential that the LEP student understand the concept of "pet." In some cultures, animals are never "pets"; in fact, there may be no word for the concept of "pet" in the student's first language. However, if the class has a pet hamster that the LEP student has helped to feed and nurture, this relationship can be used to help the student understand the relationship between the girl in the story and her pet puppies.

It will also be helpful to prepare the LEP students for the scripts found in the story, by explaining certain roles or by acting out scripts in class. Reading teachers need to expand the script schema of LEP students to include scripts commonly encountered in the reading text. For example, a story about a boy who gets lost while trick-or-treating on Halloween may assume that the reader knows the role children and adults perform at Halloween. If the LEP reader is not familiar with this custom, a helpful prereading activity can include role-playing the scripts for "trick-or-treating." What do children do and what is the expected behavior of adults?

The scripts the characters enact in a story often reflect socio-economic class, culture, and lifestyle. For example, the father in the story may get up in the morning, put on a suit, and drive to the office. This script may be very different from the one the reader's father would repeat daily if he is a farmer, fisherman, or truck driver. The teacher can broaden the student's knowledge of script schema by involving the class in a discussion of the variety of script possibilities for "going to work." Helping students to value their own scripts and that of others is an important part of teaching script schema. A character in a story may behave in a certain way because the author gave her a particular script. Students can retell or rewrite the story by assigning familiar scripts to the characters from their own prior experiences.

Likewise, when the students are forewarned as to the structure or organization of the text they are to read, comprehension can improve. Introductions to a reading assignment that indicate the structure of the selection students are to read, have been shown to be an effective practice in improving the reading performance of LEP students.

For example, if the reading assignment involves an adventure story, the LEP student will benefit if the structure of the story is explained prior to reading, and/or while the story is being read in sections. Students can make predictions about the story as the organizational pattern is explored:

- Encounter: Who and what is involved?
- Conflict: What is the conflict and why?
- Escape: Who escapes and how will it happen?
- Chase: How will the story end?

Introduce Meaningful Reading Skills

If reading lessons consist only of decoding or word recognition practice with little relationship to comprehension, students will believe that simply pronouncing words accurately is all that constitutes success in reading. While decoding instruction and practice are believed to facilitate comprehension during the first years of reading, they have limited usefulness once the student is capable of reading text written at the 3rd or 4th grade level of difficulty and beyond. At all times, decoding assistance should be provided with the intent of helping students achieve comprehension.

Decoding skills are easily learned by limited English proficient students. At times the student's apparent fluency in applying decoding abilities in the oral reading of English may give the appearance that (s)he is also comprehending the text. This may not be so. Decoding without understanding is not reading. Decoding practice without application to real reading is useless.

The more time spent on activities related to decoding, the less time is available for students to experience activities designed to enrich language development and activate the student's schema. While decoding skills should be practiced by LEP students, a balance must exist.

Reading skills certainly include decoding practice but decoding skills are not the only skills that will help students find meaning from the printed message. Comprehension can be enhanced through literary skills such as describing the plot, understanding regional jargon, recognizing puns, and identifying the author's point of view. Language skills also help students by exploring the grammatical, lexical, and syntactic features of the written English language. Meaning can be highlighted as students recognize compound words, suffixes, and prefixes. Looking for context clues and recognizing the multiple meaning of words are additional examples of language skills that build comprehension. Study skills can also be useful. Developing an outline of the story will help students understand the story structure.

Knowing how to use reference materials, how and when to skim a selection or when to read for details, are study skills that will increase the LEP student's ability to read for meaning. When planning skills instruction for LEP students, the following guidelines will be useful:

- Introduce skills in the context of a reading selection.
- Select the skills the student will need to unlock the author's message.
- Do not spend a disproportionate amount of time on skills instruction at the expense of developing the student's language and schema.
- When possible, incorporate skill instruction into the development of language and schema.

The Language Experience Approach

There are three aspects of the Language Experience Approach that will be discussed.

What is the Language Experience Approach?

Definition: The Language Experience Approach is a process that transcribes students' words into reading material.

With this approach, the students' skills of listening and speech are used as the bridge to reading and writing. The experiences of the student are an integral part of initial reading and writing as these experiences become the basis for the content of the materials used in instruction.

Process: With the Language Experience Approach, the teacher provides a stimulus and the students generate an oral composition or story which is then written down. The students are then guided by the teacher through a reading lesson using these student-dictated materials. The steps most common to this approach are:

1. Stimulate with a Catalyst
   a. The teacher plans an experience for the class.
   b. Students directly get involved in the experience.
2. Create the Story
   a. A student or several students orally respond to the experience.
   b. The experience is discussed and dictated.
   c. This dictation is written by the teacher or student.
   d. The writing is read.
3. Develop Reading Skills
   a. Students are involved in related comprehension and language extension activities.
   b. Decoding instruction and practice is provided.
   c. Follow-up activities are integrated into art, social studies, science, health, physical education, math, etc. (The catalyst may originate from a content area.)

Why is the Language Experience Approach Effective With Native Students?

The Language Experience Approach removes two major impediments which can block students from experiencing successful interaction with the text, language, and schema.

Language

Because the language employed in creating reading stories is that of the student, it can never run ahead of the student's current English language proficiency level in sentence structure (syntactic complexity) or vocabulary (lexical abstractness). The particular sentences (syntax) and vocabulary (lexicon) recorded by the teacher or scribe, are the student's own and become the language in the materials used in teaching reading. Thus, one important impediment is removed from the task of teaching English reading to Native students. The language of the reading material is at the lexical and syntactical level of the language of the student.

Schema

The catalyst provides a common experience from which the story content is drawn. By involving the student directly with the catalyst, teachers can ensure that the subject matter of the student's dictation is familiar and well-incorporated into the student's content schema. The student is never asked to talk about an action, event, object, sensation, feeling, etc., that (s)he has not experienced. Thus, a second important impediment potentially faced by the student is removed. The content schema of the story is a part of the schema of the student.

Sometimes a student writes personal experiences about people in his or her world. Therefore, the script schema in his or her story will be a familiar one that is part of the student's world. Characters will not be behaving in ways unknown to the student. The roles of family, friends, or members of the student's community will be reflected in his or her dictation.

The student is responsible for the writing or organization of the sentences that are recorded in a language experience lesson. The teacher is asked not to alter the student's expression or arrangement. In this way, when students are called upon to reread the story, they can accurately predict the sequence of content in the composition. Thus, the impediment of differences in structure schema that sometimes limits comprehension for a student, is removed. The structure schema of the reading material reflects the structure schema of its author, the student.

The Language Experience Approach is useful in meeting the reading needs of the Native student, in that it removes major impediments that can present stumbling blocks for the reader; namely the author's language and text schema.

How is a Language Experience Lesson Presented?

There are three recommended parts to a language experience lesson.

Catalyst

A stimulus or common experience is used to spark student interest, create an atmosphere for oral language production, focus student attention on the lesson at hand, and generally prepare students for the creation of a written story. The catalyst should stimulate the students so that language flows naturally because of the high level of interest, content familiarity, low anxiety, and prior experiences. The catalyst provides an excellent means to activate schema. Suggested catalysts are:

- Simple objects
- Social studies dramatization
- Animals
- Music
- Sport events
- Art prints
- Reaction to visuals
- Rhymes
- Stories read or retold
- Assemblies
- Hypothetical conjecture
- Discussions and prior experiences
- Field trips
- Art experiences
- Problem-solving situations
- Films or filmstrips
- Science experiments
- Wordless books
- Guest speakers

Students actively experience the catalyst, and learn vocabulary appropriate for the concrete actions and objects presented. They ask or answer questions and generate oral language as appropriate for their level of proficiency. For very limited English proficient students, little English language generation can be expected. This approach is appropriate for developing literacy in any language, therefore using a student's Native language may be appropriate. With these students, the teacher may find himself or herself as the most significant source of language heard during the lesson. More proficient students can and should be involved directly in using language appropriate to the situation.

Story Creation

Following the experience, the students are asked to talk about the catalyst. This may include what they remembered, what it looked like, what they did, what they liked or disliked, how it can be used, how it compares with another object or experience, etc. Or the discussion can involve storytelling or oral dramatization, with the catalyst serving as the stimulus for this creativity. This language is written down by the classroom teacher, peer tutor, volunteer, or the students themselves.

The oral language prompted by the teacher and generated in response to the catalyst is recorded by the teacher or scribe. The teacher may decide to record the language exactly as dictated by the student or (s)he may elect to correct any error in syntax (grammar and sentence structure) that the student may make. Many supporters believe that it is important to record the story exactly as the student gives it, without making any corrections in usage or idea organization, and that the student should read the material the way (s)he originally stated it. On the other hand, there are those who strongly feel that language development will be impaired by not correcting the grammar errors in the dictated story. Before deciding whether to correct or not to correct, the teacher may wish to confer with other staff whose input and experience may be helpful. Words should be spelled correctly and not reflect the phonological variation of the student's speech.

For minimally proficient students, all that may be expected is a one-word or two-word response to the object, action, or catalyst. With more proficient students, short phrases may be forthcoming. With still more proficiency, students may use simple sentences in discussing the catalyst. Procedures for creating stories vary slightly depending on group size. The teacher may work with the total class, small groups, individuals, or the students may work in pairs.

Group Story

- Teacher asks students to name objects, actions, etc.
- Teacher initiates student discussion regarding the catalyst. This discussion depends upon the level of language of the students and may be stimulated with:
    - Who or what occurred?
    - What did you see?
    - What do you do? (requesting factual information)
    - What do we call what happened? Saw? Did? (asking for main topic ideas)
    - How or why did...happen? (interpretation)
    - How would you feel if...? (conjecture)
    - If...then... (hypothesis)
- Student responses to teacher's questions are written on chalkboard using the student's language as closely as possible.
- Optional: after several sentences have been recorded, students are asked to sequence the story. (Sentences can also be written in the order they are dictated.)
- Teacher asks the students to select a title for the story.
- Teacher reads the composition.
- Each sentence is read again, this time with the class repeating after the teacher.
- Individual students read the composition.
- Students copy the language experience story from the chalkboard onto their own paper.

Individual Story

With slight modification, the above procedure can be followed when the student writes or dictates an individual story. In creating the story, the teacher can work with the individual to record the oral response to the catalyst, or the student can write his own story. The student's unique experience with the catalyst becomes the content of the reading material.

Team Stories

Peers working together may follow the sequence suggested below:

- Catalyst activity is experienced by the total group and includes group discussion.
- Teacher pairs or groups students.
- Students duo- or team-brainstorm: words, phrases, and sentences related to their catalyst experience.
- Students duo- or team-write their list on a sheet of paper.
- Lists are shared with the entire class and expanded after class discussion.
- Students make decisions regarding which items to keep.
- Students rewrite list of words into sentences.
- Students duo- or team-decide on sequence of sentences and rewrite sentences in this order.
- Student groups select a title for their story.
- Student groups read the story to others.
- Student groups illustrate the story.

Reading Skills Development

The student's writing can be used to develop any of the reading skills taught at his or her level. Included among these reading skills are:

- Summarizing a story
- Word recognition strategies
- Retelling a story (decoding)
- Selecting a title and main idea
- Learning correct syntax
- Sequencing sentences
- Categorizing
- Recognizing sight vocabulary
- Looking for content
- Alphabetizing

The teacher may use the skills scope and sequences from a basal reading series as a guide for introducing skills. Student- authored reading material provides the context for presenting these skills.

Students can measure the growth in their reading skills as they develop word banks, language experience dictionaries, or a library of student-authored stories. The student's stories provide reading materials for the entire class to share and enjoy while they practice the skills introduced by the teacher.

Adapting the Basal Reader

Three questions will be given attention in discussing the process of adapting the basal reader:

What is "Adapting the Basal?"

Traditional basal readers are written for an average native English speaking population that has demonstrated language development expected for their age, has acquired reading skills appropriate for their age and number of years in school, and has schema somewhat similar to that which they encounter in the text. Each of these areas, however, may pose problems for the Native reader. In order to provide useful instruction for the student, the lesson in the basal reader may need to be taught differently than the lesson described in the teacher's guide. In this process of adaptation, the teacher analyzes the basal reader for potential language concerns, content schema deficiencies, structure schema differences, and the presence of reading demands that exceed the skills of the student. Once these problem areas have been identified, the teacher adjusts the lesson to meet the needs of the Native student.

Why Must Basals be Adapted for Native Students?

For the student to benefit from reading instruction in a basal reading series, (s)he must be able to find meaning in the author's message. A reading lesson that is planned to accommodate the special nature of the student helps remove the barriers to understanding.

The language of the text may be beyond the student's productive or receptive level. The vocabulary, grammar, syntax, and idioms used by the author may be unfamiliar to the student. The cultural experiences and background of the child may be different from the schema of the text. The student may not be able to comprehend the text because of limited reading skills. All of these barriers interact to block comprehension for the reader.

How Can Reading Teachers Adapt the Basal?

The following steps are recommended in order to accommodate the special needs of the reader:

Step I: Introducing the Story

The purpose of the story introduction is to minimize any barriers between the student and comprehension. This is done by activating schema, developing language, and introducing reading skills the student will need to obtain meaning from the story.

Activate Schema

The reading teacher needs to find out what the student already knows about the content of the story. Is it unfamiliar to the student, or does (s)he have content schema that can be related to the story to help provide meaning? The teacher can discover the student's prior knowledge by asking questions such as:

- What do you remember about...?
- Have you ever seen a...?
- What do you know about...?
- Recall when we did...
- What do you think about when...is mentioned?

Another technique is to have students cluster a topic. This is done by asking all the students to tell you what they know about a subject and organizing their information in a web. If the student's knowledge of the topic is limited, the teacher can provide concrete experiences to familiarize the student with the content they will be reading. For example, if the story is about making pancakes and this food is unknown to the student, then an appropriate introduction of the story will be cooking pancakes in class, or visually describing the process and demonstrating the end product for the student to sample. The cooking experience broadens the student's content schema and helps give meaning to the story.

Are there scripts in the story that are unknown to the student? For example, if the routine of riding the subway to work every day is a central event in the story, and the child has no reference for this experience, it may be necessary to act out the routine in class: walking to the stop, climbing down the stairs, purchasing a ticket, waiting for the train, finding a seat, reading the paper, etc. Acting out unfamiliar roles that people in the story are performing will help activate the student's script schema.

The introductory period can also be used to prepare the student for the structure of the story, often referred to as "story grammar." An advance organizer will help the student predict the events of the story and enhance meaning. The student will encounter a variety of organizational patterns in the basal reader. Several are described below:

- Simple Narrative (Found in Primary Basals)
  - Setting and character
  - Beginning/problem

  - Reaction/feeling
  - Attempt/solution
  - Outcome/ending
- Expository Writing (Found in Content Area Readers)
  - Topic area
  - Subtopic 1
  - — Elaboration
  - — Examples
  - Subtopic 2
  - — Elaboration
  - — Examples
  - Subtopic 3
  - — Elaboration
  - — Examples
  - Conclusions
- Adventure Stories
  - Encounter
  - Conflict
  - Escape
  - Chase
- Science Reports
  - Problem statement
  - Hypotheses
  - Materials/procedures
  - Data collection/observation
  - Conclusions
- Persuasive Writing
  - Problem statement
  - Solution proposal
  - Arguments and counter-arguments
  - Effectiveness of solution
  - Implementation
  - Conclusions

Develop Language

If vocabulary, idioms, syntax, etc., in the story will block meaning, it is worth the time to review them with the student. Concrete objects and visuals should be used as often as possible to convey meaning.

Introduce Reading Skills

The only purpose for teaching a reading skill during the introduction to the story is if the student will need the skill to get meaning from the text. For example, if a root word is used repeatedly in the story, but in a variety of forms (i.e., help, helpful, helpless), it might be necessary to introduce structural analysis as a means of decoding words. Time should be allowed for reading skills — only if meaning would be lost without the skill. Key vocabulary words that the student understands but cannot decode can be introduced as sight words accompanied by visuals when possible.

The introductory period should encourage free language use, while the student shares his or her background knowledge and responds to questions from the teacher. The student may often use language (particularly vocabulary) which may not be standard. That is, the student may overgeneralize a term but use it in a context in which the intent of his or her communication may still be clear. For example, the term "ice cream" may be used when "popsicle" is clearly the intent. Or the student may utter sentences that are ungrammatical such as "We goed to the Christmas party."

It is recommended that the teacher respond to the "truth value" of the student's utterance and not to the structure, form, or accuracy of the language. In this way, the student is encouraged to create language to communicate his or her background knowledge related to the content of the reading selection. This experience affords language practice and is consistent with the suggested conditions for language development.

Step II: Building Comprehension Through Storytelling

Step II is an extension of Step I in that the teacher is still preparing the reader for his or her encounter with the text. This step reduces the uncertainty faced by the student, and ensures no "surprises." During Step II, the teacher tells the story to the student. The following procedures are suggested:

- Tell the story using visuals, gestures, and facial expressions to help convey meaning. The story pictures from the text may be used.
- Stress key vocabulary by writing the words as they are being used.
- Retell the story leaving out key words for the student to insert. Underline them on the board as the student says them.
- Encourage the student to retell the story in his or her own words.
- Review key words by introducing appropriate reading skills that will aid word recognition.

- Ask the student questions using story grammar as an organizer:
  - Setting: Where and when did the events in the story take place? Who was involved in them?
  - Beginning: What started the chain of events in the story?
  - Reaction: What was the main character's reaction to this event?
  - Attempt: What did the main character do about it?
  - Outcome: What happened as a result of what the main character did?

Step III: Reading the Story

To facilitate comprehension, it is recommended that the teacher guide the student through the reading selection. Suggestions are given below:

- Assign short sections to read, one at a time.
- Establish purpose-setting questions for each section.
- Ask the student to read a section and retell it to a peer.
- Discuss idiomatic expressions.
- Ask the student to predict what will happen next.

When the student has completed the story, check comprehension by asking him or her to participate in a variety of activities:

- Sequence the story by drawing illustrations.
- Act out the story.
- Describe a character in the story.
- Retell or rewrite the story by making oneself the main character.
- End the story in a different way.
- Compare the story to another one.
- Outline the selection.
- Write a story using the same organizational structure as the story just completed.

Step IV: Applying Reading Skills

The teacher's guide to any basal series will contain numerous reading skills. In selecting skills appropriate for the LEP student, it is important to remember that the focus should be comprehension. Skills isolated from any meaningful context will not be useful. Examples of appropriate skills might be:

- Putting together sentence puzzles, using the story to practice syntax.
- Alphabetizing words from the story.
- Finding words from the story that have the same phonetic elements (i.e., vowel sounds, rhyming words, etc.).
- Identifying the main idea.
- Making predictions about outcomes.
- Using words from the story to associate consonant in initial, medial, or final position.
- Developing word meaning through context clues.
- Developing synonyms or antonyms for words in the story.

Current Trends and Directions in Reading

Any discussion of reading instruction cannot be considered complete without attention given to some current trends in language arts instruction. In recent years, a great deal of interest has emerged in instructional models that integrate listening, speaking, reading, and writing. The strongest manifestation of this direction is the whole language movement that is currently gaining increasing recognition and support in the United States. This section will explore what is meant by "integrating the language arts." In addition, the underlying principles of whole language will be discussed.

What is Meant by "Integrating the Language Arts?"

Many classroom teachers no longer view speaking, listening, reading, writing, literature, spelling, handwriting, and grammar as separate subjects to be taught with separate texts. Instead, they integrate these areas in their instruction in support of the following philosophical perspective:

- Language, both oral and written, is the primary means of creating new knowledge as well as the means for communicating that knowledge to others. Language is verbal thinking.
- Language is balanced between the two receptive processes of listening and reading and the two productive processes of speaking and writing. The four language processes are interrelated and interdependent. Deficiency or growth in one may cause deficiency or growth in another.

- Literature provides the best models of language. Students learn language in a way superior to direct instruction by internalizing literary models through listening, reading, retelling, discussing, dramatizing, and writing.
- The purpose of language is to make meaning. Skills are important in that they aid meaning. Skills are part of, and never separate from, purposeful communication.

This philosophical perspective translates into the following instructional guidelines:

- The basal reading system can be the core of the integrated curriculum if teachers are uncertain about how to teach reading through literature.
- Students, working in groups, talk through their learning in all subjects, talk out their compositions before they write, and engage in activities that promote oral expression: storytelling, choral reading, reader's theater, creative dramatics, etc.
- Students write daily as a follow-up to reading, instead of using workbooks or ditto sheets.
- The students' difficulties in oral and written discourse determine what they need to study in grammar and usage.
- Spelling lists will be made from the students' errors in writing.
- Similar guidelines are used in content areas to effect integrated language-across-the-curriculum. (Buckley, 1986)

What is the "Whole Language" Approach?

A greater understanding and appreciation of children's processing abilities has emerged during the last 20 years supporting the notion that children can learn to read quite naturally if instructional procedures are in keeping with their natural linguistic competencies and abilities. The term "whole language" describes reading programs that are built on this body of knowledge which has come out of the work of educators, cognitive psychologists, and psycholinguists. Their studies suggest that reading is not simply a compilation of skills to be "poured" into learners' minds for their conscious learning, but rather a "skill" of processing whole language that allows learning to read to occur implicitly. Whole language proponents believe that reading and writing are learned by reading and writing. Furthermore, practice in these areas cannot be artificial or contrived. It must be bonded to what the students bring with them into the classroom and directed at what matters to them beyond the school walls.

In the whole language instructional model, reading is viewed as a developmental process: learners grow through similar stages, but not at the same rate and not in the same way. As they grow, it is important that students be immersed in a language-rich environment, rich in exposure to written as well as oral language so that they are introduced to both the forms and functions of written language.

Classroom practices in a whole language classroom are based on the belief that language should not be fragmented. Whole language rejects:

- Isolating skill sequences.
- Slicing up reading and writing into grade slices, each slice neatly following and dependent on prior ones.
- Simplifying texts by controlling their sentence structures and vocabulary, or organizing them around phonic patterns.
- Isolating reading and writing instruction from its use in learning, or in actual reading and writing.
- Believing there are substantial numbers of learners who have difficulty learning to read or write for any physical or intellectual reason (Goodman, 1986).

Whole Language Instructional Practices

- Reading strategy instruction is a major component of a whole language program. Readers are guided to predict and confirm their predictions and to constantly ask themselves as they read: "Does this make sense?" and "What do I think will happen next?"
- Whole language programs accept the reality of learning through risk-taking, errors, reversed letters, invented spellings, creative punctuation, and reading and writing miscues. These are viewed as indications of growth toward control of the language process.
- The teacher motivates, arranges the environment, monitors development, provides relevant and appropriate materials, and invites the learner to participate in the activities.
- Language teachers do not use basals at all, but build their programs around children's

literature. In a whole language classroom, there are books, magazines, newspapers, directories, posters, and many other forms of print all around. What is considered appropriate to read is anything the reader needs or wants to read.

- The focus of all activities is on meaning and not on language itself, but language as it naturally happens in authentic speech and literacy events. Comprehension of meaning is always the goal of readers. (Goodman, 1986)

Whole Language and the Native Student Reader

A growing number of English as a second language (ESL) instructors have become increasingly interested in the whole language movement happening in the United States. Many have come to support the learning theory on which whole language is based, believing that language is inclusive, and that it is indivisible. They have come to view the controlled vocabulary, phonic principles, or short, choppy sentences frequently found in ESL readers or basals as presenting an artificial idea of what the purposes of language are and thus, serving only to make language learning hard, irrelevant, and uninteresting.

Reading programs for the student often provide language that is isolated from real speech and literacy contexts. This may be particularly true at the secondary level where programmed ESL texts often dictate the direction of reading instruction. A reading program based on student-selected material, on the other hand, might provide greater motivation for the student to become a "self-directed agent seeking meaning," especially if reading texts were available that were relevant to the student's own experiences. Because readers tend to be interested in reading texts that have some relationship to their own background, the student who chooses his or her own texts is, in effect, also providing his or her own appropriate background knowledge for understanding the text (Carrell and Eisterhold, 1983).

Addressing the Content Area Curriculum Needs of the American Indian and Alaska Native Student

It has been well established that many Native students have difficulty with content area classes if they do not possess adequate cognitive academic language proficiency at the same level as the texts being used. When this occurs in a content area class, the students are oftentimes "pulled out" of the regular class and provided with remedial work. The problem with this approach is that while the student in need is out of the classroom, the level of instruction continues on and (s)he falls behind the content and skills level that the whole class is addressing. This section will examine approaches whereby students with skills' needs may stay in the classroom and the teacher will use varying methods that will address all of the needs of all of the students, thus avoiding the phenomenon of some students falling behind in content when they lack adequate skills to access the content area materials.

What are the Needs of the Native Students?

There are, despite the differences among Native students, some uniform needs that should be recognized by content area curriculum classroom teachers:

- The cultural heritage of the Native student needs to be recognized as an asset to the class. The various ethnic and cultural groups represented in the classroom provide numerous resources which can be used to enhance classroom learning for all students.
- The Native student needs a warm, accepting environment that allows him or her to become a risk-taker in learning a new skill or content area.
- The student may need to have a "silent period" or a period during which he or she listens to a great deal of language in order to get a feel for the new sounds and vocabulary that have meaning for that particular content area.
- Some Native students may need appropriate ESL instruction, depending on their level of English language proficiency. Such instruction should include both interpersonal communicative language skills and cognitive academic language skills. It should be noted that while second language learners (including "Reservation English" and "Village English" speakers) can attain proficiency in interpersonal communication within two years, attaining proficiency in cognitive academic language skills requires from five to seven years (Cummins, 1981).
- The Native student needs content material that will provide him or her with concepts

that are appropriate for his or her grade level and achievement level.

- The student needs to have abstract content information and concepts made comprehensible. (Krashen, 1981)
- The Native student needs an instructional program in the content areas which incorporates the use of concrete materials, shared experiences, and prior knowledge.
- The Native LEP student may need special consideration in regard to daily assignments and testing. The language demands in such situations may pose barriers to success and may require modification. Because Native LEP students may have difficulty using English as a complete thought medium, they may need more time to complete assignments and tests. It is important to determine whether assignments and tests assess the understanding of the content or knowledge of the language associated with the content.

Identifying Instructional Strategies

The following questions should be addressed before the teacher plans instruction for the Native student:

How Can the Teacher Plan for Native Student Needs?

Creating a Positive, Welcoming Classroom Environment

Going into a new or cross-cultural situation often provokes feelings of stress and anxiety. This is especially true of school age children when faced with the first day of school in a new environment. Add to this the factor of not knowing the language of the new environment and one can easily imagine how these feelings might be even more intense. In recognition of these feelings, it becomes the teacher's responsibility to ensure that the Native student be made to feel as comfortable as possible that first day in order that the foundation be paved for a positive school experience in the future.

Immediate Needs

When developing a plan to meet the needs of the Native student in the content area classroom, the teacher needs to consider both immediate and long-term needs. The immediate needs focus on helping the Native student feel as comfortable as possible in the new learning situation.

Long-Term Needs

The long-term needs involve taking into account the background characteristics of the Native student, identifying resources available for serving that student, and giving consideration to appropriate instructional approaches. Before developing a plan for the student's long-term needs, the teacher should consider the following questions:

- What are the students' background, culture, previous educational experience, home situation, general abilities, and interests?
- What resources and materials for serving the Native student are available within the building, the district, and the state?
- What teaching approaches are effective with Native students?

After addressing the above questions, a plan can be developed that includes: daily schedule, instructional strategies, alternative instruction, and evaluation process. A meeting with all staff who will be working with the student will provide an opportunity for everyone to make suggestions and to approve the plan. When possible, meet with parents to review the plan and to solicit their input.

What Instructional Strategies are Effective for Native Students?

In developing and carrying out a long-term plan for the Native student, the teacher needs to consider certain instructional approaches. The following approaches help to provide the Native student, as well as all students, with an instructional program that will enhance learning.

Analyze Language Complexity of the Learning Task

The language demands that the Native student faces in the classroom can be reduced when the teacher considers the complexity of the language involved in classroom communication activities. The level of complexity is influenced by two major factors: the number of contextual clues that are present to assist comprehension, and the cognitive complexity of the task.

Cummins (1981) suggests that all tasks requiring language skills may be placed on a grid formed by the intersection of two continua depicting two major dimensions of language proficiency — communicative language skills and academic language skills. The horizontal continuum describes the amount of contextual support present in a task. At one extreme, meaning is actively negotiated between speaker and listener, and the communication is supported by a wide range of contextual clues. An example of this kind of communication would be determining whose turn is next during a game at recess time. At the other end of the continuum, context is reduced; very few clues to meaning are provided. An example of context-reduced communication might be the reading of a chapter in a history text.

The vertical continuum represents the cognitive demands of the communication task. An example of a cognitively undemanding task might be the experienced driver reading and interpreting traffic signs, an activity that has become so automatic as to be almost subconscious. A typical cognitively undemanding classroom task with many context clues might be having the student match a quantity of concrete objects to written numerals. A cognitively undemanding task with few context clues might be requiring the student to copy written materials.

An example of a cognitively demanding task, on the other hand, with many clues might be giving the student math word problems with concrete referents or pictures to assist in problem-solving. Finally, a cognitively demanding task, with few clues, might be listening to a lecture on the American Revolution.

The language demands that the student faces in the classroom increase in difficulty as the contextual clues become fewer and the cognitive task becomes more complex. The cognitive task often will demand the kind of academic language skill required for literacy skills such as decoding, reading comprehension, deriving meaning from context, study skills, and writing proficiency. This kind of language proficiency, therefore, is more challenging in its comprehension requirements, in contrast to language surrounded by context clues where meaning is more easily clarified through concrete referents.

Providing Contextual Clues

The following strategies will help to place language in a more meaningful context for the students:

- Use Visuals

When a spoken word can be further represented by a visual, it diminishes the complexity of a task. The visual allows the listener one more clue to comprehension. The teacher talks about a country while using a map of the country. The teacher demonstrates the process of subtraction by using blocks or pieces of candy to show what happens when something is subtracted.

- Provide Hands-On Activities

Students needs the opportunity to explore and discover things. Language proficiency can be developed along with content through activities such as drawing and constructing maps, making dioramas, role-playing historical events, conducting experiments, and using manipulatives.

- Using a Model or Sample of a Finished Product

A model or sample of a finished product gives students a guide of what is expected. Each student can use the model to visualize and compare his or her own work. It provides a visual guide when the teacher is not able to give further directions. The model provides the student with a constant self-monitoring process. The teacher might post a model ofhow to head a paper or display the finished product of student-made books.

- Give a Visual Representation of Verbal Directions

The steps that a student follows to complete a task should be presented in the oral mode and reinforced with visual clue. The steps to complete a craft project or a math process should be represented visually as well as verbally. The steps can be placed on the chalkboard or on a chart for quick reference. The teacher needs to spend time relating the visual to the verbal directions. The teacher can, for example, present seatwork directions verbally and relate them to picture clues on the chalkboard to help increase the student's understanding and memory. If the teacher wants the students to cut out pictures, the words "cut out the pictures" are printed on the board with a picture of scissors. Pictures with verbal directions provide comprehensible input for the students.

- Provide Demonstrations or Modeling

Modeling is the demonstration and explanation of a process or product by the teacher. For example, the teacher, in introducing how to use a microscope, carefully demonstrates its use and points out the most important features. Or, the teacher demonstrates ways to put correct shadowing in a picture, or how to do a certain math procedure before allowing the class to try the problem.

The modeling by the teacher provides the students with an example they can draw from when they attempt the new skill. The model should have two characteristics:

  - The model should be perfect, which means it should be clearly understood without room for misinterpretation.

- The teacher should point out the key ideas that make the model perfect.

Modeling helps to identify and to visualize a process or product that a teacher wants to teach. Modeling helps to reinforce skills being taught, clarifies a skill, meets the needs of various learning styles, and will provide a concrete rather than an abstract experience.

- Nonverbal Embellishment

When the teacher points and uses hand gestures, the students are provided with additional clues to the teacher's message. The teacher can simply point to the place where finished worksheets should be returned. With a hand gesture, the teacher can show or approximate an inch in a measurement lesson. The gestures and references to concrete examples helps to narrow the scope for the listener.

- Activate and Expand the Prior Experiences of Students

A person's background experiences have a direct influence on what (s)he comprehends. If the learner is able to relate new information to past experiences, learning is enhanced (Pearson and Spiro, 1982). Students can share their prior knowledge as a preliminary stage to any lesson. As required, the teacher provides additional experiences to extend the student's range of experience. It is important that the teacher use the student's prior experiences as a bridge to introduce new information. The student who is very knowledgeable about animals can easily relate to a lesson on food chains if the teacher builds on this previous knowledge. The prior experiences that a student brings to learning can be termed the students "schema." It is the responsibility of the teacher to acknowledge the student's existing schema and provide opportunities to expand on what is already known.

Placing language in a meaningful context is one of the key strategies for teaching the Native student in the content area classroom. Not only does it increase the likelihood of academic success for the student as key concepts are explored in content areas, but it also simultaneously facilitates the development of language and communication skills.

Provide for Peer Interaction and Cooperative Learning Experiences

Acquisition of language and oral communication skills is further facilitated by the use of cooperative small group work. Students working together in small groups obtain natural active practice in all language areas. Johnson, Johnson, Johnson, and Roy (1984) states that "cooperative learning experiences, where students work together to maximize each other's achievement, tend to promote positive relationships and a process of acceptance among students." He identifies four basic elements that must be included in small group learning for it to be considered cooperative learning. The first element is that the group develops positive interdependence. This can be structured to occur by having mutual goals for a group, division of task work, and materials. The teacher can enhance the positive interdependence by joint rewards for a group showing positive interdependence. The second element is face-to-face interaction among the students. The third element is individual accountability for mastery of material covered. And finally, the fourth element requires students to use interpersonal and small group skills. The students need to be taught the social skills of working within a group and also how to assess how their group is functioning. Keeping the four elements of cooperative learning in mind, the teacher assumes the following roles to implement cooperative learning in the classroom:

- States and clarifies the objectives of the lesson for the students. This would include the academic objectives as well as the objectives for the group work.
- Makes decisions about which groups, and the size of the groups, that the students will work in before the lesson begins. The decision is based on the task to be accomplished, number of students, and materials or resources that are available. Heterogeneous grouping is recommended, at least one high-achieving student, one low-achieving student and a mixture by gender and ethnicity of middle level-achieving students.
- Clarifies the task and structures the learning activity for the students.
- Monitors the effectiveness of the groups and is available to provide assistance when a group needs direction.
- Evaluates the students' achievement and leads discussions with students about how their group worked effectively.

The following are some activities that use cooperative learning:

List-Group Label

The teacher begins by choosing a topic the class is familiar with. Using the chalkboard or overhead, the teacher leads the class in a brainstorming activity to come up with 20 to 30 words or concepts related to the topic. The teacher writes down every word suggested. Discuss with the class whether any words are inappropriate and should be eliminated. The class is divided into the cooperative learning groups. The students are told that within their groups they are to select from the brainstormed list of words or concepts that seem to relate to each other. They are to write these words in clusters on their paper; then label each cluster with a descriptive term. The teacher brings the class together for the groups to share their work. There are no right or wrong answers; all reasonable answers are accepted. This activity can be a prereading activity or it can be a follow-up activity to help reinforce and review (Maring, Furman, and Blum-Anderson, 1985).

Jigsaw

The teacher in this strategy selects the most important topics to be covered. The teacher then develops directed study questions. The cooperative learning groups are each assigned a specific study question to research as a group. When the groups have their questions answered, they disband and each member joins a new group; each student in turn teaches his or her new group the information that his or her former group researched. The teacher needs to monitor this carefully and to check the research group's work before they disband. This activity allows all students to take an active part and to have something to share.

Survey, Predict, Read, Revise

The teacher has all the students list the headings and subheadings for an assigned reading on paper, or the teacher can provide the handouts with this information. The teacher then has the total class brainstorm what kinds of information might be contained under each heading. They will also perform the same activity in their small groups.

The students continue the brainstorming in their small groups, but they record their predictions on their paper. Each student should be required to make at least one prediction within their group for each heading, but the group members should only record the items for which they reach a consensus. Following the brainstorming, the group does the assigned reading to confirm, reject, or modify their predictions. The group then makes decisions about their predictions, making revisions and additions where they are needed. The teacher can bring the total group together to share what information was confirmed. This will help to summarize the content material (Maring, Furman, and Blum-Anderson, 1985).

Cooperative learning can provide the students with positive peer interaction. It can help to foster an independence in learning that does not focus just around the teacher. It can free the teacher to work with children who are having difficulties. Cooperative learning is an efficient way to meet the variety of needs of all students.

Marilyn Burns (1981) describes her "groups of four" as a system of cooperative learning that requires reorganizing the classroom physically, redefining the students' responsibilities, and carefully structuring the teacher's role. Her groups operate under three rules:

- You are responsible for your own work and behavior.
- You must be willing to help any group member who asks.
- You may ask for help from the teacher only when everyone in your group has the same question.

First, the teacher introduces an activity to the groups that is designed to accomplish the lesson objective. The teacher circulates to observe interaction and to help when an entire group has a question or when a group reaches an impasse. The teacher's goal is to get the groups working productively and independently. When groups have finished exploring a problem, it is the teacher's responsibility to summarize the results for the entire class and to lead a discussion about the process. "Groups of four" provide a useful management technique for meeting the varied needs of the students. It also provides a learning environment that maximizes interaction among students. Students have opportunities to exchange thoughts and to validate and rethink their ideas.

The Native student can benefit greatly by working in cooperative peer interaction situations. The teacher structures tasks that encourage the students to discuss and actively work on a problem. For example, a teacher might use peer groups in science by placing the Native student with one or more students. The teacher can direct the groups to carry out a series of experiments and to record the results. The teacher leads a total class discussion and helps summarize the results with the class.

Social studies peer groups can be assigned tasks to obtain information through a research project, such as finding names of key American Indian and Alaska Native and their achievements. Or the students can plan and build a model of a city, or develop a timeline for useful inventions in the 21st century. The teacher can ask students to act out key vocabulary words following or preceding a lesson. The important thing is that all group tasks be designed to facilitate interaction among the students.

Peer tutoring can also promote the acquisition of language and oral communication skills, and can be beneficial to the tutor as well as to the tutored student. An English proficient student can be paired with the LEP student or an older student with a younger student. Or, a student that has a basic competency in the target skill can serve as a model and tutor for the other. The tutor gains self-esteem while also reinforcing his or her own concepts within a content area. The LEP student is presented with an informal situation in which to interact verbally with only one person, in addition to being given one-on-one attention in a specific content area.

Modify the Lesson

Modifying the lesson means that the content area teacher adapts the same content and concept to two different populations. First, the most essential or appropriate objectives for a lesson or unit are identified. The content is then modified to provide a better match with the language limitations of the LEP students. Thus, while the lesson demands of the English proficient students and the LEP student are different, the same information can be prepared for and presented to both.

For example, an objective for a social studies lesson on famous American inventors might require students to write an essay stating how the work of one famous inventor has influenced our modern world. The same lesson for the LEP student can require the student to tell the teacher or a peer the names of three famous inventors and what they invented, or to draw a picture to illustrate how the work of a particular inventor has influenced our lives. The teacher needs to be aware of, and to continually challenge, the LEP student's skills. The LEP student's limited English skills should not be confused with a lack of cognitive knowledge.

Incorporate Comprehension Checks into Lessons

Madeline Hunter's (1982) work supports learning theories that stress the need to check for understanding during teaching, as well as for monitoring and for adjusting instruction throughout a lesson. The following teacher activities will help to ensure that learning is occurring:

- Check to see if students understand the key elements by asking questions throughout the lesson.
- Rephrase the main points in simple language at the end of the lesson. Focus on the main idea of the lesson. Have students restate in their own words their understanding of the information, or have them tell one another one or two new ideas they learned during the lesson.
- Emphasize key content words used in context by writing them on the chalkboard as they were used in context. The teacher can focus attention on written words by circling or underlining them as the students or the teacher uses them. Have the students guess what the words mean; then have them revise their guesses after they become familiar with the definitions of words.

Use Individual Preview and Review Techniques to Augment Instruction

Ovando and Collier (1985) propose a model which outlines a strategy for lesson preview and review:

- The lesson is introduced by one instructor in the student's first language.
- The lesson is then presented in the second language by another instructor.
- Finally, the lesson is reviewed in the first language.

The regular classroom teacher can use a variation of this model by using an instructional assistant or trained volunteer to present material before a class presentation or lesson. The preview is in English unless resources can provide a Native speaker. The preview stresses the language that will be used in the lesson by introducing the main points covered by the text pages. Time should be spent talking about pictures that are within the lesson. Resource material such as filmstrips, pictures, and books can be used to help build the background information for the student. Following the lesson, a review or summary is presented that allows a teacher to check for understanding. The review can be done on an individual basis by the teacher, instructional assistant, or trained volunteer, or the student can take part in a total class review.

Provide Alternative Instruction

There are times when a particular lesson will not be comprehensible to the Native student. It is during these times that the teacher can provide alternative activities for the Native student. The following list offers some possibilities for alternative instruction:

- Independent projects such as picture dictionaries, language experience books, story tapes, filmstrips, and art projects; ESL lessons with an ESL instructor, instructional assistant, volunteer, or peer tutor.
- Preview and review lessons with an instructional assistant, volunteer, or peer tutor.
- Media projects such as making a slide show or an animated movie under the supervision of a media instructor.

Making the Text Comprehensible

The teaching of content subjects and their emphasis or reliance on textbook information provides a special challenge for the Native student and the classroom teacher. The following four-step plan for using a text gives procedures that will benefit all students by providing the support required to comprehend the content of the text (Cooper, 1986).

Step I: Preparation

The first step requires the teacher to examine the material with three questions in mind. The first question is, "What do I want or expect the students to learn from the text?" This step requires the teacher to identify the objectives for the lesson. The teacher makes a decision based on his or her knowledge of the students' language skills and cognitive knowledge. The objective for Native LEP students may be different from the objective for English proficient students. If the teacher determines that the text makes it necessary to "teach to two objectives," then text adaptation may be desirable prior to presentation to the students.

The second question the teacher asks is, "What vocabulary will cause students the most difficulty?" Some words, even though they are not directly related to the key concepts, may still impede text comprehension. Therefore, as the teacher identifies key vocabulary to introduce to the class, other vocabulary should be noted that may be problematic to LEP students.

The third question to consider is, "What background will the students need in order to comprehend the text?" Is there information or a concept that must be explained before the students can understand what they will be reading? Extra resources may be required to help provide this background. The resources need to be as visual and as concrete as possible so that meaning can be grasped.

Step II: Developing Vocabulary and Background

The teacher must decide what vocabulary and background information need to be developed before the students encounter the text. Activating the student's prior knowledge or schema will help the teacher discover what the student already knows and disclose what new information the student will need to be able to comprehend the text. Planning activities that give students credit for what they already know will help bridge the gap between new learning and previously acquired knowledge. The teacher's awareness of the knowledge base the students bring with them will help to determine appropriate resources to expand prior knowledge. Such resources might include the viewing of a film, a field trip, some concrete items brought to class (such as pioneer tools or clothing, to help build background for a unit on the Western movement), or the use of role-playing. Another way to activate prior knowledge is the use of a graphic organizer. Graphic organizers are a visual way of showing the relationship between concepts and ideas. Examples of graphic organizers include semantic maps, clustering, webbing, and linear outlines.

Step III: Guided Reading

Students usually need more information than that contained within the assigned pages of the textbook in order to comprehend the information. Guided reading is a step to building comprehension. The following procedures suggest ways to guide the student through the text:

- Introduce organization of the text. Many texts accent the major points in bold type. The bold type can provide an outline for the student. The special content vocabulary is often in bold type and a definition may appear in an outside column or right with the bold-typed new vocabulary word. The glossaries are also an important aid to the student because they may help to clarify a word, give correct pronunciation, or provide a visual of the word.
- Focus the student's attention on the pictures. The pictures within a text can provide a wealth of information. One useful strategy is for a teacher to assign groups of students a picture in a text and have them answer the following questions: Who, What, Where, Why, When, and How? Once the activity has been done within a group setting, it can give the student a format for looking at other content pictures

as (s)he comes across them in a text. The charts, graphs, and maps within the text also provide visuals for the student and should also be approached with some guided questions.

- Introduce a note-taking technique. The graphic organizer in use with a text can also provide a format for note-taking. The student starts with a single word or concept, for example "atom." While reading the paper, the student writes the word "atom" at the top of his or her paper and answers the questions: Who, What, Where, When, and How.
- Ask students to predict what questions will be answered by the text. After making their predictions, students read for specific answers, thus learning to focus their attention and improving their comprehension skills (Cooper, 1986).
- Pose purpose-setting questions. The purpose for reading a text can directly influence what students comprehend. By asking students questions that relate to the key concepts in the text, the teacher helps students to zero in on the main points. For example, "Why do you think the pioneers wanted to go West?" might be a question posed to students before reading a chapter on the western movement.
- Pair students with reading partners. The use of partners in a study approach can allow a more capable reader to be paired with a less capable reader. One partner reads the text orally with the other student and helps explain the material. The other partner asks questions and points are clarified. The tutor's understanding of the concept is reinforced by attempting to explain it to his or her partner while the tutored student benefits by having his or her comprehension enhanced.
- Rephrase and summarize text after students have finished reading. The teacher needs to stop at certain points and summarize what has been read. The key concepts can be visually represented through outlines, pictures, and graphic organizers. The ultimate goal is to prepare students to summarize material on their own, but the teacher can help teach this skill by first modeling it for the students.

Step IV: Follow-Up

The follow-up activities are an extension, reinforcement, or application of concepts and skills. The follow-up provides a framework for the student to use the newly-learned or acquired skill in a different way. This application provides the student with needed practice and reinforcement. In addition, the follow-up can provide the instructor with the knowledge of how well the student has grasped the new skill. As much as possible, follow-up activities should build on the student's interests, skills and talents. For example, the student who likes to act should be given the opportunity to use role-playing. An artistic student might choose to interpret the new concept through drawing a picture or constructing a model. The activities should be varied and include written, oral, and visual expression. The follow-up, therefore, extends content beyond the text and helps to bring closure on the overall concepts that were presented in the text and content lesson.

Adapting the Content Lesson

The content lesson for the student should be designed to present new information using concrete objects and visuals whenever they can help to make the oral or written information comprehensible. The following is a checklist to consider when adapting a content area lesson.

Lesson Objectives

- Are the objectives appropriate?
- Do they need to be modified?
- Does an alternative lesson need to be provided?

Vocabulary and Key Concepts

- What are the vocabulary and key concepts that need to be presented?
- How can these concepts be presented in a meaningful context?

Prior Knowledge

- What lesson activities will bring out the students' prior knowledge?
- How can the lesson be related to past experiences?

Text

- Have the students been prepared to comprehend the text?
- Do preview and review activities for some students need to be provided?

Lesson Activities

- Are the lessons designed to include peer interaction?
- Do the lessons place the language in meaningful context?
- Have activities been included that will check for understanding?

Follow-up

- Do the follow-up activities help to apply, reinforce, practice, or extend what has been taught?
- Do the activities address the students' skills, interests, and talents?

By addressing the questions outlined above, the teacher will be able to meet the needs of students while simultaneously providing a rich learning environment.

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Jerry Brown's focus on reading and languages arts skills of American Indian and Alaskan natives began with his employment with the Bureau of Indian Affairs Torreon Boarding School in New Mexico in the early 1960's. He has developed materials designed to bridge the gap between the academic language of the K-12 curriculum found in most schools and the culture, language, and discourse patterns of Native students. Since 1982, Jerry has provided inservice training to teachers, administrators, parents, and others in bilingual education and equity education with emphasis on assisting students to access the educational opportunities available to them.

Mathematics and Science Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Education for American Indian and Alaska Native Students

Vera Preston

Introduction

> Wake up, America! Your children are at risk. Three of every four Americans stop studying mathematics before completing career or job prerequisites. Most students leave school without sufficient preparation in mathematics to cope either with on-the-job demands for problem-solving or with college requirements for mathematical literacy... Since mathematics is the foundation of science and technology, it serves as a key to opportunity and careers. Moreover, mathematics contributes to literacy certain distinctive habits of mind that are of increasing importance to an informed citizenry in a technological age. ... Despite massive effort, relatively little is accomplished by remediation programs. No one — not educators, mathematicians, or researchers — knows how to reverse a consistent early pattern of low achievement and failure. Repetition rarely works; more often than not, it simply reinforces previous failure. The best time to learn mathematics is when it is first taught; the best way to teach mathematics is to teach it well the first time. (Everybody Counts, 1989, pp. 1-3, 13)

Testimony from the Indian Nations at Risk (INAR) Task Force meetings, regional hearings, and written testimony submitted to the INAR Task Force represents the diversity of Native peoples and the variety of schools attended by American Indian and Alaska Native students. The common thread existing throughout the extensive testimony is the need for American Indian and Alaska Native students to have their culture acknowledged and to be taught in the ways they learn. The type of school, the type of class (language arts, social studies, science, mathematics), the area of the country does not change the need to be respected as a human being and to be taught in a manner that allows the individual to understand and internalize the material to be learned. All children, regardless of race, gender, or ability, deserve to be taught in the ways they learn by building on their strengths and overcoming their weaknesses. Rather than emphasizing the differences, the message obtained from the testimony accentuates the common concern of Native people for educating their children. They want their children to be educated in a manner which enriches their horizons and guarantees a variety of options for lifelong learning and for various vocations.

For years reports have stated the need for reforming mathematics and science education in the United States. *A Nation at Risk* (National Commission on Excellence in Education 1983), *Educating Americans for the 21st Century* (National Science Board Commission on Precollege Education in Mathematics, Science and Technology 1983), and *Everybody Counts -A Report to the Nation on the Future of Mathematics Education* (National Research Council 1989) are representative of the reports concerning mathematics and science education. Compared to students throughout the world, students in the United States rank in ability with students from Third World countries. National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP) reports of results of 1986 assessments indicate that ability to answer problems requiring higher order thinking is lacking for most students in the United States (Brown, Carpenter, Kouba, Lindquist, Silver, and Swafford, 1988, pp. 241-248). Some reports have addressed the issue of what needs to be done to solve the problems. Claims of easy solutions to difficult problems should be viewed with great suspicion. Research indicates the way students learn is not always the way students are taught. Since teachers tend to teach the way they were taught and the way in which they learned, the vicious cycle of miseducation continues to handicap the lives of children of all ages, abilities, and races.

The National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) has responded to the need for change in mathematics teaching by producing *Curriculum and Evaluation Standards for School Mathematics* (NCTM, 1989). It is a set of standards for mathematics curricula in kindergarten through high school developed by classroom teachers, supervisors, educational researchers, teacher educators, and university mathematicians working together. NCTM is very much aware of the skepticism of people toward change after the "new math" of the sixties which imposed change from the top down. The current recommendations stress the importance of *all* students learning mathematics and the importance of revising mathematics instruction. The National Science Teachers of America (NSTA) has developed a Statement of Initiatives similar to the NCTM Standards. Emphasis is on more unified, in-depth hands-on science curricula for all students kindergarten through twelfth grade.

What can be done to improve the mathematics and science education of all children including American Indian and Alaska Native children? Why is mathematics and science education so important to all students? This paper will address the issues in mathematics and science education.

Mathematics and Science

Mathematics and science influence the lives of everyone. Scientific, mathematical, and technological literacy is crucially important for citizens to understand the technological world in which they live. Mathematics has been called "the queen and servant of the sciences." It is the study of patterns and relationships and is the foundation on which understanding of many fields of study is built. An understanding of mathematical concepts and mathematical reasoning is necessary in almost every occupation in today's technological society. Mathematics has been called a critical filter because so many occupations require a mathematical background. Many people perceive mathematics as an infinite set of meaningless rules which are impossible to memorize. Mathematics is constantly changing; more than half the mathematics known today has been developed since 1940. Science and mathematics are interdependent in our technological age. For example, understanding of environmental issues such as water availability and water pollution require an understanding of both mathematics and science.

Mathematics and Science Learning and Teaching

Fundamental change in the way mathematics and science is taught is necessary (NCTM Standards, 1989; Willoughby, 1990). Information from mathematics and science educational research and from cognitive psychologists should be used to develop plans for organizing instruction for mathematics and science classes. Research indicates American Indian and Alaska Native students are most successful at tasks which use visual and spatial abilities. (More, 1986) Many students, including Native students, use holistic, global processing of knowledge which enables them to perceive various elements as a whole. Seeing the whole picture, a holistic, global process is referred to as simultaneous processing. Processing information sequentially and in an analytical manner is referred to as successive processing. (Das, Kirby, & Jarman, 1975. Quoted in More, 1986, pp. 8-9) Research results indicate Native students use simultaneous processing more frequently and effectively than successive processing. It also indicates that Native children are more field independent (FI) than field dependent (FD) and that they tend to think in relational styles rather than in analytic styles. (More, 1986, pp. 9, 12) Research on culturally based communication styles related to the classroom has been done by Scollon and Scollon (1983) and Phillips (1972). Studies of teacher effectiveness which relate to styles of communication of Native Indian students have been done by Kleinfeld (1970). Traditional Native cultures teach children to watch, listen, think and then do the task to be learned. Many classrooms encourage trial-and -error learning. Many students become quite proficient at guessing until they get the correct answer. Trial-and-error learning is the antithesis of traditional Native learning styles.

> Field independence is the degree to which an individual can separate a figure from its background, a part from the whole, oneself from the environment or other people. A field independent (FI) person is more able to provide an organizational structure to a disorganized set of facts or observations (e.g., making a mental map of the surrounding terrain). A field dependent (FD) person is less able to separate a part of the whole, but is more conscious of other people... . The FI person will impose his or her own structure on a field (spatial or conceptual) more readily. The FD person is more socially aware and more responsive to those around him or her. (More, 1986, pp. 10-11).
>
> There is considerable overlap between the learning styles of Indian and Non-Indian students. Indeed the similarities are probably greater than the differences. Furthermore, it is likely that the learning styles of some groups of Non-Indians will be remarkably similar to those of Native Indians. This could occur when there are similar factors affecting the way of life such as degree of remoteness of the community, economic level, and significant cultural differences from the majority. However in such situations cultural differences should not be downplayed. Even though the pattern of learning styles is similar, the causes and the methods of work-

ing with the learning styles may not be."
(More, 1986, p. 20)

It is important to realize that teaching styles that are appropriate for Native students are also appropriate for other students. Methods of teaching found in many schools are not appropriate to the ways children learn. This is one of the major reasons for the need of remedial classes. If students were taught concepts in the way they learn, the need for remedial classes would be greatly diminished. Since Native students have strengths in using visual/spatial/perceptual information, new material should be introduced using methods building on their strengths. The overall view of new information should be stated before the information is broken down into small segments. Advance organizers should be used. Students' strengths should be used to develop skills in other modes of learning. (More, 1986, p. 21) Students should have the right to learn beginning material in their native language to allow them to develop a cognitive base on which to learn for the remainder of their lives. (McDonald, 1989, p. 16)

Children are born with a love of learning and an innate curiosity. The first three years of life a child learns a tremendous amount of information. Parents are the first and most important teachers of a child. How can a child's natural desire to learn about his/her surroundings be nurtured and maintained in academic situations? How can students learn the necessary material in the various classes? Many theories exist regarding how people learn. There is danger in stating that a specific group of individuals learn in a particular way. It is important to be sensitive to the needs of each individual and help that individual build on her/his strengths and increase ability in areas of weakness. (More, 1986) Many people have a preferred learning style. Many researchers stress that students should be allowed to learn from their strengths. Research in mathematics anxiety indicates that students overcome their anxiety and are able to perform better in mathematics if they build success on success. (Tobias, 1978)

Manipulative, hands-on, Materials

"Tell me, and I forget; Show me, and I remember; Involve me, and I understand." Ancient Chinese Saying.

Students who use hands-on materials, otherwise known as manipulatives, have better attitudes toward mathematics and better ability to problem solve (Suydam and Weaver,1975; Trafton,1975). Students who use manipulatives and are guided to bridge the gap from concrete to pictorial to symbolic representations are better able to understand concepts and to transfer their learning to other situations (Suydam,1986). Teacher guidance is important in bridging the gaps from the concrete to the pictorial to the symbolic stage. (Kouba et al., 1988b) Educators from the early part of the century to the present have advocated the use of physical, or concrete, materials in the classroom. (Brownell, 1935; Burns,1986; Montessori,1965; Piaget,1952; Reys,1971; Suydam,1986) Recommendations from reports of the most recent NAEP results encourage the use of concrete materials and activities. NCTM has recommended the use of physical concrete materials in the classroom. (NCTM 1980; NCTM 1987) *An Agenda for Action: Recommendations for School Mathematics of the 1980s* (NCTM, 1980, p. 12) includes the following: "Teachers should use diverse instructional strategies, materials, and resources, such as ... the use of manipulatives, where suited, to illustrate or develop a concept or skill."

There are many benefits which occur as a result of using manipulatives. Mathematics anxiety is almost non-existent in classes where manipulatives are used frequently. The attitude toward learning mathematics is consistently more positive as a result of using manipulatives and of participating in cooperative learning. Student understanding of concepts is greater among all ability levels. Parental involvement is easier to obtain by having some activities done at home using common household materials. Students need guidance with the teacher as facilitator on the use of the manipulatives. Assistance and guidance in understanding the concepts represented by the manipulatives and in bridging activities to go from the concrete to the pictorial to the symbolic or abstract are essential in using the materials to best advantage (Heddens,1986). Learning what to do and why enables students to retain information and transfer the learning to other situations (Burns,1986). Fuson (1981) writes that there is a meta-cognitive benefit in the use of concrete objects. Teachers' sensitivity to styles of learning will help their students. A balanced view of various methods of teaching and learning will assist students to recognize their particular style of learning. (More, 1986) The teaching/learning style is determined by the learning task. Learning how to learn and recognizing the underlying concepts and features of mathematical problems is very important.

Cooperative Learning

Current issues in educational circles include teaching thinking through the curriculum, problem solving, cooperative learning, writing across the curriculum, and learning how to learn

(Simon,1986). Cooperative, or group, learning is being recognized as important in learning concepts. Since people work cooperatively in most situations outside school, students should have opportunities to work together in school. The many benefits which occur as a result of cooperative learning are an ability to communicate verbally the information and concepts being studied, an understanding of other peoples' attitudes, a positive attitude toward learning, recognizing there are various paths to the solution, and clarifying one's own understanding. (Slavin, 1987)

Cooperative learning is a popular concept at the moment in education. The merits and disadvantages of cooperative learning are discussed in four articles in the February 1991 issue of Educational Leadership (Kohn, 1991; Slavin, 1991). It is important to note that cooperative learning has been used successfully by teachers over the years without the label of "cooperative learning." Much of the discussion in the articles relates to giving rewards for group effort. Rather than getting bogged down in semantics or side issues, teachers need to consider the advantages of cooperative learning and apply the concept as appropriate to their particular situation in their specific classroom. Teachers must acknowledge that cooperation in the world outside the classroom is expected and necessary for success in projects throughout the business world. Mathematics and science learning should involve learners working together. Mathematicians and scientists talk to each other and try new ideas and check each other's reasoning. They do not work in total isolation. Research overwhelming supports the concept of cooperative learning and working together. It is particularly appropriate to the learning style of many Native students. There are many different forms of cooperative learning. The most successful approaches have incorporated group goals and individual accountability (Slavin 1991). Many of the advantages of cooperative learning are social as well as academic. Mathematics anxiety is practically non-existent when students are allowed to work together to discuss and learn new information.

Many teachers used cooperative learning before it was called cooperative learning. Students worked together and helped one another and recorded the results of their experimentation, their searching for patterns, or their explanation of new definitions, concepts and material. Each group turned in one paper with their results. Students were each responsible for the material and wrote individual reports later. The method of having students work together was successful with students in gifted classes and in remedial classes at all levels.

Storytelling and Problem Solving in Mathematics and Science.

Storytelling as a means of teaching is traditionally used by American Indians and Alaska Natives. Using stories to pose mathematical or scientific problems is a natural way to relate situations of the student's home life and culture within the mathematics classroom. Students arrive in school with the ability to solve problems which have meaning for them. School textbooks and mathematics lessons frequently convince students they are unable to solve the problems which had previously been easy for them. One of the important skills in solving problems is drawing pictures representing the problem. (Davis & McKillip, 1980, pp. 80-91)

An ancient example of using storytelling to pose a mathematical problem is the story of the person going to St. Ives. "As I was going to St. Ives, I met a man with seven wives. Each wife had seven cats, each cat had seven kits. How many were going to St. Ives?" Only one person was going to St. Ives; the others were leaving St. Ives. The problem involves listening and reasoning. The mathematics involved is rather straightforward.

Students enjoy making up story problems when the teacher provides an encouraging, accepting, respectful atmosphere in the classroom. The entire family could participate in posing story problems which incorporate mathematical and scientific problems. For example each of the following mathematical type of questions could be posed in a story. How much flour is used for making fry bread? How does the volume of the fry bread change when it is cooked? When popcorn is popped, how much does the volume change? How many seeds are there in a watermelon? What are some strategies for determining how many seeds are in the watermelon? What are the differences in types of seeds? What are the shapes of leaves? How many leaves are on the plant? How many steps does each person in the family take for walking the same distance? (What is the stride of each person?) How many sheep per acre can the land support without irrigation? How many cattle per acre can the land support? How many bales of hay can be put in a pickup? What is the most efficient shape to build a house if materials are scarce? (A circle is the most efficient shape to provide the most area for the same amount of fencing. A square is the most efficient straight-sided figure. Why?) How many days did it rain last week, last month, last year, ten years ago?

What is the difference in temperature from 5:00 AM to 5:00 PM on the same day?

Mathematics Anxiety

Many students develop a fear of mathematics during the elementary, middle school, junior high years which cripples their ability to learn mathematics in high school and later. Other students do well in mathematics classes until they reach algebra or geometry. When they have difficulty in mathematics, they quit taking elective mathematics classes. They take the path of least resistance when taking required mathematics classes. It is important for students to be encouraged, possibly required to take mathematics classes each year of high school. Students must realize that mathematics is a critical filter. The more mathematics a student studies, the higher the expected lifetime earnings, and the more opportunities for employment are available. Students can choose a job or career based on what they enjoy doing rather than on what requires no mathematics. Counselors should be required to insist that students stay in mathematics classes rather than allowing them to drop out when the going gets tough.

Mathematics anxiety and test anxiety is usually found in students after the elementary school years. When students are asked to relate their experiences leading to mathematics anxiety they usually relate it to something which occurred in elementary school. Reasons students at the community college level give for their mathematics anxiety include moving a lot during elementary school, family problems, receiving beatings from a parent when multiplication facts were not learned fast enough, getting behind when ill and never catching up, being told they were not smart enough to do mathematics, and getting behind in mathematics because they did not understand a particular concept. Many students who had difficulty with mathematics in elementary school have learned they have a learning disability. With persistence and determination many students with learning disabilities are successful in mathematics classes.

Acknowledging mathematics anxiety and suggesting ways to overcome it helps students. Students can be given a list of books which discuss mathematics and test anxiety and how to deal with it. The most effective way for a student to overcome mathematics anxiety is to have opportunities to be successful in solving mathematical problems. (Langbort, 1985; Tobias, 1978) Many activities for discovering patterns and for solving logic problems improve attitudes toward mathematics. There are many books available which provide interesting mathematics and science activities for students of all ages.

Career Education

Career days for elementary, middle, and junior high school students enable the students to learn about different types of careers. Native students should be encouraged to consider careers in fields which will help their communities. Careers in health fields, environmental science, agricultural science, various type of engineering, attorneys, counselors, and business all have the potential for helping their communities. Expanding Your Horizons Workshops and Career Days were originally organized for females. The format is appropriate for American Indian and Alaska Native children. Students should be encouraged to continue their education so they will be prepared to help their community in many ways.

Students generally lose their innate enthusiasm for science and mathematics during the crucial junior high years. Therefore, it is critically important to provide elementary, middle, and junior high school students opportunities to experience challenging and interesting projects and programs in mathematics and science. It is also critically important for students to recognize that mathematics is a critical filter for many interesting and exciting careers. Most professions require college mathematics courses through calculus. Most students who are successful in their college mathematics classes took a mathematics class their senior year in high school and then took a college mathematics class their first semester in college. When mathematics classes are taken consecutively they are much easier than when a number of semesters have gone by between classes.

After-school, weekend, and summer programs provide fun, interesting, challenging opportunities for students to learn about mathematics and science. Programs which emphasize hands-on experiences, applications to real life situations, and field trips are particularly successful in encouraging students to consider mathematics and science oriented careers. It is important to take advantage of resources within a community when planning programs. Many people are willing to share information about their career when they are given the opportunity to do so.

Environmentalists are just realizing what Natives have known for centuries. Careers which relate to environmental issues are important for people throughout the world. Native students should be informed of the opportunities to help their communities by studying various fields of science related to preserving and maintaining the environment. Water pollution, toxic waste, agricultural and industrial chemicals are some of the topics which can be addressed. The wise use of technology can best be monitored by people who understand the technology.

Medical personnel are needed in rural areas and small towns throughout the United States. Native people need to encourage their children to consider pursuing a career in one of the many health related professions. Dieticians, nurses, radiology technicians, physical therapists, occupational therapists, family physicians, and physicians who are specialists are some of the health related professions students can consider.

Each area where Natives live have specific needs regarding the environment and the economic and business situations. People are needed who have the vision to develop small businesses to meet the needs of the area. Attorneys are needed to provide necessary information and expertise for protecting the interests of the people. Biomedical engineers, chemical engineers, civil engineers, electrical engineers, biological engineers, and other engineers are needed to protect the environment and help the community. Leaders with vision who are aware of long-term needs of the Native community are needed. Educators with sensitivity, ability, and knowledge of subject matter are needed to provide role models for the children. Our children are precious. They are the future.

Parents and other members of the extended family have a tremendous influence on children. Encouragement and belief in a child's ability to persevere through the challenging times on the path to a career that will be fulfilling to the individual and will provide the opportunity to enrich and help the community are crucially important. Many students state that the reason they stayed in school was because someone believed in them and encouraged them when they were discouraged.

An activity which helps middle school students discover the importance of mathematics in careers is "mathenger hunt," based on a scavenger-hunt idea. Teams of students are selected by the teacher. Students gather a minimum of twenty signatures from people who state they use mathematics in their career. The class decides on a point system. Additional points can be earned by obtaining additional evidence from the people related to their use of mathematics. Some side effects of the project were offers by people to speak to the class, scrapbooks of the signatures and other information were shared with other classes, and the class compiled word problems relating to careers (Falba & Weiss, 1991, pp. 88-90).

Instructional methods that motivate Native students, challenge their minds, stimulate their creativity and initiative.

The diversity of Native peoples provides tremendous opportunity for developing materials for mathematics and science classes which can be shared with schools throughout the country. A vision where all children are given the opportunity to share in the joy of holistic lifelong learning is shared by people from all walks of life and from many races. There is beauty in learning and recognizing that all of life is interrelated. One day that vision will come true when all work together for the children. People throughout the country should demand that students be taught in ways which build on their learning strengths. Students, regardless of their ability level, learn new concepts from the concrete (hands-on) to the pictorial to the abstract (Piaget, 1952; Brownell, 1935). Activities are needed to bridge the gap from the pictorial to the abstract and need to be included in the learning activities.

Learning is fun. Math is fun. Science is fun. Teaching needs to stimulate children's natural curiosity. Teachers do not necessarily have to reinvent the wheel. They can adapt material to make it appropriate for the area in which students live. There are many materials available which provide challenging, enriching, and relevant experiences in mathematics and in science. Using manipulatives throughout the school years as new concepts are introduced will stimulate interest and assist understanding. When materials are provided in a mathematics laboratory type of situation, students enjoy solving problems posed using various materials. Consider the following example. When an apple is cut crosswise, a star is formed. Students can be asked how many points does the star have? How many seeds are there? Why is a star formed? How was the apple formed on the tree? In what soil and weather conditions do apples grow? How many types of apples are there? Which type of apples make the best juice, pie, snacks? What chemical is found in apples that is calming for people?

In-service training is helpful for teachers to learn to use new manipulatives and other new materials. There are various programs available for providing elementary teachers with experience in using mathematics and science materials. Some programs teach specific mathematics and science classes. Some programs combine both aspects. *Open Math* is a resource book for a set of videos, originally television programs, developed at Arizona State University by Jonathan Knaupp and

Gary Knamiller. Teachers can watch a video each week and try one new activity. The following week they can share their successes and their failures and learn from one another. Little by little they expand their repertoire of instructional methods.

Change occurs slowly in education. For change to occur in the way children are taught, teachers must be provided opportunities to learn how to use new methods of teaching. A one-day workshop is not sufficient to help a teacher change the way in which she/he teaches. Summer school classes or workshops combined with regularly scheduled in-service during the academic year is a way in which to effect change. It is difficult, frustrating, and slightly frightening to change teaching methods. Teachers need encouragement and support to change the way they teach. An example of the type of person who can inspire others to do their best is Dr. Helen Neely Cheek. Dr. Cheek was a wonderful, inspiring teacher and educator who taught elementary and secondary teachers new methods of teaching. She provided opportunities to learn new methods of instruction little by little until each teacher was comfortable using new materials and new methods of instruction. She emphasized recognizing each student's strengths and weaknesses and building on their strengths to overcome their weaknesses. (Preston & Skinner, 1986)

Curriculum Development Strategies

Mathematical Connections is standard four of the NCTM Standards for kindergarten through high school. Relationships between mathematical topics and other curriculum areas are encouraged. "Unless connections are made, children will see mathematics as a collection of isolated topics" (NCTM Standards, 1989, p. 33).

Mathematics as Communication is Standard Two of the NCTM Standards. Students need to be able to clarify their thinking to fully understand mathematical concepts. Communication by representing concepts using manipulatives, by using diagrams and drawings, by discussing ideas, by listening, by reading, and by writing are all important. Knowledge must be able to be communicated to others before its usefulness and applicability can be determined and utilized.

Culturally relevant mathematics and science materials address both of the above-mentioned standards. Geometric designs found in all Native cultures can be used to develop geometric and algebraic understanding. Art can be used to develop concepts of estimation to know the amount of paint, clay, beads, etc. which are needed for the project. Chemistry and mathematics can be used to obtain the colors needed for art projects. Geometry is used to develop perspective in many paintings (Serra, 1989). When mathematics and science units are developed using the interests of the students, motivation and enthusiasm for learning are increased. Tesselations, Pascal's Triangle, and the Fibonacci Sequence are topics which relate easily to Native mathematics and science lessons. Tesselations, otherwise known as tilings, can be created using Native designs. Pascal's Triangle can be used to develop algebraic, probability, and network concepts, and to create patterns, artwork, and beadwork designs. The Fibonacci Sequence can be used to study botany, architecture, art, and packaging and marketing topics in advertising. It can be included in a study of medieval times since Fibonacci lived in the thirteenth century. (Preston, 1985)

Linda Skinner has developed a week-long process where teachers, paraprofessionals, Elders, parents, students, and other community members collectively experience various aspects of culture. From their experiences and unique perspectives they create and develop culturally relevant learning activities and materials. They return to their individual communities with renewed enthusiasm strengthened by the focused energy on the common goal of creating the best education experiences for the children of their communities.

Mayan and Inca Science and Mathematics

Examples of culturally relevant mathematics material related to other disciplines are Mayan Mathematics and Inca Mathematics. A unit on Mayan Mathematics or on Inca Mathematics can be developed to include geography, social studies, astronomy, archaeology, agricultural methods, development of corn, development of potatoes, art, glyph translations, architecture, language arts, music, physical education, probability, acoustical engineering, civil engineering, textiles, minerals. Various topics could be studied in different grade levels.

Mayan mathematics was highly developed. The concept of zero was recognized by Mayans long before it was recognized in European mathematics. A concept of zero is necessary before a mathematical system can have a place value system. It allowed Mayans to think about and write numbers that were very large. They had two separate but related mathematical systems. One was a vigesimal, base twenty system, used to count things and the other was an adjusted base twenty system used to count time. Only three symbols were used to represent all their numbers, a dot to represent one, a bar to represent five, and a cacao bean to represent zero. (Most references state that the symbol for zero is a type of shell. Patrick Scott, University of New Mexico, has been working with Mayans in Guatemala who believe the symbol was a cacao bean.)

"The Mayas thought of time as a never-ending flow into the future and back into the past. They believed that history repeated itself when conditions were exactly as they had been in the past. For this reason, it was extremely important that the priests continually study prevailing conditions in order to compare them with past conditions" (Callahan, 1969). Charles H. Smiley, Professor of Astronomy, Brown University, Providence, Rhode Island, in conversations with the author, claimed to have predicted a hurricane for the New England coast using information from the Mayan Dresden Codex, one of the remaining books of the Maya. He boarded up his house on the coast and had no damage.

Mayans were able to construct temples, pyramids, and ball courts with admirable precision. Acoustics allowed priests to whisper and be heard across the plaza. Astronomical observatories allowed them to observe and accurately record information regarding planets, comets, and stars. As communication with Chinese mathematicians and astronomers increases, astronomical information for studying the correlation of Mayan dates with current knowledge of historical dates improves. Agricultural accomplishments of the Mayas include development of many crops we use today. Raised fields were used in swampy areas and water reservoirs were established in dry areas.

The Incas of South America were great organizers. Their highway system was more extensive than the Roman highway system that is recognized in history books. Parts of the Inca highway system are still used. Irrigation methods used terracing for maximum use of water. Throughout Peru there are Inca terraces on the sides of mountains that are still used. Surgeons were able to perform delicate, successful brain surgery. They had an extensive knowledge of herbal medicine. The weaving with feathers and gold thread cannot be duplicated today. The artistry using gold is unmatched with today's knowledge of technology. It is still a mystery how the structures of the Incas were built without the use of wheels to transport the gigantic stones and without mortar between the stones. After centuries of earthquakes, many of the Inca structures remain intact while modern structures are destroyed in recent earthquakes.

Exemplary Schools, Programs, and Projects

The Colorado School of Mines in Golden, Colorado, has held summer math camps for American Indian and Alaska Native middle school students since 1988. The first one was held in conjunction with the American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES) and was funded by the Educational Foundation of America. Dr. Barbara Bath is the director and Dr. Ardel Boes, head of the mathematics department, is the administrator of the math camp each summer. The purpose is to expose Native students to mathematics in various ways and provide opportunities to learn about various mathematics and science oriented careers. One of the major goals is to develop or reinforce positive attitudes toward mathematics. Results from pre and post tests of attitude and cognitive reasoning indicate improvement is fairly consistent for all the students. The type of mathematics studied helps students in their regular math classes during the year. Activities in the mathematics classes emphasize patterns, logical thinking, and spatial relations. Hands-on, manipulative activities are used extensively. For example, pattern blocks are used to make designs and patterns in the mathematics classes. The designs can be duplicated using the computer. Computer classes include developing tesselations and other geometric designs. Logo is used because of its problem solving capabilities for students. Since the second year mathematicians and computer scientists from Bell Laboratories of AT&T have volunteered to be mentors to assist the students in their projects. Students' informal evaluations state one of the benefits of the math camp is learning to deal with new situations and adjust to them. Parents contacted Dr. Bath and informed her that their child's attitude toward school, achievement in school, and self-concept had improved after attending the math camp.

The second year a student program and a teacher education program was funded by the Department of Education. A Middle School Teacher Enhancement Geometry Program was funded by the National Science Foundation (NSF). A Young Scholars Program and a Middle School Teachers Algebra program was funded by NSF the third year. The summer of 1991 another Young Scholars Program and Middle School Teachers program will be funded by NSF. The program has been designated a Program of Excellence by the Colorado Commission for Higher Education and has received five years of funding for the Middle School American Indian and Alaska Native Math Camp and the Teacher Education program.

The University of Kansas, Haskell Indian Junior College, and the Bureau of Indian Affairs together developed and presented two eight-week mathematics and science elementary teacher institutes in the summers of 1988 and 1989 funded by the National Science Foundation. Funding has been allocated by the National Science Foundation for the summers of 1991 through 1993. The Mathematics and Science Teachers for Reservation Schools (MASTERS) Project focuses on improving classroom instruction skills of teachers. Three themes are emphasized: students' concrete firsthand (hands-on) experience with the concept being taught; cultural relevancy of the curriculum objectives, materials, and teaching technique, and positive role models and community involvement in instruction.

Science is studied using hands-on experiences. Air and space topics are a focus of many of the activities. Science and mathematics activities are related to all aspects of life using a whole language approach. Biographical information about Native American scientists has been compiled. Science and mathematics activities related to the biographical information will be developed in future workshops. The vision of the program is to develop mathematics and science activities within all aspects of the curriculum. During the summer of 1991 there will be thirty-five new students and twelve returning students. MASTERS' goals include improving mathematics and science instruction at the individual teacher level, within the schools of the participating teachers, and within the overall system of reservation schools.

> "Change is not a quick process; and change agents are not made overnight. MASTERS' goal is to produce a core of skilled mathematics and science teacher leaders who can work with their fellow faculty and community, not impose improved science and mathematics teaching programs. " (Smith, W.S., 1990, pp. 1-2)

National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering, Inc. (NACME) launched TechForce 2001, a program for students who will be earning engineering degrees at the beginning of the new century, in 1989. NACME, the South Dakota School of Mines and Technology, AISES, and the local school districts in Rapid City and Kyle formed a coalition to provide a Scientific Knowledge for Indian Learning and Leadership (SKILL) program. Students in five elementary schools in Rapid City and Kyle will participate in after-school academic year and in summer enrichment activities. Students will study science and engineering as they relate to their everyday lives. Science Made Simple is a two week non-residential summer camp. Since NACME requires community partnership and matching funds, Amoco, the South Dakota Community Foundation, U. S. West Communications, and Title II (United States Department of Education) now help support the program. (Campbell, G. Jr., 1990)

Porter Middle School in Austin, Texas, has a very innovative science teacher, Sharon Mitchell. She is the adviser of the Earthnauts, a group started "by kids for kids." The students work in a biodome to test theories of growing food without pesticides or without otherwise harming the earth. They grow vegetables in water instead of soil. The group has published a book of poetry, written a proposal to NASA to gather ground-level data to help the agency fine-tune readings from orbiting satellites, and produced a series of comic books about the environment for elementary students. Students are in charge of the biodome and the plants grown there. Involvement in Earthnauts has caused many students to plan to go into various branches of science. (Smith, S., 1990, pp. B1, B4)

The New Jersey Institute of Technology sponsored an Experimental Mathematical Science and Communications (EMSAC) program for seventh grade students during the summers of 1983 and 1984. The 1984 program focused on mapping and surveying, observational astronomy, Apple Logo, communications, and probability and statistics. The program was for inner-city students. NCTM's 1981 Yearbook, Teaching Statistics and Probability, was used to develop the probability and statistics concepts introduced. Students played coin toss games and games using dice. Games were determined to be fair or unfair by playing the games and keeping results. After discussions of results of the games, students determined which games were fair or unfair. A Casino Day was held to study the concept of determining odds. One of the learning objectives was to have students realize that there is at least one best strategy for playing each game. After Casino Day the games with obvious strategies were discussed. Pascal's triangle was used to help explain the odds. Geometric probability was introduced by discussing variations of the Lady or the Tiger game. Determining the winnings when a game ends prematurely while a person is ahead was studied. Monte Carlo techniques and simulations were used to discuss prizes in boxes of cookies. Student interest was highest when there was active participation. Students enjoyed playing games, tossing coins, and other activities to help them understand probability and statistics. (Scheinok, 1988, pp. 310-314).

St. Paul, Minnesota, School District is developing an American Indian Magnet School for grades K-8. The 1990 school year is for planning. The opening is scheduled for the 1991-92 school year. The priorities are to provide the opportunity for optimum learning for each student and to help each student recognize her/his self-worth. Hands-on approaches and laboratory work will be used to teach mathematics and science. The University of Minnesota's National Science Foundation Project will work closely with the school. Early Childhood/Family Education Programs will be available for the entire range of situations from expectant parents up to families of high school students. A parent resource center will be available for parenting groups; it will offer activities to strengthen families.

Chicago area teachers and scientists have developed instructional materials to go with each of the thirteen episodes of a new Public Broadcasting System series "The New Explorers." The scientists in the series include an ethnobotanist, an astronomer, a zoologist, a surgeon, a chemist, an ornithologist, a microscopist, environmental scientists, and computer scientists. One of the results of developing the materials is teachers getting to know the scientists. Students are able to visit scientists to learn more about where scientists work and what they like about their jobs. For information about the project and the teachers' guides, write to the Chicago Science Explorers Program, Division of Educational Programs, Argonne National Laboratory, 9700 S. Cass Ave., Argonne, IL 60439-4845. (Koepke, 1991, pp. 50-55)

Boothbay Harbor and Wiscasset, Maine teachers and scientists are working together in a kindergarten through twelfth grade interdisciplinary program where students are developing maps of the area. The students use computers to interpret information from Frances's SPOT satellite to create highly detailed maps of their area. The project, called the GAIA Crossroads Project, received technical support from an Apple Computer Crossroads Education Grant. (Wolcott, 1991)

The Houston Independent School District and Baylor College of Medicine in Houston collaborated to develop the Mathematics/Science/Computer Center at Fondren Middle School in the fall of 1987. It exists as a special population within the school. There are now classes for sixth through eighth grades. Multidisciplinary units relate all subjects together. Units developed include: Space Frontiers, Mammals, Preservation of the Earth, Perception/Sense Organs, Chemistry of Life, Weather, Origins of People, Topology, Prejudice, Ecology, Astronomy, Research, Topography, Architecture, and Music. Parents are involved and kept informed by attending an open house at the beginning of the year, by receiving newsletters, and by attending a science night. A week-long summer science camp for magnet students was sponsored by Baylor in 1988 and 1989. (Miller, LaVois, and Thomson, 1991)

Mercer Island, Washington, High School has an innovative physics teacher, Jim Minstrell. He uses research on how students learn and how to counteract the preconceptions with which they enter physics classes in planning his classes. He received a grant to research how students learn. "The project has three closely related goals: to identify in more detail students' preconceptions about the physical world; to explore ways teachers can use those preconceptions to teach physical laws; and to prepare classroom materials that other teachers can use to teach physics (Wolcott, 1991)."

Professional Development Program (PDP) of the University of California at Berkeley has developed a PDP High School Mathematics Workshop Model to encourage more minority students to do well in college-preparatory mathematics courses. The workshops are held at the high schools before or after school twice a week throughout the school year. Consistent attendance is required; it is not a "drop-in" program. The workshops are designed to supplement specific courses rather than to remediate. Difficult and nonroutine problems are included in the problem sets used. Workshops are led by college students who are majoring in mathematics, science, or engineering. For information contact Uri Treisman, PDP Program, 230B Stephens Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720. (Stanley, 1991)

The American Association for the Advancement of Science (AAAS) is sponsoring Project 2061, a long-range, multiphase project to determine what scientific literacy should be and how to accomplish it. Project 2061 published *Science for All Americans* in 1989. The AAAS project "Linkages to the Future" is assisting local Girl Scout councils in developing hands-on activities and increasing connections between scientists, engineers, and scientific organizations in the local areas. Making Mathematics and Science Work for Hispanics is another AAAS program. For information contact AAAS, 1333 H Street, N. W., Washington, DC 20005. (Reeves, 1991)

Various programs could be used for Native students with slight or no modifications. Some programs to consider in addition to previously mentioned programs follow. Information regarding Math/Science Network, Family Math, Family Science, Math for Girls and Other Problem Solvers, How to Encourage Girls in Math and Science, and Expanding Your Horizons Workshops is available from the Lawrence Hall of Science, University of California-Berkeley, Berkeley, California 94720. *Futures* with Jaime Escalante is a mathematics and science series created by the Public Broadcasting Service, 1320 Braddock Place, Alexandria, VA 22314-1698. Phillips Petroleum Company, Bartlesville, Oklahoma, 74005, has sponsored two series of mathematics and science videos, Challenge of the Unknown (mathematics) and Search for Solutions (science). The videos are available for rent free of charge. Teacher guides have been developed to go with each video.

Recommendations

Mathematics is a "critical filter" which provides opportunities to pursue interests in many different fields of study. Native students must receive a solid foundation in mathematics in order to have options available to them. Mathematics and science must be taught in the way children learn — from the concrete to the pictorial to the abstract. Mathematics and science should be taught in an experiential manner. Activities should include experiments and the use of hands-on materials. Mathematicians and scientists in the real world work together and use models to demonstrate their ideas. Students should be expected to use hands-on materials at all levels, kindergarten through the twelfth grade, to demonstrate their ideas. Students should work together in groups in various types of activities. Mathematics and science should be taught in interdisciplinary units which include language arts, social studies, physical education, art and music — all aspects of the curriculum.

Computers, calculators, and graphing calculators should be used within the science and mathematics classes. The use of calculators and computers allows students to study problem solving using higher level thinking skills. Students must be instructed in the use of current technology to prepare themselves to live in a technological age.

Culturally relevant materials should be used to teach mathematics and science. Materials are available and other materials can be developed. A national clearinghouse or computer network should be established to assist teachers and parents in determining what materials are presently available. Mathematics and science are naturally related to the lives of Native students.

A core curriculum at the elementary and secondary levels that challenges all students and prepares them for the next stages in their education should be provided. Schools and school systems should use the NCTM Standards to set specific goals for student mathematics' learning. These goals should be used to develop culturally relevant multidisciplinary units for kindergarten through the eighth grade. At the junior high and senior high level, mathematics and science teachers should communicate with teachers of other disciplines to coordinate some topics. High schools must ensure that graduates are prepared to continue into post-secondary education with the expected skills in reading, writing, speaking/listening, mathematics, reasoning and studying. Schools should not steer or "track" Native students into vocational or general curriculum in ways that preclude solid academic preparation necessary to pursue a college education.

Native children should be expected to succeed! Make sure that this expectation of success is shared by students, parents, teachers, and administrators. Schools and school districts should make the educational process more familiar to Native parents by holding school meetings in the communities or by meeting with parents regularly to review their children's progress. Money, time, and effort should be invested in pre-school and elementary school programs to provide a solid foundation of learning and self-esteem for the children. When mathematics and science are taught in ways students learn there will be no need for remedial instruction. All children can learn! Summer programs for junior high and middle school students are very important in determining their classes for high school. Encourage and sponsor students to attend pre-college summer enrichment programs in mathematics, science, and health science. Provide opportunities for students to learn about careers and opportunities in mathematics, science, and health fields.

Establish programs which identify gifted Native students early in their school careers. Provide enriched and accelerated programs, credit by examination, and other special arrangements to ensure that these Native students are appropriately challenged rather than lost in the system. Independent learning should be encouraged. Parents of gifted students should encourage their children to be self-motivated and to study independently their own area of interest. Help them find information or write for references and material about their interests.

Education needs to be more holistic to achieve a joy of learning which will lead to life-long learning. Parents and community leaders should insist that children be taught in the way they learn. Parents and community leaders should insist upon the purchase of hands-on materials to be used in the classrooms and instruction of faculty in the use of same. Insist that teachers new to the system attend in-service training which sensitizes them to the Native culture of the area and the special needs of the Native children in that particular school. Native parents, grandparents, and relatives need to recognize the importance of motivating their children to finish school and to help them succeed in the educational process.

The Federal government must maintain the national commitment made to the Native people. Improvement of the current situation requires commitment of time and money. ACTION is needed NOW. President Bush and the governors have stated goals for education but have not appropriated funds to meet those goals. Words with no action are meaningless. Inaction approaches criminal negligence of our children who are our future! Money is better spent on education that is effective and relevant now rather than on remedial programs and criminal justice programs later. Funds are required to make salaries competitive and to provide continuous training for administrators, faculty, and staff regarding learning styles, instructional methods, including the use of hands-on (manipulative) materials and the use of culturally relevant material. Funds should be available to pay for administrators and faculty to attend conferences, summer institutes, and other classes to maintain current knowledge of activities and research in their field. Funds are required to develop culturally relevant curricula within the previously determined curricula. Funds are required to provide hands-on materials and consumable materials for science and mathematics classes, kindergarten through twelfth grade, in a manner similar to the way in which materials are provided for art classes. Funds are required to improve existing facilities, or build new facilities, which adhere to federal guidelines for the safety of all students and which provide accessibility for the handicapped. It should be noted that excellent facilities just by their existence do not produce innovative, effective instructional methods. The facilities provide an environment conducive for learning and teaching. If funds are spent only on structural renovations of the school and not on teacher support programs, teacher training, and classroom materials, then the money has been wasted. The entire situation needs to be considered as a whole not in isolated parts. Time is required to accomplish the changes necessary. Nevertheless, ACTION is required immediately. The children are watching us to determine by our actions how important education is to us? What are they seeing?

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About the Author

Vera Preston grew up in Stillwater, Oklahoma. Her BS in Education is from Oklahoma State University; her MA in mathematics is from the University of Maine-Orono. Her thesis was *Mathematics in the Aztec, Mayan, and Inca Cultures* (written as V.P. Callahan). She was a doctoral student of Dr. Helen Cheek, a Choctaw educator, at Oklahoma State University. She is completing her doctoral work at the University of Texas at Austin with Dr. Charles Lamb.

She teaches mathematics at Austin Community College (ACC) in Austin, Texas, where she has developed a "Building Success in Mathematics" course. She develops culturally relevant American Indian and Alaska Native mathematics materials. She developed and taught the mathematics curriculum for the American Indian and Alaska Native Math Camp at the Colorado School of Mines the summer of 1988. She has taught students of all ability levels in the seventh grade through college. She has taught at a predominately American Indian school, Red Rock School, in Red Rock, Oklahoma. She developed and taught "Math is Fun" two-week workshops for four-year-olds to thirteen year olds in her home in Stillwater, Oklahoma. From 1962-1964 she served in the Peace Corps in Ecuador. In 1982 she attended the Equity Conference sponsored by the NCTM in Albuquerque, New Mexico. She is past president of Women and Mathematics in Education.

She speaks at National Council of Teachers of Mathematics (NCTM) regional and annual meetings on various topics which include: "Multicultural Activities in the Classroom," "Mayan Mathematics," and "Patterns in Mathematics." She presents workshops for teachers of kindergarten through college students on the use of manipulatives and multicultural activities in the classroom.

History and Social Studies Curricula in Elementary and Secondary Schools

Karen Harvey

Ultimately, social study is justified in the practice of living, as individuals, families, groups, and societies make decisions. To the extent that we fail to educate all persons toward decision-making in these and many related regards, we reduce our own resources and endanger our own future.
(National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, 1988, p. xi)

Introduction

No area of the curriculum is so ambiguous, so confusing, so controversial, and so value-laden as social studies. Scholars, professional organizations, teachers, school administrators, and the general public generally disagree on the definition, the goals, the purpose, the content, the scope, and the sequence of history and social science education. A 1977 publication of the National Council for the Social Studies made the following conclusion: "One wonders what is left to be said of a field which uses a loose confederation of separate subjects for its content and has little or no agreement regarding its goals and objectives" (O'Neill, 1989). Apparently there has not been, nor is there now, clear agreement on what constitutes sound social studies education for either non-Native or for Native students.

However, we do have adequate evidence that this curricular confusion has produced students who do poorly in social studies education as measured by standardized achievement tests and who generally dislike and see little use for this area of the curriculum.

Although the history of social studies education is dismal, and the current status is controversial, it is readily apparent that the goal of self-determination demands that Native students acquire certain knowledge and skills derived from history, geography, the social science disciplines, and the humanities. Further, specific values, experiences, and dispositions that are likely to enable these students to become self-directing, self-sufficient, self-confident, and responsible tribal, national, and global citizens should be embedded in social studies instruction.

It is reasonable to conclude that the area of the curriculum that is primarily responsible for teaching young Native people to be self-determining citizens is in disheartening disarray. Thus, the policy of self-determination, and consequently, Native people, can be rightfully considered at risk. Recognizing that our children are our future, this paper will review the research and literature in the fields of history and social studies education and propose new direction and an integrated, multifaceted approach for excellence in social studies education for American Indian and Alaska Native students.

Part One

For those who wish to influence social studies instruction, some background information must be presented. In Part One, I will (1) present definitions of social studies, global education, multicultural education, and ethnic studies/cultural studies; (2) examine challenges faced by social studies [what, how, and who]; (3) clarify the relationship between the social studies curriculum and cultural studies; (4) discuss the range of purposes of social education, presenting rational decision-making and social action as the most reasonable purpose for Native students; and (5) give a broad overview of commonly accepted goals of social studies education.

Defining the Social Studies

Social Studies

In 1985 The National Council for the Social Studies and the American Historical Association joined together to establish the National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools. They were soon joined by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching and the Organization of American Historians. Since the inception of this organization in 1985, over eighty organizations concerned with education have been consulted and have offered advice and encouragement to the work of the Commission. The National Commission charged the Curriculum Task Force with defining the goals and providing a rationale for the social studies in the schools. The following concise definition has been used by the Commission and is a product of the best minds in the field of history and social studies education.

> ... social studies includes history, geography, government and civics, economics, anthropology, sociology and psychology, as well as subject matter drawn from the humanities — religion, literature and the arts — and social studies combines those fields and uses them in a direct way to develop a systematic and interrelated study of people in societies, past and present. (National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, 1988)

There are other useful definitions that are important to consider for they assist in clarifying the curriculum area to be addressed and add substance to particular considerations as this area relates to Native education.

Global Education

Global education has many goals that are also claimed by other social studies disciplines in the curriculum such as valuing diversity, making connections, and critical thinking. "What is unique about global education is its substantive focus, drawn from a world increasingly characterized by pluralism, interdependence and change" (Kniep, 1986). Kniep further delineates the content of global education as dealing with the present and historical realities that describe and define the world as a global society including the study of universal human values, global economic, political, ecological, and technological systems, and global issues and problems encompassing peace and security, development, environmental, and human rights. Global education has created controversy in some communities. What is significant is that global education is often considered to be synonymous with multicultural education — it is not. Consider the differences carefully.

Multicultural Education

Multicultural education is generally defined by its purposes. Christine Bennett (1986) offers this general definition from the work of Margaret Gibson. Multicultural education is "a process whereby a person develops competencies in multiple systems of standards for perceiving, evaluating, behaving, and doing." According to Bennett, Gibson's definition has the following advantages:

- Culture and ethnic groups are no longer considered the same and diversity within ethnic groups is recognized.
- Schools do not bear the entire burden of education because there is a consideration of relationships with informal school and out-of-school learning.
- Ethnically separate schools are antithetical since "the development of competence in a new culture usually requires intensive interaction with people who already are competent."
- It clarifies the fact that individuals can be multicultural and they need not reject their cultural identities to function in a different cultural milieu.
- It avoids divisive dichotomies between the Native and mainstream culture, and brings about an increased awareness of multiculturalism as the normal human experience.

This definition has as its goal the education of individuals who are able to retain their own individual and cultural identity and who are competent and comfortable in a multicultural and pluralistic society. It also considers pluralism as "normal" and advantageous.

Ethnic Studies and Cultural Studies

In 1975, James Banks discussed what he believes to be an outdated model of ethnic studies as being monoethnic, parochial in scope, fragmented, and structured without careful planning and clear rationales. Such ethnic studies programs focused on one specific ethnic group and are usually initiated when a particular ethnic group is present or dominant in the local school population, such as schools located on or near reservations. This kind of program does not teach the problems and sociological characteristics of other ethnic groups. He concludes that ethnic studies programs must be conceptualized more broadly and should include information about *all* of America's diverse ethnic groups in order to enable students to develop valid comparisons and to fully grasp the complexity of ethnicity in American society.

In order to differentiate between ethnic studies, whether presented as a monoethnic course or broader multiethnic courses, and cultural studies that are intended to restore and retain tribal languages, lifeways, and traditions, this paper will use the terms *ethnic studies* and *cultural studies* independently. Cultural studies programs most frequently have two major parts: (1) teaching of Native or tribal history, government, and economics, and (2) teaching tribal beliefs, values, and traditions. When cultural studies teach tribal beliefs, values, and traditions, *enculturation* to a particular group is the major goal. Enculturation to a particular belief system or lifeway is not appropriate in public schools, but is important in reservation schools. Ethnic studies do not have enculturation as the major goal. Ethnic studies should be an integral part of the multicultural social studies program for all students. Each term denotes a particular and distinctive type of program about a single ethnic group or multiethnic groups. Because cultural studies are a part of social studies education, and so important to Native people, a later section will explore this relationship more fully.

These basic definitions begin to give direction for the creation of a sound history and social studies curriculum. Before proceeding further, it would be helpful to examine some of the major challenges to social studies curriculum and instruction. It is also significant to consider the population to be addressed — Native students? Non-Native students? All students?

Challenges Faced by Social Studies Curriculum and Instruction

Both history and social studies curriculum and instruction encounter significant challenges that must be noted before addressing the complexity of reform. The first challenge is related to the content of the curriculum — what is to be taught? Current textbooks and commonly used instructional materials related to American Indians and Alaska Natives are too frequently inaccurate, insensitive, racist, and based on unacceptable assumptions. For example, implicit in most current textbooks is the assumption that the European settlers and the United States government had the moral and legal right to dominate a people and a land. Excuses for questionable behavior and unacceptable governmental policy are often cursory, flimsy, and trite. One major high school text explains, "In the 1850s (although they never planned it that way) white men, women, and children began to move into these areas once reserved for Indians" (Boorstin & Kelley, 1986, p. 322).

There can be no place in the social studies curriculum for this kind of ethnocentric perspective, or for inaccuracy, myths, excuses, and the perpetuation of stereotypes, caricatures, and distortions. Further, schools have a moral obligation to teach about historical bias, the impact of unique personal and cultural perspectives, and how to analyze the assumptions in such seemingly mild, but very insidious statements.

It is also crucial to consider the devastating and long-lasting effects on Native students as well as non-Native students that are created by a curriculum that teaches a history of dishonor, defeat, and disfranchisement of Native people. In a multicultural national and global society, an appropriate curriculum would not only strive for historical accuracy but it would also honor, not demean, the lifeways, traditions, and accomplishments of Native people.

It has been noted throughout the testimony received by the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force that Native students face tremendous cultural and value conflicts; therefore, a social studies curriculum that does not acknowledge and teach how personal, social, cultural, and democratic values influence our common and unique social experiences will be deficit. Conflicts in values are always experienced, but too rarely examined. Kelley Haney states, "Many Indian children grow up in traditional environments where the world is understood in a different way. We must find ways to help children from this background live with and keep in touch with their traditions but also live and succeed in today's world" (Plains Regional Public Hearing, 1990, p. 3).

Another way of viewing the challenge of the curriculum considers the increasing complexity of today's society, the rapid production of new knowledge, and development of technology. Barth and Spencer (1990) state that the world of information has changed and ask about the message that this change holds for social studies teachers who are charged with preparing future citizens.

> In today's world of exploding information selecting the "top 100" of anything is a futile effort as the list will change before there is time to enter it in a computer. The amount of information in the world doubles every five years; 850,000 new books are published in the world annually, and one day's issue of the *New York Times* contains more information than citizens who lived in the seventeenth century would have dealt with in their entire lives (Wurman, 1989). The experts in information retrieval tell us that we can manage only about 5 percent of the available information. Educational research tells us that students at any level retain briefly about 10 percent of the content they study, and yet we continue to think that what we need is more content. (p. 46)

It appears that the information explosion demands that not only must we change what content we teach, we must also change how it is structured.

The second challenge we face is that the history and social curriculum cannot ignore instruction — the challenge of pedagogy. *How* history and social studies are taught is as important as *what* is taught. To merely know about the rights and responsibilities of citizenship is no longer sufficient; students must learn the skills and dispositions to be active, involved, informed, reasonable, and courageous citizens — only then will they be self-determining. This goal can only be achieved with active, not passive, instructional strategies and through a vigorous, vital, engaging, and relevant approach to social learning.

The most frequently mentioned criticisms of current curriculum and instruction for both Native and non-Native students that have been identified in the literature and, most recently, in the testimony of Native educators and parents are summarized in the following list. For Native and non-Native students, current social studies curriculum and instruction:

1. Stresses coverage rather than comprehension.
2. Contains inaccurate content.
3. Presents Euro-centric perspectives.
4. Perpetuates stereotypes and racism.
5. Lacks relevance to current and/or controversial issues.
6. Avoids analysis of ethical and moral issues.
7. Encourages passive learning.
8. Rewards learning styles of the mainstream culture.

For Native students, in addition to the problems identified above, social studies curriculum and instruction:

1. Teaches a history of dishonor and defeat.
2. Forces assimilation.
3. Diminishes self-esteem.
4. Promotes passivity, apathy, and powerlessness.
5. Omits tribal culture, history, government and economics.
6. Penalizes divergent learning styles of Native learners.

In considering the particular learning needs of Native students, Linda Skinner states, "We need Indian education to mean using the best of the old and new to educate our people whose histories, cultures, belief systems, and languages are different from the majority" (Plains Regional Public Hearing, 1990, p. 78). Current pedagogy is not working well for Native students; it is not of their culture. Therefore, we must also meet the challenge of integrating sound curriculum with the particular learning needs and styles of Native students. This has particular implications for initial teacher preparation and inservice education as well as for educational researchers. William Glasser, in a filmstrip for teachers (1978), makes the simple observation that "if it isn't working, stop doing it!" This simple advice has a powerful message for those who are working toward the improvement of Native education.

The third challenge or question is related to students — to whom should we teach this restructured and relevant curriculum? Rennard Strickland in his eloquent testimony for the Plains Regional Public Hearing (1990) argues that in an age of increased technology we should look to the culture, the values, and the history of a people whose lifeways are rooted in a different age because it may be a way for our nation to rediscover that which is good in all of us.

> The experience of America's Native people seen from a contemporary perspective can offer wide audiences a powerful message about cultural persistence and change. As the world moves toward the 21st century, the artistic and cultural vision of the Native Americans can help us appreciate the dual task of preserving historic values while building new traditions. It can give us all a new perspective — a perspective that grows out of the Native American experience over the past half millennium — an experience that combines sobering truths with staunch hope that even in the face of devastating change it is possible to retain fundamental values of community, of place, and of season. (Plains Regional Public Hearing, 1990, p. 7)

Strickland concludes that the study of Native philosophy, languages, arts, literature, government, and history should be required of students of Native and non-Native students. To extend his conclusion, this requirement to incorporate Native studies into the curriculum of all students should include urban, suburban, rural, and reservation schools and all grade levels.

In summary, the challenges of social studies curriculum and instruction for Native students require more than simple additions or new courses or revised content. Small adjustments or good-intentioned tinkering will not suffice. These challenges are likely to be met only through fundamental reform in curriculum, instructional materials, and teaching strategies. What is currently in practice is not sufficient for today's world and tomorrow's self-determining citizens.

Relationship Between the Social Studies Curriculum and Cultural Studies

In the examination of this significant relationship, it is important to review the controversy that currently revolves on how schools should teach more about the contributions of American Indians and Alaska Natives and other racial and ethnic groups. As one might expect, what seems fairly straightforward conceptually is very complicated practically. The need for a revised curriculum is real and urgent; the best way to implement such a curriculum is unclear.

> Two decades after educators and politicians began calling on schools to teach more about the contributions of blacks, Hispanics, Native Americans, and other ethnic and racial groups long absent from the curriculum the debate over how best to do that is reaching new — and sometimes bitter — levels of intensity in schools across the country. (Viadero, 1990)

In California, the state school board has adopted new textbooks that are intended to recognize cultural diversity. However, these books too have been criticized for perceived shortcomings, including important omissions, cultural stereotypes and misrepresentations of history. Currently, much of the major controversy centers on efforts to infuse an Afro-centric perspective throughout the curriculum. The argument presented by the African American scholar, Molefi Kete Asante, mirrors that of Native people when he says, "In a sense, the so-called Euro-centric curriculum commonly used in school is killing our children, killing their minds" (Viadero, 1990).

In the same article, Diane Ravitch is quoted as saying, "The real issue on campus and in the classroom is not whether there will be multiculturalism, but what kind of multiculturalism will there be?" The range of viewpoints on this problem has been expressed in the programs proposed and carried out by Native educators.

One school of thought proposes an ethnocentric or separatist curriculum that tells the story of history through the eyes of a particular ethnic group. The contributions of the group are infused throughout the curriculum in art, music, language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies. Examples of this approach would be in the Afro-centric schools in Portland and Milwaukee and in existing Native magnet schools in Buffalo and St. Paul and the Native "target" program in Minneapolis public schools. The basic assumption that underlies this approach is that as the self-esteem of the child improves through the study of his or her own ethnicity, academic achievement will also improve.

In terms of the Afro-centric curriculum, this assumption is largely untested, but as Faheen Ashanti, a counseling psychologist at North Carolina State University states, "... we've got to the point that people are willing to try anything now that looks like it might have promise" (Viadero, 1990). This statement seems to echo the intensity and urgency of concern of Native people.

Another school of thought, the traditional approach used to address our diversity, maintains that the curriculum should stress the commonalities of many peoples as well as their differences. The usual way this has been accomplished is for schools to offer elective courses in ethnic studies or designate particular periods of time for the study of ethnic groups. Traditionally, for American Indians and Alaska Natives (even in reservation schools), this is evident in separate courses on tribal specific culture or language or a Native studies course in secondary schools. In the case of elementary schools, ethnic content or emphasis on Native culture is often presented as a unit or an "event" around American Indian Day, Columbus Day, or Thanksgiving. Schools are likely to plan a surge in such studies as the quincentenary commemoration of Columbus' arrival on the North and Central American continents. James Banks, a noted scholar in the field of multicultural education, labels these as the contributions and additive approaches (Banks, 1988).

Banks has defined approaches to multicultural education to include: (1) the additive approach; (2) the contributions approach; (3) the transformation approach; and (4) the social action approach. His definition of the social action approach, wherein students make decisions on important social issues and take actions to solve them, fits well with the goals that Native educators, parents, and communities have for their children.

I propose an integrative model to provide both a multicultural education and reform in social studies curriculum for Native students. This model incorporates the recognition that the history of Native people is the history of this land and country — it is not the history of an immigrant or refugee population, nor the history of a people who were forced to come to the continent in slavery. The revision which is needed in the history and social studies curriculum should not advocate a separatist approach for schools serving primarily Native students — but a study of the history of the

United States of America for all students that recognizes the people who are indigenous to its land. This history tells about Native people, their lifeways, their contributions, their struggles, their accomplishments, their defeats, and their triumphs. It requires that all students learn about Native treaty rights and the enduring fight to protect those rights. It demands that students examine moral and ethical issues of the historical past and the present. It asks schools to teach all students about Native people with accuracy and sensitivity, as they were and as they are an integral part of the heritage and history of this land and a vital part of the global community.

This should be the "regular" curriculum and it is different from specific cultural studies on one's tribal history, government, economics, roots, traditions, and ways of being. Assuming that it is possible to provide all students with a sound social studies curriculum (which includes ethnic studies courses), we must then go beyond this basic curriculum to consider the specific role of cultural studies. This is the part that has been ignored in the past and that must be acknowledged for the future and is the curriculum that teaches Native young people about their own unique tribal history and lifeways — what it means to be Navajo, Iroquois, Sioux, or Cherokee. It also teaches specific tribal government structures, economic issues, and social concerns.

When Native people plead for an education that encourages students to discover and develop their spirituality, it includes curriculum activities that promote Native traditions and cultures, and teaches Native languages, they are asking for more than an authentic, accurate, and sensitive social studies curriculum. The content of specific cultural studies focuses on reviving and maintaining a particular culture or way of life — it is a curriculum of enculturation and advocacy for a particular people or a traditional way.

Teaching about a particular culture can and should strengthen and add personal meaning, relevance, and interest to the restructured curriculum that is perceived to be necessary for all students. There is a part of cultural studies, instruction in Native history, government, and economics, that accomplishes these goals, is important for Native students, and that is a legitimate component of the social studies curriculum. Most certainly cultural studies can be a part of the social studies curriculum, but not its entirety.

Again, cultural studies should be conceptualized apart from an ethnic studies program. Referring again to Banks' admonition regarding ethnic studies, "ethnic studies programs must be conceptualized more broadly and should include information about all of America's diverse ethnic groups in order to enable students to develop valid comparisons and to fully grasp the complexity of ethnicity in American society." As the demographics of the country change, ethnic studies programs are likely to proliferate. They are important for the general social studies program — but they are not the same as a strong cultural studies program for Native students. Figure 1 demonstrates the relationship between a sound social studies curriculum, the two components of cultural studies, and ethnic studies.

Purposes of Social Education

Those who are charged with developing curriculum, selecting instructional materials, and teaching social studies, unlike teachers in other areas of the curriculum, such as mathematics, science, art, music, English, or language arts, must give careful thought to the purpose of social studies education. It is possible to take any given content, event, or fact as the *vehicle* to achieve any one of a number of purposes. For example, it would be possible to teach the Trail of Tears to:

- learn about Oklahoma history and to reinforce the concept of Manifest Destiny;
- teach a historical event from the perspective of another group thus providing students opportunities to understand other people;
- study the relationship between the legislative and judicial branches of government during the Jackson administration;
- learn how to use primary source material; or
- learn about historical and contemporary examples of genocide and discuss how individuals intervened then and how they might intervene or affect such events now.

Each of these teaching strategies reflects an approach that is designed to achieve a particular purpose; the specific content is the vehicle. The instructional and evaluation strategies would also be congruent with the designated purpose. For example, does the teacher deliver a lecture or use a simulation or role play? Are students competitive or cooperative? Is learning deductive or inductive? Do students use a single text or multiple resources? Do they actively analyze and question or passively memorize and recite?

Roberta Woolever and Kathryn Scott (1988) have summarized the major purposes of social studies education in the following manner, stress-

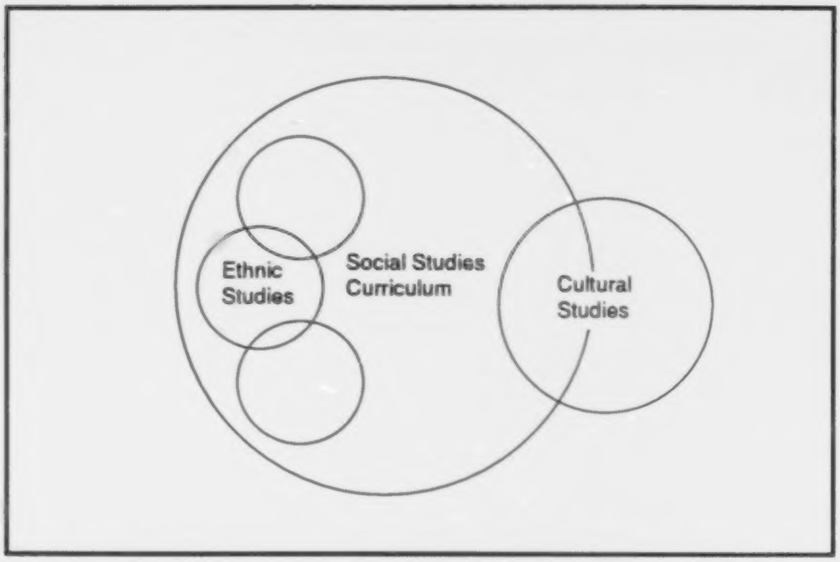

Figure 1. Relationship between the Social Studies Curriculum, Ethnic Studies, and Cultural Studies.

ing that each view holds that the central purpose of social studies education is to develop good citizens. The difference, of course, is in how a good citizen is defined.

Social Studies as Citizen Transmission

Social studies taught as citizen transmission strives to pass the American cultural heritage onto the next generation, reinforcing the status quo. Students are expected to maintain that tradition, be dedicated to the democratic way of life, and accept the responsibilities of adult members of that society.

Social Studies as Personal Development

Social studies as personal development aims to help each student develop to the fullest extent of his or her social, emotional, physical, and cognitive potential and is student-centered rather than subject-centered. As a result of this emphasis on human potential, it is anticipated that society as a whole will improve over time.

Social Studies as Reflective Inquiry

Social studies as reflective inquiry has as its emphasis the development of critical and reflective thinking skills. Students are asked to go beyond rote learning and become problem-solvers and astute thinkers. Students will be able to ask penetrating questions, deal with controversy, and make reasoned evaluations.

Social Studies as Social Science Education

Social studies as social science education seeks to develop in students a deep and thorough base of knowledge in the social science disciplines of anthropology, economics, geography, history, political science, and sociology. The emphasis is on learning the structure of the disciplines and the scientific methods of inquiry used by social scientists. This knowledge will lead to an understanding of culture, history, time, space, political and social institutions, allocation of resources, and human behavior.

Social Studies as Rational Decision-Making and Social Action

James Banks (1990) states this purpose well.

> We believe that the social studies should help students attain the skills needed to recognize and solve human problems, analyze and clarify values, and make sound, reflective decisions that will contribute to the perpetuation and improvement of their communities, nation, and world. (pp. 18-19)

What distinguishes this purpose from the others and makes it the best approach for the education of Native students are the decision-making and action components. Banks adds that (1) social science inquiry produces knowledge, but in decision-making, knowledge is selected, synthesized, and applied; (2) knowledge alone is insufficient for reflective decision-making; and (3) the identification and clarification of personal and social values is integral to the decision-making process.

> We believe that the most important goal of the social studies should be to develop reflective *citizen actors*. We are using *citizen* to mean a member of a democratic state or nation. *Citizen actor* refers to an individual who makes a deliberate effort to influence his or her political environment, including its laws, public policies, values, and the distribution of wealth. The activities in which he

or she participates are *citizen action*. (Banks, 1990, p. 19)

Returning briefly to the previous discussion on multicultural education, it is important to note at this point that multicultural education also has differing approaches, which lead to differing outcomes. Christine Sleeter and Carl Grant (1987) have analyzed current approaches to multicultural education and have organized them into the following five separate categories.

- *Teaching the culturally different* assimilates students of color into the cultural mainstream and existing social structure by offering transitional bridges within the existing school program.
- *Human relations* helps students of different backgrounds get along better and appreciate each other.
- *Single group studies* fosters cultural pluralism by teaching courses about the experiences, contributions, and concerns of distinct ethnic, gender, and social class groups.
- *Multicultural education* promotes cultural pluralism and social equality by reforming the school program for all students to reflect diversity, including school staffing patterns that represent the pluralistic nature of American society; unbiased curricula that incorporates the contributions of different social groups; women and the handicapped; the affirmation of languages of non-English-speaking minorities; and instructional materials that are appropriate and relevant for the students and which are integrated rather than supplementary.
- *Education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist* prepares students to challenge social structural inequality and to promote cultural diversity.

All but the first approach, teaching the culturally different, have a place in the curriculum. However, it is the last approach, education that is multicultural and social reconstructionist, that has great significance for Native education for it extends the concept of citizen action to action that challenges social structural inequality and promotes cultural diversity. This approach to multicultural education must be *embedded* within the social studies curriculum, reaffirming the belief that Native people can assume leadership roles in challenging social inequality and promoting cultural diversity, thus fulfilling Rennard Strickland's dream to *"look to the culture, the values, and the history of a people whose lifeways are rooted in a different age because it may be a way for our nation to rediscover that which is good in all of us"* (Plains Regional Hearing, 1990, p. 7).

The goal of self-determination for Native people demands that young people be taught the knowledge and the skills required for rational, reflective decision-making and citizen action. Students who have had this type of multicultural social education are likely, as social actors, to deal effectively and responsibly with such issues facing Native people as preserving Native lands, restoring hunting and fishing rights, protecting archeological sites, displaying religious artifacts in museums, providing appropriate education for our young people, developing economic independence, restoring pride and reviving cultural traditions, maintaining healthy families, and conquering substance abuse.

Goals of Social Education

With this clear purpose of social studies taught as rational decision-making and social action forming the framework or organizing structure for considering a multicultural social studies education for Native students, it is now possible to examine and analyze the goals forwarded by various groups engaged in the social studies reform movement.

National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools

The National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (1988) lists five general goals. The social studies curriculum should enable students to develop:

- civic responsibility and active civic participation;
- perspectives on their own life experiences so they see themselves as part of the larger human adventure in time and place;
- a critical understanding of the history, geography, economic, political and social institutions, traditions, and values of the United States as expressed in both their unity and diversity;
- an understanding of other peoples and the unity and diversity of world history, geography, institutions, traditions, and values; and
- critical attitudes and analytical perspectives appropriate to analysis of the human condition.

These general goals appear to be reasonable and imminently useful when the purpose of multicultural social education as decision-making and social action has been identified for Native students.

California Curriculum Framework

One of the major reform movements in social studies education is embodied in the California curriculum framework (California State Department of Education, 1988). The framework is intended, as the title suggests, to establish a sequential social studies curriculum for California children in grades K-12, yet it encourages teachers to develop their own teaching strategies. This framework not only will influence the teaching of social studies in California, but the nation as well. One major effect that it has had and will have in the future is on the textbook publishing industry. Since California adopts textbooks for the entire state, and because California constitutes such a major market, textbook publishers will look long and hard at this framework.

The goals listed in the California curriculum framework are worthy of study. For the most part, those who have criticized this framework have focused their concerns on the scope and sequence, or specific courses, not the goals. What Native educators will find in the goal statements are refreshing ideas that include rather than exclude many of the concerns that have been voiced about insulting, ignominious, and ineffective curricula. What is also noteworthy is that these curriculum goals have been adopted for *all the students* in California; they speak forcefully and directly to cultural diversity — in the past, present, and future. Cultural diversity is valued throughout the curriculum. The following outline is a brief summary of the goals of the California curriculum framework (California State Department of Education, 1988).

1. Knowledge and cultural understanding
   a. Historical literacy
   b. Ethical literacy
   c. Cultural literacy
   d. Geographic literacy
   e. Economic literacy
   f. Socio-political literacy
2. Skills attainment and social participation
   a. Basic study skills
   b. Critical thinking skills
   c. Participation skills
3. Democratic understanding and civic values
   a. National identity
   b. Constitutional heritage
   c. Civic values, rights, and responsibilities

California also acknowledges that the potential of the framework depends to a large extent on the quality of the textbooks and other instructional materials. Therefore, they have adopted criteria for evaluating instructional materials. These excerpts demonstrate California's commitment to a multicultural social education and many of the goals of Native educators.

- The life of a people must be depicted with empathy (as they saw themselves, through literature and other contemporary accounts).
- Whether treating past or present, textbooks and other instructional materials must portray the experiences of men, women, children, and youth as well as of different racial, religious, and ethnic groups. Both in United States history and in world history, the interaction of groups deserves careful attention. Whether they conflict with one another, cooperate, or live in relative isolation, diverse cultural groups must be depicted accurately as actors on the historical stage. Materials that ignore the importance of cultural diversity in United States History or world history are unacceptable.
- Historical controversies must display a variety of perspectives by the participants.
- Writers of history textbooks and other instructional materials must pay close attention to ethical issues. ...they should consider the ethical principles at stake in historical events and controversies.

Because California hosts the largest population in the country of Native people, the use of this framework and guidelines for the selection of instructional materials should provide some evidence as to whether or not a reformed and substantially different curriculum, coupled with flexibility in instruction, will provide better social studies education for Native students. This evidence will help give direction to future efforts.

Summary

The policy of self-determination demands that Native students acquire certain knowledge, skills, and values derived from history, geography, the social science disciplines, and the humanities.

- Social studies as an area of the curriculum has:

  - lacked rigor, relevance, cohesion, and direction;
  - stressed coverage rather than comprehension;
  - contained inaccurate content;
  - presented an Euro-centric perspective;
  - perpetuated stereotypes and racism;
  - lacked relevance to current and/or controversial issues;
  - avoided analysis of ethical and moral issues;
  - encouraged passivity, apathy, and powerlessness;
  - taught Native history as a history of dishonor and defeat;
  - omitted Native culture, history, government, and economics;
  - negated the contributions of tribal Elders and community members;
  - penalized those Native students who have learned to learn in differing ways; and
  - forced assimilation of Native students and diminished their self-esteem.
- Multicultural social studies education for Native students should have as its purpose rational decision-making and social action.
- Significant reform must be initiated in both *curriculum* and *instruction* for both Native and non-Native students. If this reform results in an authentic, accurate, and multicultural social studies curriculum, it would serve all students better.
- Ethnic studies and tribal-specific cultural studies which help to insure the restoration and maintenance of traditional cultures must be available within and in addition to this restructured multicultural social studies curriculum.
- Major reform movements, initiated by influential professional organizations, give direction for Native educators in reforming and restructuring social studies *curriculum* and *instruction* to meet the needs of Native students.

Recommendations

Curriculum

Native students should have a good, balanced, accurate multicultural social studies curriculum, including ethnic studies (monocultural or multicultural). In addition, when appropriate, they should have tribal-specific cultural studies available to them to learn about, restore, and retain their own unique history and heritage. Cultural studies which are intended to enculturate can be provided within the school setting, when it would not be in violation of the constitutional requirements for the separation of church and state, or outside of the school setting in homes or cultural centers.

Native National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools

In order to influence the social studies curriculum on a national level, a commission (Native National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools) should be established to provide leadership and watchdog and consultative services to textbook publishers, curriculum committees and developers, and professional organizations. This influential committee would be comprised of recognized Native and non-Native scholars in history and the social science disciplines and of prominent social educators. The committee would not only bring pressure to bear on the organizations and groups that publish and develop materials for schools, but, most importantly, give practical assistance in righting current wrongs in textbooks and instructional materials, providing accurate information and resources, and developing selection guidelines and supplementary materials. The focus would be to insure that accurate information related to American Indians and Alaska Natives, in the past and present, is included in *all* textbooks. Adequate funding needs to be made available in order to engage the services of prominent and knowledgeable people to serve in this capacity and for the commission to develop and disseminate guidelines and appropriate papers and materials, and to provide consultation services.

National Native Studies Curriculum Committee

A national committee (National Native Studies Curriculum Committee) must be developed and charged with developing a working model for use by tribal groups, communities, school boards, and individual schools or departments in developing strong Native studies courses to be used in all schools, not only schools serving primarily Native students. The best knowledge in social education must be brought to bear in the creation of such courses. The model would be meant to be used as a guide, allowing for appropriate flexibility in meeting community or local tribal needs. This will provide an urgently needed, positive model, developed by Native people, for courses that would teach about American Indians and Alaska Natives.

It is clear that although history and geography will form the basic structure for the social studies curriculum, art, music, religion, and literature will be used more frequently in social studies instruction. Another charge for the National Native Studies Curriculum Committee or for a specially constituted committee should be to develop resources for curriculum developers and teachers related to Native art, music, philosophy, and most importantly, literature. Guidelines for the selection of culturally authentic and sensitive materials should be made widely available to the education community.

National Native Curriculum Clearinghouse

A national resource center (National Native Curriculum Clearinghouse) must be established to provide a clearinghouse for curriculum materials. This center, based upon the ERIC model would be available nationally and should be easily accessed by computer. This center could be part of an existing ERIC center, however, it needs to be located in an easily accessible, geographic central region. *All federally funded programs* that include the development of curriculum projects should be *required* to submit the projects to the clearinghouse. We must use and disseminate those curriculum projects that advance appropriate social studies curricula. An additional project that could be undertaken by the staff of such a clearinghouse is to make available a national listing or register of effective consultants and resource materials in the areas of Native curriculum and sound instructional practices.

Funding

Funding must be procured so that Native educators have continuing and immediate access to emerging research related to curriculum and instruction for Native students. A first step might be to provide such important materials as *The Journal for Indian Education* free of charge to all schools serving high percentages of Native students. This journal could also be urged to expand beyond reports of research to include recent curriculum efforts of promise — reported in terms that make this information available not only to professional educators, but also to the lay people who often serve in policy roles. Again, what is known is not being disseminated efficiently and effectively. All funded projects require an evaluation component. This evaluation information should inform Native research projects, thus utilizing that which is known to continue to make improvements in curriculum and instruction.

Coordination

Native educators who wish to impact the quality of social studies instruction and materials must make strong connections to existing professional organizations. The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) is the single most influential organization for social studies teachers. NCSS has indicated interest and commitment by recently publishing a bulletin, *Teaching About Native Americans* (1990). It would be logical to work with the leadership of this organization to provide specific materials or guidelines on appropriate course content, or providing materials for the Quincentenary in 1992. The following is a list of organizations that provide leadership in the fields of history and social science education:

- American Anthropological Association
- American Economic Association
- American Historical Association
- American Psychological Association
- American Sociological Association
- Association of American Geographers
- Joint Council on Economic Education
- National Council for Geographic Education
- National Council for the Social Studies
- Organization of American Historians

All materials developed by the Native National Commission on Social Studies in the Schools, the work accomplished by the National Native Studies Curriculum Committee, and the useful resources made available through the National Native Curriculum Clearinghouse must be prominently displayed at all state and national social studies meetings (e.g. National Council for the Social Studies, National Indian Education Association), promoted in the national education journals (e.g. *Educational Leadership, Journal of Indian Educa-*

tion, Social Education), and presented at national conferences (e.g. Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development). If a goal is to provide sound social studies instruction for Native students, 80-90 percent of whom are in public schools, efforts must be made to impact the instruction that occurs in public schools — urban and rural. Native voice must be heard by *all* social studies teachers, including those who do not teach the children of Native families, and teacher educators throughout the country.

Part Two

In Part One of this paper, I presented basic definitions of social studies, explored the relationship between social studies education and ethnic studies and cultural studies, reviewed various purposes and goals of social education and multicultural education, discussed current reform proposals, and made some general recommendations.

In Part Two, I will recommend more specific outcomes for history and social studies education, emphasizing those outcomes that have particular significance for successful social education for Native students. The outcomes include the following components: (1) Knowledge; (2) Skills; (3) Experiences; (4) Values; and (5) Dispositions. Each of these areas will be outlined and briefly explained.

In a 1988 report on Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) education, it is stated that "Indian children have many of the same curriculum needs as other American children. Indian children must be prepared to function in American society." It is also noted that Indian children have other educational needs that are unique to them.

> Perhaps more than any other population group, Indians are encouraged to maintain their traditional culture. America demands that immigrants from other nations must take active steps to assimilate into the broader society. But American Indians, as indigenous Americans, are at least partially exempt from this requirement. ... Legally, an Indian reservation today has a special Constitutional status that allows it to define and preserve its own culture and its tribal government is exempt, for example, from the normal constitutional separations of government and religion. (p. 215)

Somehow we must integrate or fuse these two demands — the need for a common curriculum and the need for a unique curriculum. Social studies educators must recognize that Native students are citizens of the United States, with all of the rights and responsibilities of such citizenship, and are also citizens of sovereign domestic nations. We must also speak of curriculum outcomes for: (1) Native students scattered throughout urban and suburban schools and located far from reservations; (2) significant clusters of Native students enrolled in public schools in urban centers and off-reservation schools located near reservation boundaries; (3) magnet schools for Native students in large metropolitan areas; (4) and reservation schools that have considerably more freedom in curriculum issues — including BIA, contract, and reservation-based public schools.

Is there a way to fuse these demands? An instructor at Navajo Community College, Freda B. Garnanez in her presentation to the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force spoke of her primary research "to learn the methodologies, the prayers, the songs, and to be able to see the organization of knowledge and what the purpose of life is." Through this research and the many people she interviewed, she learned about four areas that are recommended to achieve balance and be happy. These four areas that correspond to the four directions are: (1) the value of one's strength; (2) the ability to provide for oneself; (3) the ability to get along with others; and (4) one's relationship to the environment (INAR/NACIE Joint Issue Session on Postsecondary Education, Garnanez, 1990).

According to her testimony, the Navajo Community College Board of Regents recognized the validity of this traditional organization of knowledge and adopted this structure. It is being used to reorganize the academic programs and the disciplines. In using this approach the Regents determined that "if we are going to educate our youth and turn the problems around, we would have to go back to our Elders and bring back the values and truths that have been tested by time."

The following chart attempts to examine these four areas and the outcomes obtainable through a good social studies curriculum (Figure 2). This does not intend to infer that the social studies curriculum meets all of the cultural needs of the Native student; it merely suggests that the goals of social studies are not in opposition to traditional ways of looking at the organization of knowledge.

Of immediate, practical interest is the urgency for economic self-sufficiency or the ability to care for oneself. A study prepared by the National Academy of Sciences in 1984 focused on the jobs that would exist in the next ten to fifteen years and what skills would be needed by students to function in that job environment. This study confirms that economic considerations have clear implications for social studies in all schools — and most certainly for Native students. The following topics which

Navajo Organization of Knowledge	Outcomes to be attained through the Social Studies Curriculum
the value of one's strength	intellectual strength moral strength emotional strength the strengths of persistence, patience, and purpose the strengths of courage, commitment, and confidence the strength that comes from understanding one's unique place in space, time, and culture
the ability to provide for oneself	knowledge and skills needed in the workplace knowledge and skills needed to make reasoned economic and political decisions knowledge and skills needed to make sound personal decisions
the ability to get along with others	understanding of other cultures and value systems skills of communication, cooperation, and consensus
one's relationship to the environment	understanding of the interdependence of all living things knowledge, skills, and dispositions required to act personally and politically to protect the environment

Figure 2. Relationship Between Navajo Organization of Knowledge and Outcomes of Social Studies Education

are within the social studies curriculum were identified as follows.

- The history of present day American society
- The political, economic, and social systems of the United States and other countries
- The fundamentals of economics, including a basic understanding of the roles of money, capital investment, product pricing, cost, profit, and productivity and market forces such as supply and demand
- The concept of "trade-offs" and the differences between economic principles, facts, and value judgments
- The forms and functions of local, state, and federal governments
- The rights and responsibilities of citizens
- Civil rights and justice in a free society

Similar to the position that Gerald Brown presented in his paper on Reading and Language Arts Curricula (See Commissioned Paper 12) when he speaks of the need for cognitive academic language proficiency (CALP) to be successful in American academia, I propose that there are certain fundamental knowledge, skills, experiences, values, and dispositions that are critical for political, social, and economic self-sufficiency for Native people. And further, that the particular knowledge and skills, experiences, values, and dispositions embedded in the social studies curriculum will be of significant service in ensuring the survival of Native cultures and can be taught in ways that are not in disharmony with the traditional structure of knowledge. I will present an outcome-based curriculum as the framework for social studies education. At the same time, I recognize that circumstances demand that this framework will be modified.

The following is suggested as the basic framework for a sound social studies program for Native students. It is important to look at the student outcomes desired before examining later the teaching strategies that are likely to achieve these outcomes.

Teaching Concepts and Social Science Generalizations

"If you are committed to helping students develop their thinking skills and learn the structure of the social science disciplines, you must teach concepts" (Woolever & Scott, 1988).

A concept is a word or phrase that is used to label a group of similar people, things, events, actions, or ideas. Teaching concepts helps student organize and make sense of their world and their school experiences and is basic to higher-level thinking and understanding. As mental constructs, concepts are building blocks necessary to make large and powerful generalizations about the social world.

Identifying and teaching major social science concepts helps teachers avoid transmitting bits of interesting information and guides them toward developing in their students a deep understanding of historical events, social science content,and contemporary ways of life and issues. A variety of facts or superficial activities helps to sustain myths and stereotypes; whereas facts taught to assist students in forming concepts and generalizations give them great power to understand social science content and predict and apprehend new events and issues in their lives. Examples of concepts are: change, continuity, culture, and diversity. In each content area or course, the important concepts must be selected and systematically taught.

A generalization is a statement of relationship between two or more concepts. Generalizations are commonly called principles and are considered to be the major and most powerful ideas that help human beings to organize and make sense of the array of facts (past and present) and personal experiences that they will encounter. Examples of generalizations would be: (1) culture change takes place when diverse cultures come in contact or (2) culture is an integrated whole; changes in one part are reflected in all its components. Teachers cannot teach social studies as a collection of facts, but must, instead, present facts as examples of powerful generalizations.

Concepts and generalizations guide the study of the social sciences and provide the necessary structure to make sense of the proliferation of facts that were discussed previously. However this knowledge alone is inadequate, for without ethical understanding and the examination of values, students will remain unequipped for making the kinds of decisions required of them as citizens and tribal members. Also, students must develop the desire or dispositions to be citizen actors. The content that is presented and the learning activities and experiences that are pursued should emphasize rational decision-making, creative and critical thinking, identification and analysis of values issues, and encourage the dispositions toward social action and responsible citizenship.

A useful way of looking at knowledge, skill, values, experiences, and dispositional outcomes in the curriculum is to distinguish between the *mastery* curriculum and the *organic* curriculum

(Glatthorn, 1987). The basic, mastery curriculum meets two criteria: It is essential for all students, and it requires careful structuring. In the basic mastery curriculum, the objectives are easily quantified and measured. The basic mastery goals and objectives are the social science generalizations and skills identified by states, school districts, or individual teachers.

In the organic curriculum, however, the objectives do not lend themselves to focused teaching and careful measuring. These objectives have to do with attitudes, values, appreciations, and dispositions and are primarily taught by the attitudes and behaviors modeled by teachers, the climate of the school, continuing instructional reinforcement, and the everyday interactions of the people within the school. Examples of the organic curriculum would include the development of a positive self-image for all students, respect for Native beliefs and values, commitment to social and environmental concerns, and appreciation of Native contributions to American society. These values objectives are part of the organic curriculum and reinforced through the K-12 curriculum.

With these ideas in mind, specific student outcomes are addressed next. What do we want students to know or understand, be able to do, learn from experience, care about, and be inclined to do? This section relies heavily on the publication, *History-social science framework for California Public Schools kindergarten through grade twelve* (California State Department of Education, 1988).

Knowledge Outcomes (Mastery Objectives)

I. Historical literacy
    A. A keen sense of historical empathy.
    B. Understanding of the meaning of time and chronology.
    C. Understanding of cause and effect.
    D. Understanding of the reasons for continuity and change.
    E. Recognition of history as common memory, with political implications.
    F. Understanding of the importance of religion, philosophy, and other major belief systems in history.
    G. An understanding of Native history — pre-contact, post-contact, present.

II. Principles and methods of inquiry in history
    A. Understanding of major generalizations in history.
    B. Understanding of the methods and problems of history.

III. Geographic literacy
    A. Awareness and understanding of place and location.
    B. Understanding of human and environmental interaction.
    C. Understanding of human movement.
    D. Understanding of world regions and their historical, cultural, economic, and political characteristics.

IV. Principles and methods of inquiry in geography
    A. Understanding of major geographic generalizations.
    B. Understanding of the methods of inquiry in geography.

V. Cultural literacy
    A. Understanding of the rich, complex nature of a given culture; its history, geography, politics, literature, art, drama, music, dance, law, religion, philosophy, architecture, technology, science, education, sports, social structure, and economy.
    B. Recognition of the relationships among the various parts of a nation's cultural life.
    C. Knowledge of the mythology, legends, values, and beliefs of a people.
    D. Recognition that literature and art reflect the inner life of a people.
    E. A multicultural perspective that respects the dignity and worth of all people.

VI. Principles and methods of anthropology and sociology
    A. Understanding of the major generalizations of anthropology and sociology.
    B. Understanding of the methods of inquiry in anthropology and sociology.

VII. Socio-political literacy
    A. Understanding of the close relationship between social and political systems.
    B. Understanding of the close relationship between society and the law.
    C. Understanding of comparative political systems.
    D. Understanding of the unique relationship of the sovereignty of Native people and the United States government.
    E. Understanding of the rights of Native people as determined by negotiated treaties with the United States government.

F. Understanding of the basic principles of democracy.

G. Understanding of what is required of citizens in democratic forms of government and in tribal affairs.

VIII. Principles and methods of political science (civics and government)

A. Understanding of the major generalizations of political science.

B. Understanding of the methods of inquiry in political science.

IX. Economic literacy

A. Understanding of the basic economic problems confronting all societies.

B. Understanding of comparative economic systems.

C. Understanding of the basic economic goals, performance, and problems of our society.

D. Understanding of the international economic system.

E. Understanding of the economic needs of Native people.

X. Principles and methods of inquiry in economics

A. Understanding of the major generalizations of economics.

B. Understanding of the methods of inquiry in economics.

XI. Ethical literacy

A. Recognition of the sanctity of life and the dignity of the individual.

B. Understanding of the ways in which different societies, including Native societies, have tried to resolve ethical issues.

C. Understanding that the ideas people profess affect their behavior.

D. Recognition that concern for ethics and human rights is universal and represents the aspirations of men and women in every time and place.

XII. Psychology

A. Understanding of the ways human beings grow and develop.

B. Understanding of the ways human beings perceive, remember, and think.

C. Understanding of how and why both biological factors and environmental circumstances affect different people in different ways.

D. Understanding of social relationships and the roles played by individuals and groups.

E. Understanding that what is considered to be an adjusted or maladjusted person varies both within and across cultures.

XIII. Principles and methods of inquiry in psychology

A. Understanding of the major generalizations in psychology.

B. Understanding of the methods of inquiry in psychology.

Skills Outcomes (Mastery Objectives)

I. Thinking skills

A. Critical thinking: Using basic thinking processes to analyze arguments, develop logical reasoning patterns, understand assumptions and biases, and evaluate information.

B. Creative thinking: Using basic thinking processes to develop or invent novel, aesthetic, constructive ideas or products.

C. Problem-solving: Using basic thinking processes to resolve a known or defined difficulty.

D. Decision-making: Using basic thinking processes to choose a best response among several options.

E. Meta-cognition: Understanding, monitoring, and regulating one's own thinking processes.

II. Group and interpersonal skills

A. Expressing thoughts, ideas, and feelings, when appropriate.

B. Listening to the thoughts, ideas, and feelings of others.

C. Demonstrating empathy to the needs of others.

D. Assuming responsibilities of group membership.

E. Sharing in group decision-making.

F. Establishing and honoring trust and loyalty.

G. Accepting leadership roles for self and of others.

III. Research and inquiry skills

A. Defining problems.

B. Acquiring information from a variety of sources including community resources, primary and secondary source materials, print and non-print media, computers,and other electronic media.

- C. Selecting, analyzing, organizing, and evaluating information.
- D. Expressing ideas clearly in writing and in speaking.

IV. Participation skills
- A. Understanding the ways that people individually and collectively influence social and political institutions.
- B. Demonstrating social concern and participating in community service.
- C. Seeking appropriate involvement in existing groups and organizations.
- D. Organizing new groups or collective efforts for social or political purposes.
- E. Learning from personal and group experiences in the classroom and applying this learning to effective action outside the classroom.
- F. Assuming civic responsibilities outside of the classroom.

Experience Outcomes (Organic Objectives)

- A. Acquiring a sense of self-efficacy in personal, social, and political arenas.
- B. Developing a strong self-concept.

Value Outcomes (Organic Objectives)

I. Cultural values
- A. Recognizing that culture is a major determinant of values.
- B. Understanding that there is diversity of values present in American society and that these values can be in conflict.
- C. Understanding of Native and specific tribal values.

II. Democratic and civic values
- A. Recognizing that American society is now and always has been pluralistic and multicultural.
- B. Understanding that the American creed as an ideal extols equality and freedom.
- C. Understanding the special role of the United States in world history as a nation of immigrants and indigenous people.
- D. Recognizing the status and contributions of minorities and women in different times in American history.
- E. Understanding of the unique experiences of the nation's indigenous people, conquerors, immigrants, and refugees.
- F. Realizing that true patriotism celebrates the moral force of the American idea as a nation that unites as one people the descendants of many cultures, races, religions, and ethnic groups.
- G. Recognizing that each individual is responsible for the working toward full realization of these democratic ideals.
- [H. Understanding the special role in the United States in treaty obligations and trust responsibility for Native tribes and Native nations.]
- [I. Understanding the special legal status of tribes and Native nations.]

III. Humane values
- A. Prizing the dignity and integrity of each individual.
- B. Understanding the importance of fairness and justice.

IV. Aesthetic values
- A. Appreciating and preserving beauty.
- B. Seeking harmony and balance.

V. Environmental values
- A. Understanding that all of nature is interdependent and that impact on one part affects the other parts.
- B. Preserving and protecting this interdependence.
- C. Cherishing the earth and her abundance.

Dispositional Outcomes (Organic Objectives)

- A. Willingness to make a commitment and take a stand.
- B. Willingness to assume responsibility.
- C. Willingness to persist in the face of difficulty.
- D. Willingness to be deliberate and refrain from impulsivity.
- E. Willingness to be open-minded and to withhold expedient judgments.
- F. Willingness to search for alternatives.
- G. Willingness to ask questions.
- H. Demonstrating accuracy and precision.
- I. Demonstrating honesty and fairness.
- J. Demonstrating curiosity.
- K. Demonstrating ingenuity and originality.
- L. Demonstrating sensitivity to the feelings, knowledge, and concerns of others.

M. Demonstrating a continuing interest in learning.

The addition of outcomes related to understanding the special role of tribes and Native nations is necessary to overcome the tendency of mainstream American society to omit and ignore the treaty obligations and trust responsibilities of the United States. Two other areas deserve special mention, (1) Experiential Outcomes and (2) Dispositional Outcomes. In many respects these two areas overlap others and to distinguish them is somewhat confusing. However, two issues seemed critical enough to warrant their inclusions as separate areas of desired outcomes. First, in the case of Native young people, the active experiences that must be provided in the classroom provide needed practice in active participation, concerted group efforts, and leadership and are critical for students to learn that they can and do make a difference. Schools have the moral obligation to prepare them for social and political participation. Knowledge, in and of itself, is simply not enough. Modeling, practice, and more practice is required. Self-respect and self-esteem are connected to the control one feels that he or she has; and little or no control is possible when a person is a passive player. School can and should provide experiences that provide models and build skills, self-confidence, and belief in the power of the individual and groups to contribute to the common good. Native students will learn how to be social actors through knowledge and experiences in social action.

Second, knowledge, skills, and experiences are still not enough. Desire and the *inclination to want to make a difference* as demonstrated through such personal qualities as persistence, responsibility, commitment, ingenuity, and sensitivity are required. These qualities must be directly taught and reinforced over long periods of time through the social studies curriculum.

The message of this lengthy and formidable list of outcomes can be summarized as follows: (1) social studies content must be selected carefully in order to develop understanding and literacy and cannot be presented as chapters to read, dates to memorize, and tests to force compliance; (2) the desired value, experiential, and dispositional outcomes are organic in nature and are developed over time through enhancing personal interaction in the classroom, modeling, and the instructional strategies chosen by the teacher to achieve the content and skill outcomes; and (3) to acknowledge only the value of the content and skill outcomes, without striving to achieve the organic outcomes, would not produce Native citizen actors.

Scope and Sequence

These desired outcomes must now be developed into course content and a K-12 scope and sequence for these courses or units of study. In order that these outcomes are considered as the focus in planning for instruction and to insure that students make steady, developmentally appropriate progress toward the acquisition of these competencies as they progress through their schooling, schools must plan for a comprehensive K-12 progression or a scope and sequence of curriculum. Students should be demonstrating increasing understanding and competency in areas identified as important as they go from one level of schooling to another.

This section will briefly present some options that have been proposed by professional organizations for a scope and sequence of social studies instruction. In presenting a scope and sequence for analysis and discussion in 1984, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) stated, "It is not possible to present a scope and sequence that would be appropriate for the many communities that comprise such a large and diverse nation as the United States." They suggest that the topics proposed for the grades K-5 curriculum could be easily modified by local school districts. Elementary teachers do not rely heavily on textbooks and, as generalists, the content that they teach is often local in focus and does not require significant academic preparation. However, NCSS most appropriately raises concerns about the ease with which the curriculum can be modified for grades 6-12. Effective teaching in these grades depends heavily on textbooks, available instructional materials, and teacher knowledge and expertise. These 1984 caveats still ring true.

In recognition of the confusion, competing values, and conflicting interests that exist among social studies educators, this preliminary position paper on a proposed scope and sequence for the social studies invited and received alternative proposals. The NCSS scope and sequence represented a step forward and districts have used it as a guide in developing local directions. The work of the National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools, representing a large number of professional organizations, will influence this document and those that will follow it.

One of the most significant characteristics in the scope and sequence adopted by the California curriculum framework (California State Department of Education, 1988) is the emphasis on chronological history and geography. History and geography are the foundations of the framework. Each course contributes to students' learning of historical chronology and gives major emphasis to a selected historical period that students will study in depth. Each course reviews learning from earlier grades and provides opportunities to link the past with the present. Bear in mind that there is also a strong emphasis on literature and the humanities to insure that history is not rote memory of dates, battles, generals, and inventions. History is meant to be engaging and interesting.

Scope and sequence has been presented in more general terms by the National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (1988) and does not name course titles but describes in reasonable detail the major learnings to be accomplished. Again, history and geography form the organizing matrix for the scope and sequence, supplemented by content knowledge in the social science disciplines and the humanities.

To provide a broad overview of how the social studies topics have been organized by professional groups, a brief summary of major organizational structures are presented in Figure 3.

In addition to acknowledging that course content must be sequenced in a reasonable and developmental manner, it is important to be aware that, for all intents and purposes, there is a national scope and sequence, and that the scope and sequence is built around a chronological history and geography. Global education, multicultural education, ethnic studies, and cultural studies are intended to be infused throughout the curriculum. This means that textbooks and other materials are developed for this "national curriculum" — and little else is available. California has broken with this tradition with its framework and because of the purchasing power of this state, new materials are being developed. However, at this time, to deviate from standard scope and sequence charts means that materials will have to be developed locally. It is easier to adhere to such established guidelines; but it is not impossible to make important changes and develop new materials.

Finally, it is well to remember that this list of course titles, although delineating *topics* for instruction, makes only a partial step forward in addressing the concern of the *quality* of social studies education for Native students. We have already acknowledged the problems in insensitive and ineffective teaching, inappropriate purposes for social studies instruction, and the utilization of inadequate and inaccurate texts and instructional materials. In addition, a scope and sequence of topics or course titles, as outlined above, omits the specification of skills, values, experiences, and dispositions that we have identified as important.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section with a quotation by D'Arcy McNickle (1981).

> Indians [have] always wanted: the right to decide as individuals or tribes how to adapt to the modes of the general society without destroying the values they cherish. When this right of decision prevails some individuals may opt for making themselves over to conform with another lifestyle. Some tribes may abandon traditional patterns in favor of new goals and new ideals. It is the climate of free choice that is important. (p. 40)

A sound social studies is one way to help to insure that freedom of choice.

Part Three

In the this section, I will discuss the improvement of pedagogy — the instructional component that is the delivery system for the curriculum. This is the part that is so crucial to developing engagement, interest, motivation, and commitment to learning.

It is impossible to say more about or present a better case for improved pedagogy than Norbert Hill made in his paper, *Pedagogy and Self-Determination* (1990). His eloquence and fervor clearly articulate the need for and the urgency of improved instruction to prepare Native students to be self-determining. In Part Three, I will extend Hill's ideas on pedagogy and give some specific directions for the improvement of social studies instruction.

Classroom Environment

Classroom environment means the physical and psychological *feeling tone* of the classroom. Is it warm, friendly, and inviting? Does it project the sense that good people do important work here? Do teachers and students treat each other with courtesy and respect? Are the talents and abilities that each person brings to the classroom honored? Are imposed structure and coercive authority readily discernible? Or, is it evident that humane and democratic values determine the norms of classroom interaction? Do teachers assist and guide or threaten and order? Is knowledge presented as a fixed body of information to be ingested or are students empowered and engaged in personally relevant inquiry? This environment is part of the "hidden curriculum" and teaches unforgettable lessons.

"In order for school to be a place that enables students to become whoever they want to be, it must first be a place where students are recognized and celebrated for who they are" (Nelson-Barber & Meier, 1990). Classrooms that do not have charac-

Scope and Sequence of Social Studies Curricula

Grade Level	NCSS (1984)	California Framework	National Commission
Kindergarten	Awareness of Self in a Social Setting	Learning and Working Now and Long Ago	Social Studies should set the tone and lay the foundation for the social studies education that follows. Guidelines rather than specific topics are given, including relevance, substance, balance, coherence, multicultural experiences, and international perspective.
Grade 1	The Individual in Primary Social Groups: Understanding School and Family Life	A Child's Place in Time and Space	
Grade 2	Meeting Basic Needs in Nearby Social Groups: The Neighborhood	People Who Make A Difference	
Grade 3	Sharing Earth Space With Others: The Community	Continuity and Change	
Grade 4	Human Life in Varied Environments: The Region	California: A Changing State	United States History, World History, Geography. These courses should draw their content from the concepts of the social science, especially, political science, economics, and anthropology.
Grade 5	People of the Americas: The U.S. and its Close Neighbors	U.S. History and Geography: Making A New Nation	
Grade 6	People and Cultures: The Eastern Hemisphere	World History and Geography: Ancient Civilizations	
Grade 7	A Changing World of Many Nations: A Global View	World History and Geography: Medieval and Early Modern Times	A study of the local community and a study of the nation. Focus on local and national social, political and economic relationships.
Grade 8	Building a Strong and Free Nation: The United States	U.S. History and Geography: Growth and Conflict	
Grade 9	Systems That Make A Democratic Society Work: Law, Justice, & Economics	Elective Courses in History and Social Science	World and American History and Geography *to 1750 *1750 - 1900 *since 1900
Grade 10	Origins of Major Cultures: A World History	World History, Culture, and Geography: The Modern World	
Grade 11	The Maturing of America: United States History	U.S. History and Geography: Continuity & Change in the 20th Century	
Grade 12	One year required from specified electives - issues, global studies, arts, social sciences, experiences, etc.	Principles of American Democracy and Economics	Government and Economics. Social Science options and experiences

Figure 3. Comparison of Scope and Sequence of Social Studies Curricula

teristics of a caring and supportive environment and make students feel at home are not good places for young people, particularly those children who come to school with fear and apprehension. Ideally, for Native students, this means that classrooms should reflect the family structure with an ungraded and multigenerational organization that includes parents and Elders and that there are many types of learning activities and multiple ways to demonstrate mastery of learning objectives. The physical setting should create a comfortable environment for students and facilitate the work that occurs there. Fear of failure or ridicule is not present. Success is common and celebrated. And cohesiveness and concern for the well-being of others is evident.

Native and non-Native teachers have the responsibility to create an inviting and affirming physical and psychological environment for all students — regardless of ethnicity, socioeconomic status, or age level.

Teaching Native Students

Learning Styles

There has been a demand for an increase in Native teachers who can not only provide positive role models but who can also make instruction culturally relevant. Sharon Nelson-Barber and Terry Meier (1990) contend that teachers and students need not share cultural background but that the degree of cultural congruence between them can be a significant factor in student success. Recognizing that many Native students will be taught by non-Native teachers, it is imperative that we look at how content-specific knowledge can be conveyed in culture-specific ways. Teachers need to be able to "devise curriculums that are directly linked to students' cultural experiences, which necessarily involves familiarity with local values and traditions, but also requires some understanding of culturally determined preferences for thinking and interacting."

Ramirez and Castenada (1974) make a significant point when they relate learning style to cultural differences in child-rearing practices. This simply means that children are taught how to learn from birth by their caregivers, thus their cognitive, communication, relational, and motivation styles are directly related to the culture of the home. When children are raised in ways that are unfamiliar to their teachers, they will approach new learning tasks in ways that are comfortable for them — but ways which may not be acceptable or understandable to those who plan for their learning. Learning style differences are also partially related to the degree of assimilation. It stands to reason that Native students from more traditional homes are likely to have more markedly different styles of learning. Arthur More (1989) notes that contemporary Native cultures are neither duplicate copies of traditional cultures, nor are they completely different from traditional cultures. The teacher must look for varying elements of traditional culture in present ways of raising children.

Some Native parents and educators have expressed concern that identification of learning style differences may lead to inaccurate labeling and stereotyping of Native students. Further, this could have the unfortunate effect of attributing learning style differences to brain or genetic differences. There are also other factors that influence the development of learning style. However, common sense dictates that teachers recognize that individual differences do exist and that some of these differences can be related to cultural family-rearing practices.

There is a limited amount of research on learning styles of Native students, particularly related to such things as degree of assimilation. However, the research does indicate tentative direction for the development of appropriate instructional strategies and suggest possibilities for further research. First, and perhaps foremost, a reasonable rule of thumb for teachers would be to study their teaching strategies and their students and, "if it isn't working, stop doing it."

Then, what do teachers do instead? The following list, derived from the research, lends specific direction to teachers who find that particular learning strategies are not working for their Native students:

- Discuss students' learning style with them; help them to understand why they do what they do in the learning situation.
- Be aware of students' background knowledge and experiences.
- Be aware of the "pacing" of activities within a time framework which may be rigid and inflexible.
- Be aware of how questions are asked; think about the discussion style of your students.
- Remember, some students do not like to be "spotlighted" in front of a group.
- Provide time for practice before performance is expected; let children "save face," but communicate that it is "okay" to make mistakes.
- Be aware of proximity preferences; how close is comfortable.
- Organize the classroom to meet the interactional needs of students.
- Provide feedback that is immediate and consistent; give praise that is specific. (Swisher & Deyhle, 1989)

Teaching Strategies

There are teaching strategies or models of teaching that hold promise for Native students. Creative teachers will also find common-sense, personal strategies that work. Some concrete suggestions follow.

- More's (1989) research indicates that many Native students show strengths in using visual, perceptual, or spatial information as opposed to information that is presented verbally. Using this information, social studies teachers would use maps, charts, diagrams, and models to teach. For example, elementary teachers might create large maps of the United States on the playground. Students would walk from state to state, experiencing distance, location, and size. They might make physical maps out of papier-mache or cut an orange in sections to show how a round surface is depicted on a flat map — all activities that are visual, perceptual, and spatial.
- Hill (1990) emphasizes that Native students need to actively engage in learning and be provided opportunities relevant to evolving interests and needs. They need more to *construct* knowledge than to *receive* it. In this way, they learn how to trust themselves and to learn. Two recognized models of teaching can guide this type of learning: (1) Inquiry and (2) Group Investigation (Joyce & Weil, 1986). Both strategies involve active pursuit of learning.
- Many Native students tend to be more global than analytical; they need to see the whole picture or have a global overview of a particular topic. Advance organizers that describe the overall purpose or structure of a lesson or unit would be helpful for these students as would graphic organizers which help students organize information and see relationships. Figure 4 is an example of a graphic organizer.
- Many Native students also frequently use mental images, to remember or understand, rather than using word associations. There are teaching strategies that

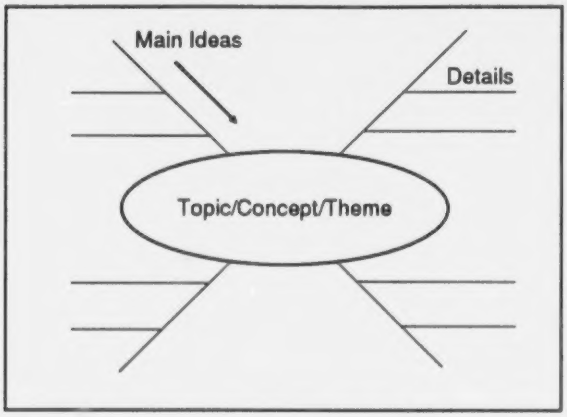

Figure 4. Graphic Organizer: Spider Map

teach students to use mental pictures to learn and memorize (Joyce & Weil, 1986). It is suggested that the use of metaphors and symbols can also be useful.

- Only in formal schools is learning isolated in tiny fragments. Hill (1990) also suggests that "Teachers must enable students to pose questions about the import of unexplored relationships, and to creatively envision and explore ways of knowing. The traditional Indian learning process is cyclical and integrates a variety of methods with disciplines in ways which honor relationships and correspondences." There must be a renewed emphasis on interdisciplinary teaching along with the freedom to explore curiosities and follow paths of interest and intrigue. Students should be able "to pose questions from spiritual, aesthetic, emotional, and moral perspectives." In social studies, thematic units, such as *Technology and The Environment in the 1990s* or *Conflict*, lend themselves to an interdisciplinary approach to learning and certainly raise questions of spiritual, aesthetic, emotional, and moral perspectives.

Grouping Students

Scholars have shed light on traditional methods of grouping students, concluding that competitive and individualistic structures, although useful in some situations, do not have the power of cooperative structures. The research on cooperative learning is strong and growing, indicating positive results in students' academic achievement and in social and multicultural relationships. Specific cooperative strategies have been developed (Slavin, 1983; Johnson & Johnson, 1987; & Kagan, 1989) that give teachers concrete, teacher-friendly directions in implementing cooperative learning structures. Cooperation is more compatible with traditional Native values than is competition and does lead to positive achievement gains in social studies and other academic disciplines, as well as social skills.

Instructional Materials

Three excellent resources for the selection of appropriate instructional materials have been developed by The Council on Interracial Books for Children (1980), Beverly Slapin and Doris Seale (1989), and Arlene Hirschfelder (1982). As discussed in Part One, new selection guidelines need to be developed and widely disseminated by prominent Native scholars in the fields of history and social studies and in Native literature. Such guidelines are particularly important for non-Native teachers and administrators.

Alternative Methods of Evaluation

Throughout the country, educators, parents, legislators, and the general public have raised serious concerns about standardized achievement tests and have initiated reform in testing and evaluation. The standardized, norm-referenced tests that are frequently mandated by legislatures and funding agencies are considered to be culturally-biased (particularly for students for whom English is not their first language and for rural and reservation students) and to emphasize those things that are least important to learn but easier to memorize. Current efforts to broaden the range of evaluation strategies will undoubtedly provide exciting models. These include such strategies as performance-based assessments, portfolios, checklists, observations, surveys, and teacher-made criterion-referenced tests.

Two aspects of evaluation seem particularly important. First, evaluation or assessment strategies must inform teaching. Criteria for mastery should be established by teachers and instruction should be structured to help students meet these criteria. Further, students should know what constitutes success. No secrets or "gottcha" tricks that raise anxiety, produce alienation, and place external controls on the learners! And second, evaluation should be geared toward the empowerment of students. Evaluation strategies should be used to help students understand their own learning better — what works for them; their strengths and weaknesses. In this way, evaluation informs teaching and learning and empowers the learner.

And last, recognizing that standardized tests will be a part of educational practice for some time, it is both reasonable and caring to teach students how to "play the game" and be smart test-takers. They need to know what these tests measure and what they do not measure — and they do not measure worth, ability to learn, or potential. Neither do they measure some of a human beings' most important characteristics such as generosity, integrity, and courage.

Exemplary Programs

Much of this paper has been predicated on the assumption that the basic social studies curriculum for all students must be changed, and that the change envisioned is one that would support Native students in achieving self-esteem and self-determination. It has also assumed that ethnic studies, including both monocultural and broader multicultural courses should be offered in all schools. Further, tribal-specific courses which are designed to restore and retain traditional cultures should be provided for Native students. These various approaches to social studies education are different in focus but all are essential. Exemplary programs that provide all of these three components are difficult, if not impossible, to locate. But programs that have the potential to lead the way, to be models of excellence in history and social studies education, are present and educators are diligently working toward these goals.

Change comes slowly and Native people cannot afford to wait for the education establishment to make the changes that must be made. Restructuring seems to be more rhetoric than reality for too many schools. Where are the programs of promise? Where can good beginnings be found? How can we learn from our experience and the experiences of others?

Magnet schools and BIA contract schools are governed by Native people; their curriculum is designed by Native people; and they are freed from the goals and thinking of traditional American schooling, Euro-centric curriculum and pedagogy, and the controlling influences of outdated, rigid, and restrictive mandates. *They can dream; they can act; they can lead the way.* By building on their successes and learning from their errors, Native school board members, educators, parents, and Elders can find the answers so urgently needed. The national networks, recommended earlier in this paper, are an extremely important component in this effort.

> We have our unique religious beliefs as we have our unique philosophical concepts. We account for the constellations in the universe as we have our own accounts of history. We have a culture — language, values, beliefs, foods, costuming, and social patterns — and we have a means of transmitting that culture from one generation to the next. Adulthood was not attained by being ignorant in the ways of life. (Whiteman, 1978, p. 105)

Native people are not the only Americans who have found the pedagogy of the public school to be antithetical to the growth and development of their children. Parents, of all cultures, have left public schools to create alternative forms of schooling. The alternative school movement has been present in various forms throughout history serving the needs of families who find that many schools teach values that are unacceptable to them, treat children in ways that diminish their uniqueness, and encourage passivity and mediocrity rather than active inquiry, creativity, and lifelong learning. Native people would do well to explore the lessons learned by alternative schools. One prominent example would be the Waldorf schools that create a family atmosphere; rely on myth, legend, and story to teach; encourage creativity, cooperation, and initiative; and consider education to be a family endeavor.

And finally, there are glimmers of hope in unlikely places in the mainstream culture which ought to be encouraged. One prominent and affluent public school district in Colorado which serves approximately thirty thousand students (only about *forty-five* of which are Native) has taken some positive steps to educate their teachers and students about American Indians and Alaska Natives. Some of the things that this district has accomplished include the following.

- A teacher exchange between the district and a rural Navajo contract school has been developed. Teachers stay in each other's homes and team-teach in each other's classrooms. These teachers have formed strong personal friendships and children in these schools have found pen pals. Knowledge and attitudes have changed in *both* the Navajo and Anglo teachers. After four years of these exchanges, there are approximately 25 schools in the suburban school district who know about Native people and care about their future; they have changed their social studies curriculum; and they exhibit a powerful force in their particular schools regarding the teaching about Native people. This exchange has made a positive difference in the curriculum and instruction in both schools.
- Arrangements have been made to begin a student exchange, similar to the teacher exchange.

- All media specialists have been provided guidelines (Slapin & Seale, 1989) for the selection of materials related to Native people for their media centers. They are removing inappropriate materials.
- Inservice workshops regarding teaching about Native people are so popular that teachers must be put on a waiting list in hopes of participating. The workshops are taught by Native people in the metropolitan community. An additional inservice course for media specialists has been developed in Native literature.
- Kindergarten teachers have completely revised their "Indian" units.
- Strong relationships have been developed with the local Indian Center which has resulted in Native people coming into the classroom with greater frequency.
- Plans have been made to meet the unique needs of the Native students in the district. The activities will be planned by Native parents and community members.

No, it is not enough, nor is it revolutionary. But it is a strong beginning in changing the psychological environment and the social studies curriculum for Native children scattered throughout a large urban school system. District teachers have begun to recognize that assimilation is not the goal and that the attitudes, beliefs, and the curriculum that supports assimilation must be changed.

To meet the needs of urban teachers, the Denver Museum of Natural History, the Denver Art Museum, and the Denver Indian Center offer a summer workshop for teachers, utilizing the resources of each institution, that is filled to capacity each summer and continues to grow in importance. These institutions have provided leadership in reaching the non-Native teachers in the Denver metropolitan area, providing them with accurate information, extraordinary resources, and direct contact with the Native community.

Recommendations

Teacher preparation programs and inservice workshops should help prospective and practicing teachers be aware of the lifeways and worldviews of Native people. This can best be accomplished by personal and professional contact with Native people.

Non-Native teachers must have knowledge of cultural traditions, beliefs, values, communication patterns, and lifeways of Native people so that they can interact in a culturally familiar or sensitive way when linking course content to students' life experience, and extending cultural experiences to new learning. In schools where significant numbers of Native students are enrolled, Native leaders must assume leadership roles in helping non-Native teachers develop this knowledge. Printed materials and videos, produced by Native people, that assist in this effort should be made widely available.

Authoritarian teachers must be replaced by authoritative teachers. This means that teachers need to learn how to guide and assist rather than dominate and control. When teachers are "trained" themselves, they are likely to "train" their students. Training is not the same as educating. Therefore, instructors in teacher preparation courses and inservice activities must model this new role for teachers.

Preservice and inservice efforts should assist teachers in developing multiple teaching strategies which are likely to be more culturally relevant, including visual imagery, inquiry, cooperative learning, and the use of advance organizers and graphic organizers. Research indicates that a one-shot exposure in a workshop is not enough to sustain change efforts. Repeated practice, peer coaching, and administrative support are necessary to developing competency in new teaching strategies.

It is imperative for those who make social studies curriculum decisions to decide that which is *most important* to learn and then to devise evaluation strategies that are authentic and appropriate. These crucial decisions will inform and direct teaching and learning. This is important in the standard social studies curriculum, ethnic studies, and cultural studies. By authentic and appropriate, I mean demonstrations and performances that indicate growth and mastery in areas that are deemed important for Native students and that are congruent with Native values.

> ...[Teachers] ought not to "measure" according to narrow standards of proficiency. The Indian way is to value mistakes. A mistake is sacred in that, like victory, it is associated with an opportunity for wisdom. It supports life. (Hill, 1990, p. 6)

As a summary to this paper, the characteristics of a social studies curriculum for the 21st century as prepared and presented by the National Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools (1988) has been extended and modified to include those characteristics which should be present in the social studies curriculum for Native students.

Characteristics of a Social Studies Curriculum for the 21st Century

1. A well developed social studies curriculum must install a clear understanding of the role of citizens in a democracy and provide opportunities for active, engaged participation in civic, cultural, and volunteer activities designed to enhance the quality of life in the community and in the nation.

   Implications for Native Education
   The social studies curriculum for Native students must require experiences that engage students in reasoned civic action to enhance the quality of life in the local community, in tribal affairs, and in issues that impact Native cultures, traditions, and people.

2. A complete social studies curriculum provides for consistent and cumulative learning from kindergarten through 12th grade. At each grade level, students should build upon knowledge and skills already learned and should receive preparation for the levels yet to come. Redundant, superficial coverage should be replaced with carefully articulated in-depth studies.

   Implications for Native Education
   A K-12 scope and sequence for social studies curriculum, including knowledge, skills, values, experiences, and dispositions should be developed for Native students at the state, tribal, and/or local levels. The practice of coverage will be replaced with in-depth studies to insure cognitive and affective engagement and understanding. A wide range of evaluation strategies will be used to determine progress toward the achievement of curriculum objectives.

3. Because they offer the perspectives of time and place, history and geography should provide the matrix or framework for social studies; yet concepts and understanding from political science, economics, and the other social sciences must be integrated throughout all social studies courses so that by the end of 12th grade, students will have a firm understanding of their principles and methodologies.

   Implications for Native Education
   World history, national history, Native history, and tribal history as well as the relationship between time, place, and how people have lived and are living their lives will be the organizing focus of instruction. The major concepts, principles, and methods of the social sciences and the richness of the humanities will be integrated throughout the social studies curriculum. Students engaged in studying their tribal government, language, and traditional cultures will be learning the principles and methodologies of the social sciences in an authentic and relevant context.

4. Selective studies of the history, geography, government, and economic systems of the major civilizations and societies should together receive attention at least equal to the study of the history, geography, government, economics, and society of the United States. A curriculum that focuses on only one or two major civilizations or geographic areas while ignoring others is neither adequate nor complete.

   Implications for Native Education
   In addition to selective studies of other major civilizations and geographic areas, Native students will study the similarities among and differences between Native North and South American cultures and the cultures of other indigenous peoples throughout history.

5. Social studies provides the obvious connection between the humanities and the natural and physical sciences. To assist students to see the interrelationships among branches of knowledge, integration of other subject matter with social studies should be encouraged whenever possible.

   Implications for Native Education
   A holistic and interdisciplinary approach to social studies education for Native students should be emphasized. The importance of literature, art, music, philosophy, and language (especially Native languages) must be integral to instruction. Native knowledge in mathematics and natural and physical science can be integrated into the study of history and culture as well as in other areas of the curriculum.

6. Content knowledge from the social studies should not be treated merely as received knowledge to be accepted and memorized, but as the means through which open and vital questions may be explored and confronted. Students must be made aware that just as contemporary events have

been shaped by actions taken by people in the past, they themselves have the capacity to shape the future.

Implications for Native Education
Social studies instruction will require active involvement and social participation by students. Global, national, Native, tribal, and community issues will be addressed. Social studies education must contribute to Native students' sense of self-efficacy in matters of importance to them and to the maintenance of traditional cultures.

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About the Author

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Gifted and Talented American Indian and Alaska Native Students

Stuart Tonemah

Introduction

From the earliest memory of tribal people, there is evidence that they relied for survival or prosperity upon those individuals that were visionary and exemplary in the way they conducted their lives. Tribes have referred and deferred to those individuals with high outstanding abilities and accorded them respect because of these qualities. Those respected persons exhibited behaviors that denoted high ability and performance as leaders, peacemakers, Holy men, warriors, orators, planners, logisticians, singers, dancers, and artisans. These outstanding persons rose to prominence and performed needed tasks in response to the needs of the tribe, community and village.

How did the tribes identify these high ability people? Vine Deloria speculates that "... The basic Indian endures and... the people still follow a man simply because he produces." (*Custer Died For Your Sins*, p. 205) These producers had characteristics that in different ways set them apart from others. For some it may have been the ability to listen and interpret what was said. For others it may have been the ability to plan, to lead, or the ability to heal.

These persons and those with the *potential* to excel in a need area were identified early in their lives, taught and nurtured by parents, mentors and the tribe as a whole. They were taught in an environment in which they learned by example, learned at their own pace, learned by discovery and were taught by grandparents and uncles or aunts who had a symbiotic relationship in which they were of equal stature. Learning occurred with each participant respecting the other and knowledge and skills passed from one to the other in a non-threatening and open environment. Challenges were presented, accomplishments recognized and higher level or in-depth learning progressed until the teacher/mentor passed on. The "student" then became the mentor/teacher to another generation. It was in this way tribes perpetuated themselves and passed on the wisdom and strength of their culture. Those of high ability passed their strength of character, courage, commitment, knowledge, skills, and sense of self to those promising youth who exhibited outstanding behaviors or the potential for outstanding behaviors. This was education for many tribal youth and it served these individuals and their tribes well.

More recently, the education of the Native in the United States has, through treaties, been directly associated with the U.S. Government which assumed the major responsibility for providing education services and programs. Government reports and legal documents describe the federal governments' educational efforts and responsibilities. It presents an ever-changing perspective of the needs, goals and activities utilized to educate America's Native population. Felix Cohen, an expert on Indian law, cited Congressional Act of March 3, 1819, as the organic basis for most of the education work of the Indian Service. The Act of 1819 authorized the President,

> ... in every case he deems suitable and with consent of the tribe, ... to employ capable persons of good moral character to instruct (Indian) in the mode of agriculture suited to their situation; and for teaching their children in reading, writing and arithmetic... (Szaz, *Education and American Indian, 1974*)

The early Federal intent of educating Natives was to make them a counterpart of America's White farming society, to change them from hunters to agriculturalists and to have the Native assimilate into American society. In the words of Captain Richard Henry Pratt, Founder of Carlisle Indian School, the first Indian boarding school," ... [we will] submerge him under the waters of our civilization and hold him there until all his Indianness has left him" (Pratt,_______ p.__) Native people resisted this forced assimilation policy and systems of education by refusing to send their children to federal boarding schools. The Secretary of the Interior, who at the time had responsibility for the Federal government to educate Natives, instituted a "compulsory" attendance policy by authorizing the "withholding of rations, clothing, and other annuities from Indian parents or guardians who refused or neglected to send their children to school" (Act of March 3, 1893, 27 Stat. 612, 635). Fortunately, other Federal legislation was passed, providing for voluntary parental consent before removing the Native child from home to a federal boarding school.

Studies conducted in the 20th Century: the Meriam Report of 1928 and the *Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, known as the Kennedy Report of 1968, recommended a change in thinking regarding Native education. The Meriam report, entitled, *The Problem of Indian Administration*, recommended, "that the family and social structure of Indian people must be given the choice to decide the direction of their destiny." (Meriam, Louis, *et al*, 1928) The Meriam Report elaborated further, "...Indian education must be adapted to individual abilities, interests, and needs of Indian people..." The Meriam Report noted that the standard course of study involving routine classroom methods and traditional types of schools, even if they were supplied, would not solve the (Indian) problem. Unfortunately for Native people, the Meriam report's recommendations were virtually ignored by the U.S. government and a segregated approach to educating Natives remained unchanged for another 40 years.

The Kennedy Report of 1968 also pointed out the need for educational services and programs that reflected Native culture and to be administered and taught by American Indian and Alaskan Natives. The Kennedy Report indicated that there should be increased participation of Native people in their own education and that a comprehensive statute needed to be established that would replace the fragmented and inadequate Native legislation then in existence. A landmark bill, the Indian Education Act of 1972, was that statute; it addressed many Native education needs, such as Native participation and control of education affecting them and provided supplemental funds to public schools that Native children attend to meet the "...special educational or culturally-related academic (Education Amendment of 1978) needs of American Indian and Alaska Native children and adults." The Kennedy Report found that the educational conditions of the American Indian and Alaska native peoples in the United States were found to be at the extreme of the educational and social-economic strata. High drop-outs (62-90 percent) in some schools Native students attend; negative self-concepts, high suicide rates, low achievement scores, and high substance abuse were a few problem areas identified. Stated perceptions of Native students by those charged to educate them were that "...they were dumb and inferior to white students." (*Indian Education: A National Tragedy—A National Challenge*, p. 53)

Background

What then have these conditions wrought? Educationally the federal and state's educational intent has been to provide remedial education to the American Indian and Alaska native learner to "bring him up to level" with his non-Native cohort. Provisions in numerous federal laws; i.e. Johnson O'Malley (JOM), Impact Aid, the Indian Education Act (IEA) of 1972 allow for supplemental programs of tutoring and counseling to enable Native students to "catch up."

What has happened to those tribal members with high ability? What has happened to those tribal individuals with outstanding leadership ability? What has happened to those individuals who could "produce?" Those individuals, now recognized in the education community as Gifted and Talented Native students, have been forgotten, ignored and in some sense, are invisible. They have succumbed or have been absorbed in what Alexis de Toqueville, in his *Democracy In America* (1833) describes as the "Middling Standard." He states,

> It is not the fortunes of men which are equal in America; even when acquirements partake in some degree of the same uniformity. I do not believe that there is a country in the world where in proportion to the population, there are so few ignorant and at the same time so few learned individuals. (Alexis de Toqueville, *Democracy In America*, Heffover, 1924, p. 165)

The American societal notion of equality was the basis for this observation. Add to this, for many tribes, a value of consensus or "for the good of all" where an individuals' contributions were not for personal gain or recognition but for the good of the tribe. Native students who attended federal boarding schools or state controlled public schools were influenced not to perform at high levels because (1) it was not expected (stereo typical perceptions) (2) they had little opportunity (3) their peer group did not accept this behavior.

The outstanding behaviors that commanded respect from tribal people in earlier times when exhibited, were now discredited traits that ostracized the individual. The critical thinker was criticized by this peers for his unusual thoughts; the creative problem solver was singled out as a misfit. After a few attempts to overcome these derisive attitudes, the bright, motivated individuals either succeeds on his/her own or relents and conforms to peer pressure. Conformity was and has been the bell weather for American society and its education institutions. To be different in the public schools (Native and gifted) was and is difficult. To conform and be like the rest was and is easy. Therefore, those Native individuals with the potential for greatness were faced with numerous barriers in developing their potential (1) being different (Native) (2) being bright (gifted) (3) being isolated (non-conforming) and struggling with self-identify, adolescence and for most, poverty.

With American societal and peer pressure being so great on all students "to be like everyone else," Native students tried to be like their peers; they soon found out that they (1) were not like everyone else (2) American society would not *allow* them to be like everyone else and (3) their tribal societies did not *want* them to be like everyone else. This resulted in the Native student having to make an either-or choice; either reject who they were/are as a Native student and conform/succumb to American peer-pressure to succeed; or, reject the societal pressure and "go back to the blanket" (be Native) and eventually drop-out.

Need

The aforementioned describe the condition that exists for tribes throughout the country. Tribes have a critical need for effective leadership which may be found in the brightest of their youth. However, these bright American Indian and Alaska Native youth have many pressures on them to gravitate to the middle or mask their gifts and talents to enable them to "fit in." Although efforts have been made legislatively and in school policies where Native students attend, cultural diversity is a fleeting concept. Public school efforts to educate American Indian students still focus more on remedial education. The myth in American education has been that the bright student will prevail and "make it on his own" has not been dispelled. They are at risk due to stereotypical perceptions of educators and the public in general. Gifted American Indian and Alaska Native students are not appropriately assessed and thus do not qualify for gifted programs. Facts exist that indicate that economically/socially disadvantaged and culturally diverse students (which includes American Indian and Alaska native students) are not participating in gifted programs in similar numbers as their non-Native peers. Why is this? Why aren't there more American Indians and Alaska native students in gifted programs?

The Meriam Report and the Kennedy Report outlined such things as isolation (physical and social), cultural irrelevancy, lack of parental involvement in education, and lack of Native teachers as role models, as factors that needed to be addressed to improve the processes of educating Natives. These conditions contribute directly to the "problem" of ensuring that the bright American Indian and Alaska Native students can have their needs addressed in the schools they attend. Living in isolation (social and physical) can cause a student to not have the life experiences that are drawn upon in responding to questions in most standardized assessment measures currently in use. Likewise being from a different culture may cause differing perspectives by educators who, in the gifted, assess American Indian and Alaska Native students for gifted programs. Most identified gifted students live with both parents who provide support and serve as role models; but for the American Indian and Alaska Native students, many come from dysfunctional family situations. The lack of Native teachers and other Native role models contributes to the American Indian and Alaska Native students' limited understanding of "what could be." *These factors combined contribute to designating those bright, motivated and highly able gifted and talented American Indian and Alaska Native students as students "at risk."* They have to confront stereotypic perceptions by an education system which that perceives them to be "inferior" and in need of remedial education. Little consideration is given to the fact that the American Indian and Alaska Native students may not fare well in the assessment processes for reasons unrelated to their schooling. Even if the bright American Indian and Alaska Native student can overcome the assessment barriers, the problems of being a minority in the American society must still be resolved. Add to this problem, those problems relating to current tribal and cultural perspectives of what is appropriate behavior concerning competition, personal recognition, conformity and "for the good of the whole (tribe)". To overcome these obstacles the gifted American Indian and Alaska Native student has a formidable task. The outlook is not good for the gifted American Indian and Alaska Native student to succeed with at least three levels of extremely complex social, psychological and personal hazards to negotiate. The Gifted and Talented American Indian and Alaska Native student are truly "at risk." However, should he/she breach these barriers then they must negotiate *the* major barrier, the American education system.

Assessment

Before one can fully discuss assessing gifts and talents and how these behaviors manifest themselves in American Indian and Alaska Native students, one must initially come to some understanding of the concepts of giftedness. High ability students have long been a part of the American Education system. These high ability students exhibited behaviors that set them apart from the larger masses of "average" students. For the education community, particularly those involved with researching, these high ability students were sought out and groomed for intellectual pursuits. Those students came from families who had the resources to provide a variety of learning experiences. Those "chosen" few were provided private schooling, travel, mentors and an environment in which the expectation was for them to assume responsible position of authority. This "elitist" approach to identifying and grooming of "selected" individuals for higher level schooling and eventual authority did not recognize those with little resources (poor), or from different cultures (minority).

Formal studies of giftedness, translated early on as intelligence (IQ), were provided by Lewis Terman who adapted Alfred Binet's intelligence scales in early 1911 and essentially developed an American version. This American version of Binet's measure of school children's intelligence proved to be cumbersome, time consuming and required a trained clinical psychiatrist to administer (Resnick & Goodman, 1990). Authur Otis created and normed a group testing version of the Stanford-Binet intelligence test which was used as the basis for the Alpha test administered World War I draftees in 1917. This mass testing made its school use more feasible from the 1920s on.

Unintended consequences of the development of the intelligence test have led the American education systems to become dependent upon them and the use of the I.Q. test infers that intelligence coincides with logical-mathematical and linguistic skills. Terman studied selected students over a period of time and came to believe that the gifted (intellectually bright) enjoyed their abilities as a result of natural endowment and not opportunities presented by schooling; however, by the 1930s racial and ethnic biases were being recognized in the tests and those purporting certain racial positions recounted their views.

One basic premise that has not generally been accepted among the American education community is that "...giftedness may be present in all cultural groups across all economic strata, and in all areas of human endeavor..." (1990 Draft definition, National Steering Committee on report of Gifted Education, 20 Years After The Marland Report).

Researchers have probed ways to assess and identify gifted students and in a review of the literature McShane (1989) reveals that

> ... the research or lack of longitudinal and other types of studies probably have resulted from the inability of psychologists and educators to agree on a definition and methods for measuring giftedness.

This lack of agreement by experts on the nature of giftedness has caused chaos in trying to assess giftedness in students.

Recent studies offer gifted constructs that, although research based, persist in confounding the assessment process. Steinberg and Davidson (1986), reassess what is meant by giftedness in their edited volume, *Conceptions of Giftedness*, distinguishing between explicit and implicit theories, subdividing explicit theoretical approaches into cognitive theory, development theory and domain specific theory. Davidson describes giftedness as ... a construct which is invented and not discovered and reflects what that society wants it to be." Tannenbaum classifies talents into four types: **scarcity**, those in short supply that makes life easier, safer, healthier; **surplus**, allowing people to reach new heights in sensitivity in the arts; **quota**, specialized high level skills; and **anomalous**, prodigious feats of mind and body. Renzulli (1986) proposed giftedness in a three ring construct which focused on the interaction of above average ability, creativity and task commitment. Burkowski and Peck (1986) focused on the contribution of one metamemory while Davidson (1986), identified three kinds of insight of giftedness, **selective encoding** (distinguishing the right way to use relevant-irrelevant information); **selective consideration** (putting the pieces together in the right way) and **selective comparison** (relating the pieces of information already stored in the memory). Steinburg (1986) offered these aspects of intellectual giftedness: superiority of mental processes, superiority in dealing with relative novelty, and superiority in applying the processes of intellectual functioning. Feldman (1986) offers that giftedness is domain specific... by observing movement through the mastery levels one moves through levels, rate of movement, the number of levels and the domain one selects. Gardner (1983) offers the theory of "Multiple Intelligences" which challenges the notion of a single intelligence. His seven intelligences include: musical, logical-mathematical, spatial, linguistic, bodily-kinesthetic, interpersonal and intra-personal.

As has been presented the assessment of giftedness depends on the frame of reference of what one assesses. There are other researchers that say the family (Gilbert & Renco, 1986) and others (Bloom, 1985) plus the environment (home, values, encouragement) play a great role in the development of a students gifts and talents. As I.Q. tests were developed to assess gifted students ability the idea became prevalent that a students' intelligence quotient was the indicator of ability. But as Gardner postulates, intellectual ability may be only one area of giftedness.

The assumption that one test could indicate a students ability has been discounted. Tonemah and Brittan (1985) in the development of the American Indian Gifted and Talented Assessment Model (AIGTAM), postulate that standardized achievement and intelligence tests developed by commercial test makers were intended to serve large urban school districts and reflect those life experiences. As a result American Indian and Alaska Native students who do not have these life experiences may be discriminated against when these standardized instruments are used to assess their gifts and talents. This condition led them to caution educators of American Indian and Alaska Native students to proceed with caution when using these tests to assess American Indian and Alaska Native students and consider the following limitation of standardized tests:

1. Standardized test scores by themselves cannot measure total achievement of a school, of a grade, or of a discipline in a grade.
2. Standardized tests cannot be used as a sole source of evaluation of student performance, particularly, gifted and talented students.
3. Using standardized tests, for special populations, particularly Natives, may be discriminatory.

Since commercial testing companies design, produce and norm their tests to reflect life experiences of the cultural majority, students outside these experiences may have difficulty in responding to questions related to life experiences which seem foreign to them. For example, students from rural areas or reservations may be stymied when a test item related to urban bus schedules is a part of a standardized test.

However, one must consider that standardized test scores must not be disavowed entirely. These assessment measures must be used with caution and the scores derived can serve as indicators when considered with other criteria to assess Native student abilities. Therefore the following conditions, ideally, may be appropriate in the testing situation for American Indian and Alaska Native students:

1. Standardized achievement and intelligence tests should not be the sole criterion in selecting Native students for gifted and talented programs.
2. Individual intelligence tests should augment group intelligence tests when assessing Native students gifts and talents.
3. A professionally trained psychometrist (preferably Native) should administrate and evaluate Native students.
4. Appropriate cut-off points and/or lower weighing of achievement and IQ scores should be considered in the screening, identification and selection processes to Native students to gifted and talented programming.
5. Group achievement and intelligence tests should be developed and normed with a Native student population.

The extensive use of standardized tests (achievement and IQ) has led to the under-representation of economically disadvantaged and culturally diverse students. The literature reveals that these measures are not infallible. Binet (1973) the originator of the intelligence scales and Terman (1916) who revised and popularized their use in the United States of America, warned that they should be used as only one piece of data along with other important information about the student in any process of educational decision-making.

Karnes and Collins concur and state:

> ...there are several areas relevant to gifted and talented assessment in which instruments are either unavailable or available in limited numbers. These areas include screening and identification of the culturally diverse, the handicapped, potential leaders and performing and other creative artists. (1981, p.__)

Problems related to using standardized measures are that they are: (1) normed on white middle class values, life experiences and socio-economic values, (2) rely heavily on command of the English language, (3) require experiential knowledge, (Alexander and Muia, 1982).

Because of bias in standardized measures toward the white middle class, American Indians and Alaska Native students who are gifted and talented or have the potential for being gifted and talented have been "slipping through the cracks" in the assessment process. Gallagos (1973) and Stallings (1972) observed that "...among the culturally different and poor, we can expect to find our largest "unmined source of talent." This may certainly be true of Natives. Many Native students are "labeled" in the educational process and teachers, administrators and the students themselves react and/or accept these labels. For example, "underachievers" is a label placed on students. The question whether or not the student is an underachiever may be in direct proportion to interest in the curricular offerings, the stimulation (interest) of the teacher or a myriad of other conditions. Alexander and Muia point out that "...it is important to know more about an individual student beyond specific test scores and grade point average." (1981) The "...culturally different underachievers may find their abilities overlooked and unappreciated and prefer to dumb-out or drop-out rather than muddle through."

A basic assumption of educators in the development of gifted education was that it related only to the general intellectual domain. Standardized achievement and intelligence tests were then developed to identify those intellectually bright students. The flaw in the "basic assumption" is that if the assessment measures identify intellectually bright students then why are economically disadvantaged and culturally different students underrepresented in gifted programs? Frasier writes that "... (the) reliance on teacher nominations and the use of I.Q. cut off scores has effectively precluded the identification of the gifts and talents of these students." (1990) Bernal also notes that:

> many gifted minority and white students, if lacking in psychometric sophistication or command of standard English, will score below their achievement or aptitude levels. Such students cannot be identified by traditional means, especially early in their school careers. (1982, p. 52)

Passow (1982) succinctly described three factors affecting the identification of gifted disadvantaged children: (a) experiential deprivations, especially in early childhood (b) limited language development; and (c) socioeconomic or racial isolation.

So what does this portend for the American Indian and Alaska Native student who may exhibit high performance behaviors but may not do well on standardized tests? There is evidence that Native students are/can be identified utilizing these measures (AIGTAM, 1985), however the AIGTAM data also indicates that: (1) Native students are not represented in proportion to the non-Native student representation (2) the less Native (degree of blood) a student is, the more likely he/she is to be identified as gifted. This does not imply that there are fewer gifted American Indian and Alaska Native students with higher degree of Indian blood but the data suggests that they are less likely to be identified or selected for gifted programs. Historically, student placement in gifted and talented programs have been based on criteria or assessment such as standardized I.Q. scores and achievement test scores. Most states have additional criteria for gifted and talented assessment but prefer to use only standardized test scores as their criteria for farther assessment and placement. Most standardized tests are culturally biased and do not take into consideration the ethnic background (tribal) of students. If a Native student does not meet the state's or school's requirements usually test scores, set forth for placement, they are denied entrance. Many Native students have been overlooked because of this practice and in some cases are not even nominated for screening in a gifted program. Minority students, including Natives, the handicapped, and economically disadvantaged are usually the ones that have been overlooked.

Only in recent years has the gifted education community began to address the under-representation issue. The elitist philosophy of gifted education has grudgingly given way to an egalitarian perspective. However there are elitist bastions still in existence in the gifted education community; however, the mood of the national gifted community is moving to more of an "inclusive" philosophy versus an exclusive philosophy of which the dependence on standardized tests has helped to perpetuate.

Accurate and appropriate assessment of ability from a multiple of sources may be the answer to underrepresentation of American Indian and Alaska Native Students. For tribal entities throughout the United States this multi-criteria assessment focus may have enduring implications. Consider this scenario: a public school has 50 percent of its student body from a tribe living nearby on the reservation. The public school utilizes a variety of ways to identify students for its gifted programs taking nominations from school personnel, ancillary school personnel, students, peers, family members and friends of students. Gifted Assessment is provided in a number of areas: general academics, leadership, critical thinking, the arts, creativity and psychomotor skills. The possibility of tribal students being identified from the gifted program is enhanced through this multicriteria approach. Conversely, the likelihood of more non-Native students identified for the gifted program is also enhanced. However, should a multicriteria assessment be conducted which utilizes appropriate assessment measures there is a likelihood that more tribal students may also be included.

The implications for the tribe in this scenario would/could possibly be the identification of selected tribal youth to have the opportunity to excel in gifted programs where in the past they had been passed over. The gifted literature suggests that a multicriteria approach to assessment may include:

a. soliciting nominations from persons other than the teacher (Blackshear, 1979; Davis, 1978);
b. using checklists and rating scales specifically designed for culturally diverse and disadvantaged populations (Bernal, 1974; Gay, 1978; Hilliard, 1976; Torrance, 1977 & Tonemah, 1985);
c. modifying or altering traditional identification procedures (Fitz-Gibbon, 1975);
d. developing culture specific identification systems (Mercer and Lewis, 1978);
e. using quota systems (La Rose, 1978);
f. developing programs designed to eliminate experiential and language deficits prior to evaluation for gifted programs (Johnson, Starnes, Gregory and Blaylock, 1985);
g. using a matrix to weight data from multiple sources (Baldwin & Wooster, 1977; Baldwin, 1984); and
h. modifying assessment procedures by providing students with instruction before administering test tasks (Feuerstein, 1979).

Maker and Schiever note that a multicriteria assessment should (a) use multiple assessment procedures, including objective data from a variety of sources (p. 295); and (b) using a case study approach, in which a variety of assessment data is interpreted in the context of a student's individual characteristics, and decisions are made by a team of qualified individuals (p. 296). Utilizing a multicriteria assessment approach which incorporates all but (h) of the preceding list and placing the data on a matrix for compilation of student data has worked well for the American Indian Research and Development, Inc., which operates summer and week-end programs for American Indian and Alaska Native students. AIRD, Inc. utilizes the Indian Student Biographical Data Questionnaire (ISBDQ) to screen and select students to its programs. The ISBDQ has eight criteria for assessment; (1) test scores (2) GPA (3) leadership checklist (4) creativity checklist (5) evidence of visual and performing arts (6) community referral (7) evidence of tasks commitment (8) evidence of motivation. The information provided, via the ISBDQ, provides necessary information on which to make decisions on selection.

One can then conclude that a multicriteria approach to assessment may be the solution to address the under-representation of American Indian and Alaska Native students to gifted programs.

Tribal-Cultural Assessment

Specific to American Indians and Alaska Natives, a gifted education is the concern for relevancy in the schooling offered by the institutions that are charged to educate them. The Meriam Report and Kennedy Report recommended that schools educating American Indian and Alaska Native students should pay particular attention to the cultures of tribal students. An example of a school such as described was an "experimental" school in Rough Rock, Arizona established in the 1960s as an Indian controlled school whose base was of the Navajo culture and Navajo community based. The aim of the Rough Rock demonstration school was to have the school reflect the culture of the community and hopefully this would lead to more Native parental participation in the education of their children plus the school could assist in developing the community. Experts at the time deemed the school a success on all counts. Dr. Robert Roessel, Rough Rock's first Director, stated "the schools should help transmit to the young, the cultures of their parents' and tribal Elders should be used by the schools, for instance, to teach traditional materials." (*Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, 1968, p. 177) This tribal cultural emphasis, as stated, could possibly bring needed relevancy to the education of tribal youth.

Pertinent in the approach of including Native tribal cultural community-based curricula is ensuring this involvement in defining and identifying gifted Native students. It has been suggested that criteria for identification be based on the historical and cultural realities of the local community (Locke 1979), that community members themselves participate in the setting of these criteria (George 1979, Dodson and Mitchell 1978), and that specific tribal values, considered as behaviors, form the basis for gifted identification criteria (Peacock, 1979). Torrance (1977) supports this position in a comparative statement:

> Based on rather extensive experiences with disadvantaged black students, the author makes a case for searching for those kinds of giftedness that are encouraged by the specific culture and socioeconomic group of the student. (p. __)

He further states:

> ...the greatest strengths of disadvantaged and culturally diverse students are their creative skills and motivations, that these should be given priority consideration in developing curricula and career plans for disadvantaged and culturally different gifted students. (p.__)

Inclusion of these concepts in assessing these students ability by necessity have to be non-traditional in nature. Standardized test scores will not evidence these talents. The non-traditional assessment may include observations, essays and checklists.

At present, there is little availability or relevancy of gifted and talented differentiated curriculum developed specifically for Native students. Because of cultural values and unique tribal characteristics, the interests of Native students will be different from non-Natives which requires a different content than that of the regular classroom. Curricular content unique to a certain tribe could contain the language, history, ceremonies and other important qualities of that tribe. Curriculum that address tribal qualities could validate the tribes culture, which some researchers feel may be one of the majors reasons for low academic achievement among Native students. Therefore, an adapted differentiated curriculum directed specifically to American Indian and Alaska Native students needs to be developed to assist in reversing the trends of low educational levels of Native people.

The case can then be made, likewise, to consider the inclusion of tribal-cultural criteria in the assessment and screening process to identify American Indian and Alaska Native students for gifted programs. The critical question is *how* does one assess a tribal students understanding and ability of his/her tribe when there are close to 300 tribes in the United States? Although this problem appears at first glance to be insurmountable, it can be done.

AIRD, Inc., in the development of the AIGTAM (1985) surveyed 266 Native educators across the country to determine their tribes perspectives of giftedness. Two content analysis were conducted on the data and a meta-content analysis was conducted which identified categories, and sub-categories of tribal-cultural perspectives of giftedness.

Four categories evolved that emphasize a range of skills and qualities that when combined provide a reasonable description of tribal and cultural perspective of giftedness and talentedness for Native youth. The categories have sub-categories that are capsulated to words or phrases that are indicative of the responses of participants described previously. The categories and sub-categories that evolved are as follows:

1. Acquired Skills*
   a. Problem Solving Skills
   b. Written and Oral English Language and Communication Skills
   c. Task Commitment
   d. Productivity
   e. Scientific Ability
2. Tribal and Cultural Understanding
   a. Knowledge of Ceremonies
   b. Knowledge of Tribal Traditions
   c. Knowledge of Tribe History
   d. Respectful of Tribal Elders
   e. Tribal Language Competence
   f. Storytelling Ability
3. Human and Personal Qualities*
   a. High Intelligence
   b. Visionary and Inquisitive and Intuitive
   c. Creative
   d. Individualistic Self-Disciplined
   e. Leadership
   f. Athletic Prowess, Coordination and Dexterity
   g. Self-Discipline
   h. Sense of Humor
   i. Intelligent
4. Aesthetic Abilities*
   a. Demonstrated Visual Art Talent
   b. Demonstrated Performing Art Talent
   c. Creative Expression
   d. Native Art(s) Talent

*Sub categories often cross other categories which reveals that the categories are *not* mutually exclusive.

Although AIRD, Inc. does not assert this tribal-cultural checklist, is appropriate for all tribes, AIRD does offer that this checklist may serve to stimulate gifted educators of Indian students to amend and/or adapt such a checklist to assess the gifted perspective of tribes in which they serve.

Including a tribal-culture criteria in gifted multi-criteria American Indian and Alaska Native student assessment is an appropriate and much needed step in the right direction in gifted and talented programming for them.

Gifted and Talented Programs and Services

As this paper suggests, gifted and talented education for American Indian and Alaska Native students is a recent phenomena in American education. A recent study, *No Gifts Wasted* (1989),

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indicates that economically disadvantaged minority children constitute 30 percent of pubic school enrollment but compose less than 20 percent of the students selected to gifted programs. Florey and Tafoya (1988) found that Native students comprise .8 percent of the public school population but, less than .3 percent participate in gifted programs. Another recent study, "National Education Longitudinal Study of 1988: Base Year School Administrator Survey" reveals that 1,995 (13.4 percent) of the schools surveyed provided opportunities for racial and ethnic groups in the eighth grade in public schools in the U.S.A.

These facts indicate that although American Indian and Alaska Natives represent .8 percent of public school student population there is a question of proportionate representation. It is unknown in the gifted education community of the number of programs in the U.S.A. that offer learning experiences specifically to meet the needs of American Indian and Alaska Native students.

The Office of Indian Education in the early 1980s listed four projects funded under its auspices that were specific to American Indians and Alaska Natives, they are as follows:

- Raven Circle Project, United Tribes Educational/Technical Center, Bismarck, North Dakota. A Indian Community based definition and Identification project, developing and conducting a needs assessment and computerizing data.
- Puyallup Tribally Operated BIA Contract School, Puyallup, Washington. Served 20 students Kindergarten through sixth grade with a half time teaching aide. Using Individualized Education Plan. Students identified by parents and school district. Cultural sensitive instruction in Math, Science and leadership.
- Native American Gifted Project, North Kitsap School District, Washington. A curriculum development project in art, writing, video communications and storytelling based on local tribal customs. High motivation when students and community are directly involved.
- Northwind Warriors, Minneapolis Public School, Minneapolis, Minnesota. Served grades three through 12 a total of 17 students participated in advanced cause work in accelerated class with a leadership component.

Several projects funded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the 1980s that had a gifted and talented orientation were:

- Shannon County Schools, Pine Ridge Reservation, South Dakota. Implemented a gifted and talented project to build skills in art, music, communication and science. Tribal Cultural orientation in learning experience which was a positive reinforcement to build self-esteem. The community impacted positively as a result of project.
- Navajo Academy, Farmington, New Mexico. Established as a gifted and talented academy. Served primarily Navajo students with a base of cultural orientation throughout the curricula. Serves grades nine through 12.
- Chemawa Indian School, Salem, Oregon. A pull out enrichment program serving students in grades nine through 12. Had a leadership component.
- Southern Pueblo Agency, Albuquerque, New Mexico. Several elementary schools providing enrichment learning activities.
- The Santa Fe Indian School, Santa Fe, New Mexico had a pull-out enrichment program serving students in grades nine through 12. Following its OIE grant project period the pull-out enrichment program was integrated into the regular curriculum and students served on an in-class accelerated basis.
- Jemez Day School, Jemez, New Mexico utilized drama kinetics throughout its k-6 curricula which emphasized oral and body movement in its instruction. Jemez students were instructed and utilized high level communications skills throughout the school which culminated in a Christmas theatre production which featured all students in addition to community persons in adult roles.

Indian Education Act programs in Lawrence, Kansas and at the Cherokee Nation of Oklahoma had Gifted components by which students learned varying aspects of leadership. All these programs functioned for several years and disappeared due to loss of funding and absorption into the regular school (district) functions. All these projects reported positive impact on students and community.

The Office of Indian Education, through its discretionary grant program in the late 1980s, funded gifted programs at Fort Belknap, Montana, a cooperative effort between the tribe and school, and through the American Indian Research and Development, Inc. (AIRD, Inc.) a private non-profit Indian-owned corporation located in Oklahoma.

AIRD, Inc. has developed and implemented the following projects under the Indian Education Act, discretionary grant auspices:

1. American Indian Gifted and Talented Assessment Model (AIGTAM): a series of procedural steps to utilize multi-criteria approach to assessing American Indian and Alaska Native gifts and talents. Primary data instrument is the Indian Student Biographical Data Questionnaire (ISBDQ), it includes leadership, creativity and Tribal-cultural understanding checklists.
2. Explorations In Creativity (EIC): a summer enrichment program which is holistic in approach. EIC offers enrichment learning activities in nine content areas, with a tribal cultural orientation. EIC has a "No Junk" food policy with recreation and fitness on a daily basis. Students are provided leadership opportunities, creative problem solving experiences in an environment which promotes positive images of Natives and excellence.
3. Weekends for Indian Scholars Enrichment (WISE): an academic year model to provide gifted Native students with 16 hours of instructor contact per weekend in three content areas. All content areas have tribal-cultural orientation. WISE is held on college campuses to provide incentives to consider higher education. Tribal heritage is positively supported as well as higher level achievement.
4. In-Service Mentorships: Accessing Gifted Education (IMAGE): A project that developed in-service training materials on gifted and talented education for parent, tribes, and Native organizations. IMAGE developed a mentorship model to identify, screen, select and match mentors with mentees for use by Tribes, Local Education Agencies (LEAs), and State Education Agencies (SEAs).
5. Centering Optimum Youth Opportunities Toward Excellence (COYOTE): A Gifted and Talented curriculum development project specific to Native education. Project Excellent Curriculum for Exceptional Learners (EXCEL) is a further development of the gifted and talented curriculum project.
6. Elementary American Indian Gifted and Talented Assessment Model (EAIGTAM): A multi-criteria assessment measure to assess elementary gifted Native students. (Currently in the validation process).
7. Summer Educational Enrichment (SEE): An elementary summer day program to be conducted at two sites in Oklahoma. Targeting grades four through six, will utilize EAIGTAM to screen and select students into the program.
8. TRacking American Indian Leading Scholars (TRAILS): A planning project to conduct a follow-up study of Native students who have participated in AIRD's summer and weekend project and to discern the impact of the programs on them. A tracking model will be developed.
9. American Indian Teacher Training Program (AITTP): A Master of Education (M.Ed.) in gifted education teacher training program. A three year project to recruit, screen and select ten Native teachers or teachers of Native students to study for one year, 36 credit hour course of study.

These AIRD, Inc. projects have been systematically developed to build on the preceding projects and products. The eventual goal is to develop an American Indian gifted and talented academy.

In the 1989-90 school year the Bureau of Indian Affairs funded approximately 60 schools to provide programming for gifted American Indian and Alaska Native students. Data is not available on the nature of the gifted programs, but Education Program Specialists within the Central BIA Education Office indicated the range of programs include in-class enrichment, pullout, acceleration weekend programs and independent study as well as mentorships.

Gifted and Talented Program Evaluation

Gifted programs specific for American Indian and Alaska Native students in comparison to programs for non-Native students are few in number. It is the scarcity of these type programs that makes existing Native gifted program effectiveness a critical issue. Theoretically, the schools reflect the community in which they serve. Concomitantly, the Native gifted programs should reflect the Native community from which the Native students emanate. To do this, the Native community, ideally, needs to be directly involved in the design, implementation, and evaluation of the gifted program as well as developing the philosophy for the gifted programs which should set the basic direction for the program. If these things occur, then, determining the effectiveness of the gifted and talented program would be a relatively simple task. However, the ideal scenario of full Native community participation is highly unlikely. The reasons are myriad as to why the Native community doesn't readily participate in the education of their children and have been covered in other sections of this paper.

To begin determining the effectiveness of the gifted and talented programs one must not confuse this with determining the impact of the program on participating students. Although both are important it is of greater importance to determine if student abilities or behaviors have been enhanced by their participation in the gifted and talented program. Evaluation of program effectiveness can be conducted in many ways. Basic to program evaluation is to determine if the program essentially is "... doing what it said it would do." Are program participants of the intended service pool being provided learning experiences that accelerate or enrich their gifts and talents? Are the learning activities appropriate to meet each students' needs and conform to the stated philosophy of the gifted program within the school district? Are projected time-lines and budgetary milestones being adhered to? Are the evaluation processes and procedures being followed. These and related program effectiveness features can be delineated by using Stufflebeam's CIPP evaluation model that has proven an effective evaluation model for evaluating Native education programs. The CIPP model is comprehensive and provides for a systematic monitoring of program activities throughout its operation (process) and ends with a cumulative evaluation (product). The "C" of the CIPP model is the Contextual portion, using those written data resources generated to produce the program: the proposal, evaluation reports, and other supporting documents. The I in CIPP is the Input portion, which calls for input through interviews or questionnaires of those involved in the project: students, teachers, administrators and parents. The CIPP evaluation once applied can be the source of data on which to make program decisions. Too often in gifted education because of limited resources, programs are developed and student are "fitted" to programs. This situation leads to inappropriately matching of program services to students needs. To maximize gifted programming to students those educational services provides need to assure that their gifted programs are adhere to stated philosophical goals of the program and its services do indeed meet students needs. Determining the impact of the gifted program's impact on students is extremely important for parents, tribes and school. If a cadre of young high performance individuals are to emerge from a gifted program, then those responsible for the program need to ascertain its impact on students. Gifted program effectiveness can most effectively be measured by its impact on participating students. There are standardized measures that can give indications of student academic progress and teacher made assessment measures will also yield data on which to base judgements on progress. However, most school district gifted education program goals extend beyond academic achievement. Concepts like leadership, higher levels of thinking and performance, critical thinking and problem solving are often included in a gifted programs philosophical goals. Should the gifted program prove to be effective in providing these learning experience, then the measure of impact on students can take a variety of directions. Qualitative evaluation techniques can be utilized to ascertain in general terms how participating students are absorbing intended learning objectives. Observation of student activities with documentation or interviews and other feedback such as opinionaires and checklists can serve to gather data on students. Products related to the learning objectives can be judged and included with other information to assess student progress. However, those who assess student progress in gifted programs must be aware that gifted students have many high performance behaviors so that it may be difficult to determining if their innate abilities or activities outside the gifted program have enhanced a student's performance in addition to the gifted learning experiences or they attribute their performance directly to the gifted program. Regardless, determining program effectiveness and its impact on participating students is critical to the process of educating gifted students. Collected and analyzed data can serve well to correct program deficiencies and more effectively meet student needs.

Barriers to American Indian and Alaska Native Gifted Education

Stereotypic Perceptions

As a result of the intent of the Native education system having a remedial education emphasis since its inception, for all American Indian and Alaska Native students there has been a reluctance and resistance to the consideration of the inclusion of American Indian and Alaska Natives to gifted programs. Prevailing perceptions are because "...There just aren't any who qualify ..."

(*Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge*, 1968). If an American Indian and Alaska Native student is considered for a gifted program, the stereotypic perception is that they're good in art, athletics and singing and dancing. There is little credence given by those who teach American Indian and Alaska Natives that these students could be academically gifted, or perform at high levels of leadership, critical thinking, creativity, problem solving or inter-personal and intra-personal relationships. American Indians and Alaska Natives have the capabilities to perform at high levels on all levels of human endeavor. The mitigating factors that prevent this from happening are the lack of opportunity, the lack of appropriate assessment and the lack of understanding of what their cultures considers high performance or outstanding behaviors in their cultural contexts. The assumption that high performance is based on the public schools perception of education is appropriate if it reflects the local communities values. However to require all ethnic and minority groups within that community to adhere to these criteria is highly chauvinistic. Meeting a communities academic criteria for giftedness is appropriate, but have criteria for example in leadership, may be inappropriate for minorities or culturally different communities within a community. Stereotypic perceptions of these groups abound and are overtly or covertly reinforced in school practices. Contributing to the stereotypic perception of American Indian and Alaska Native students is their inclusion in education literature with other "minorities," "culturally different," "disadvantaged," or "culturally diverse" populations. These terms are well intended but fall short of describing the uniqueness of American Indian and Alaska Natives as members of individual tribes and villages and implies that American Indian and Alaska Natives are a homogeneous group. Further, stereotypic perception encompasses the perception that all Natives relate to the land and have ethereal connections with the sun, moon, stars, and sky. In today's climate with the majority of American Indian and Alaska Native students attending public schools there is a likelihood that adherence to "traditional" tribal teaching, may have been diluted with the acculturation. Regardless of the degree of acculturation as assimilation of tribal members to the larger American society exists, these perceptions will exist.

Inappropriate Assessment

Although giftedness is found in all racial, cultural, social and economic segments of American society, there are "...factors that tend to veil the talent potential of gifted groups, hindering true readings and proper identification" (Khatena, 1982, p. 238).

The dependence of America's public schools on standardized tests has led to the under representation of American Indian and Alaska Native students in gifted programs. Although most states allow Local Education Agencies (LEAs) the flexibility to include a multi-criteria approach for assessment of students for gifted and talented programs, few LEAs do this. Most school districts rely primarily on a certain percentile score on achievement tests or an I.Q. score to identify gifted students. For the reasons described in an earlier section standardized tests may discriminate against American Indian and Alaska Native students regarding assessment for gifted programs. The "quick and easy " method of student assessment (reliance on standardized tests scores) is being challenged by those who are in the underrepresented gifted population and by those who would reform educational policy. These educational policy makers are being influenced to seriously consider a multi-criteria approach to student assessment for giftedness and are being urged to gather multi data on which make a determinations of a students' ability. The multi data collection can then be compiled into a "case study" where for example, Gardner's Multi-Intelligences can be considered in the assessment process. These conceptional changes in direction in gifted education could well lead to American Indian and Alaska Native students being identified and included in higher numbers in gifted programs across the nation.

American Indian and Alaska Native Teachers of Gifted

As described earlier the Meriam and Kennedy Reports recommended that there should be more American Indian and Alaska Native teachers teaching this student population. The reasons for this recommendation from the reports is apparent: American Indian and Alaska Native teachers should be more sensitive and aware of the tribal cultures of the students they teach. This can if accurate, theoretically, lead to positive relationships, which could lead to appropriate learning activities to meet student needs, which could lead to student success, which could lead to enhanced student self-concepts, which could result in overall higher achievement. This scenario could work for any group of students, Native or non-Native, if the teachers could interact positively and with sensitivity with students to motivate, stimulate and challenge them to higher levels of performance. American Indian and Alaska Native teachers by virtue of their chosen profession, teaching, provide needed role models and advocates in the school setting. American Indian and Alaska Native teaching role models not only perform the teaching task but can also provide the link for American Indian and Alaska Native students between education and work and careers. Additionally, the opportunity is there (in the school setting) to dispel Native stereotypes; advocate for American Indian and Alaska Native students; and, sensitize and educate their peers about the American Indian and Alaska Native cultures, needs and visions.

Regarding gifted education, not every teacher is suited to teach the gifted. American Indian and Alaska Native teachers of the gifted should have a temperament that reflects a high degree of self-esteem, an intimate knowledge of who they are as tribal and Native people, have a passion for what they teach, are confident of their teaching abilities, have a commitment to teaching American Indian and Alaska Native students, and are creative and skilled in their teaching area. As far as American Indian and Alaska Native gifted education is concerned, American Indian and Alaska Native teachers formally prepared in gifted education (1) will bring knowledge and understanding of the cognitive, social and emotional needs American Indian and Alaska Native students (2) can develop appropriate learning experiences for American Indian and Alaska Native students (3) can relate well and create a positive learning environment in which American Indian and Alaska Native students may feel free to take risks, integrate tribe and culture in their learning and build on the positives of American Indian and Alaska Native students as individuals and as tribal members.

Tribes and American Indian and Alaska Native Parent Involvement in Gifted Education

Education for many Native people is believed to be the key to survival for tribal entities. However, to ensure this survival will occur may be to consider identifying and providing higher level learning experiences of the bright youth of tribes. If tribes rely on the current system of education to meet their needs, a longer period of inappropriate education may occur. Effective leadership, critical thinking, creative problem solving and commitment to task are behaviors that tribes need to identify and develop among their youth. Once these behaviors are identified in these youth and they are provided the support and encouragement to excel, these American Indian and Alaska Native youth may be influenced, upon completion of their education to return to work with their tribes. Although current tribal leaders have many of the abilities listed here, the formal development through gifted education programs of a cadre of leaders, thinkers and futurists can enable a tribe to truly become self-determinate and provide for its members.

Parents of American Indian and Alaska Native students who are gifted have a difficult task. The rearing of gifted children may be more problematic than educating them. Giftedness manifests itself in many ways educationally and in many ways personally. Parents of gifted children must find ways to cope with a myriad of questions, unusual solutions to problems, unique and intense interests and what may appear to be "weird" behaviors. They, like many educators may have to cope with children who are smarter than they and must find ways to meet their socio-emotional and personal needs. If there are siblings in the family their needs must also be met on an equal basis. However, regardless of problems encountered, parents of gifted children universally want the best for their children. Parents of the gifted need to become acquainted with the literature on gifted children, learn how to meet their needs and how they as parents can adapt/adopt a lifestyle that will enable their gifted child's development and not disrupt the balance of their total family life. Native parents of gifted more likely than not will fall in the category of economically disadvantaged. To enable their gifted child(ren) development, they need information on available resources that can stimulate and motivate their child at little or no cost. They need information on how they can be supportive without showing favor or become beleaguered. They need to know how to access resources that are available and how to create the most positive environment to enhance their gifted childs' abilities.

Parents of gifted children need to come to understand the nature of giftedness and how they, as parents, must learn to cope with their child of high ability. They must come to recognize that giftedness is a positive value and to expand and enhance their child's ability will expand and enhance their own abilities.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are offered for consideration based on the preceding discussion of gifted and talented education for American Indian and Alaska Native students. The recommendations may be directed to the overall American Education Community or to those entities directly involved with educating American Indian and Alaska Native students.

- A massive education and public relations effort needs to be launched to dispel stereotypic images of American Indian and Alaska Native students, particularly, Gifted and Talented American Indian and Alaska Native students. The image that all American Indian and Alaska Native students need **remedial** education needs to be dispelled. The image that American Indian and Alaska Native students have the capability in all areas needs to be promoted. This effort should be directed to the American public and tribes.
- More research needs to be conducted to add specifically to the literature on gifted and talented American Indian and Alaska Native education. The uniqueness of the cultures of American Indians and Alaska Natives needs to be described and how or if these unique features contribute to their educational development. Further research could contribute to developing more appropriate approaches to educating this student population.
- Multi-criteria approaches need to be developed and utilized to assess American Indian and Alaska Native students. These multi-criteria appropriate measures should be sensitive to and/or inclusive of tribal and cultural perspectives of giftedness. Case studies should be compiled on American Indian and Alaska Native students to get a more accurate portrayal of students' strengths for identification for gifted programs.
- More programs need to be developed to prepare American Indian and Alaska Native teachers to teach in gifted programs for American Indian and Alaska Native students. They serve as role models and can bring a sensitivity of cultures and tribes to the provision of gifted education services.
- An American Indian and Alaska Native gifted Academy(s) or Magnet schools should be developed to serve American Indian and Alaska Native students which would include all traditional secondary academic areas of instruction with a tribal cultural orientation. Such institutions could provide leadership, self-concept and cultural heritage learning experiences to students in a positive environment.
- An intensive in-service training program needs to be developed to assist parents, teachers, tribal educators to understand the needs of gifted and talented American Indian and Alaska Native students.
- Funds should be provided to tribes to sponsor high ability and performing tribal youth to complete their education. These funds may be an incentive to these youth to return to work with their tribes.

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About the Author

Stuart A. Tonemah is a member of the Kiowa and Comanche tribes of Oklahoma. He is currently president of American Indian Research and Development, Inc., a private non-profit organization dedicated to improving the educational services and programming to American Indians and Alaska Natives. He has worked thirty plus years in Indian education; in BIA operated boarding schools, on the post secondary level, National policy level and in the private sector. His current involvement is in Indian gifted education developing alternative, summer and weekend gifted enrichment programs and also directs a graduate Indian teacher gifted education project. He has served on national Indian Education Gifted Education, and Math-Science educational efforts. He considers himself a teacher, administrator, parent and Indian education advocate.

American Indians and Alaska Natives with Disabilities

Marilyn J. Johnson

Introduction

The education of cultural and language minority children with special needs has been filled with controversy for decades. After years of hiding these children in homes, relegating them to obscure corners of schools, or isolating them in poorly staffed programs, America has gradually modified its policies and practices in response to litigation and legislation. If it were not for the courage of parents, enlightened educators, and other supporters, the educational conditions for children with special needs would have remained in the dark ages of education. Yet, the changes that have occurred, as a result of statute, regulation, and policy, have not swept away all the problems facing these children. Therefore, we must be vigilant in the protection of the educational opportunities for children with special needs and monitor implementation of regulations, allocation of resources, and staffing of programs. Any slackening of effort will result in diminished effort by school officials, policymakers, and tribal leaders.

Evaluations of American Indian and Alaska Native education and subsequent decisions for reform which ignore the special educational needs of Native children cannot be tolerated. The humaneness of facilitating educational opportunities for Native children with disabilities has been embraced by many. Yet, many other educators have yet to be convinced of the benefits of education for disabled children. Resistance, lack of awareness, and low priority have been major setbacks for implementation of special education services. It is true that providing an appropriate educational environment for special needs children is philosophically and pedagogically complex.

The tribal leader, politician or even the most renowned Indian educators may have limited training in the field of special education. Their visions of education, therefore may be blurred when dealing with Indian children with special needs. It is imperative that we gain clarity and understanding on the extent of the needs of Native children with disabilities. Leaders of tribes and educational institutions must become familiar with the language of law that protects them. The capacities of the various educational institutions must be determined and the resources necessary for fulfilling those needs must be recognized.

This paper attempts first, to describe the special needs of American Indian and Alaska Native children as reported in various statistical reports and the Indian Nations at Risk (INAR) Task Force hearings. Second, it reminds us of the laws protecting the rights of these children. Third, it emphasizes educational efforts that are appropriate for their needs. Fourth, recommendations are advanced for implementation and reform.

Statement of the Problem

American Indians and Alaska Natives and Special Education

American Indian and Alaska Native children with special needs have experienced the same ineffective and inefficient services as other language minority children. Their needs have been ignored or subjugated to the lowest levels of priority. One need not look far into the past to recognize the lack of concern accorded to special education programs. When resources of schools became strained, it was the special education students who used portable buildings, basements, or buildings in most need of repair. When materials were needed to provide a culturally and linguistically appropriate program, none were available. When staff were required to meet the various conditions of need, few teachers were certified to provide appropriate instruction. In short, needs of students in special education were often last to be addressed and first to be reduced.

The needs of Indian children with special needs cannot be excluded, limited, nor ignored in our evaluation and recommendation for changes in education for American Indian and Alaska Natives. To continue in this vein is to exacerbate their disabilities and to maintain their posture as children at greatest risk. To provide special education and related services is to give our Native children with disabilities a chance at life and their families an opportunity to have pride in their achievements striving toward contributing participants in family, and community.

Population

American Indians numbered 1.9 million people based on the 1990 Census. Based on estimates for the general population for the percentage of people who would likely be disabled which is 10 percent. It would be estimated that 190,000 American Indians, while three percent of the general population would have a significant level of disabilities. American Indians, however, experience disability at 1 1/2 times the rate for the general population (Morgan & O'Connell, 1986).

Indian children who require special education services in order to access education represent nearly 17 percent of the enrollment in the Bureau of Indian Affairs and 9.88 percent of the public school enrollment (O'Connell, 1987). Based on these percentages and projected estimates from the OCR data, over 44,700 Indian children had been placed in special education, most of them in the categories of learning disabilities and speech impaired.

It is important, however, to describe briefly and call attention to those behaviors which characterize Native people both as individuals and as members of a tribal group. Characteristics might include the manner and language of greeting; patterns of interaction with family or tribal members; expectations we have of one another and with those we interact; vocabulary and language use in English and/or native language; participatory roles in ceremonies, social events, etc. For example, when visiting one's family, protocol may require the visitors to shake hands with all those present. Verbal greetings may be defined by the age or status of an individual. Ceremonies or tribal rituals may hold expectations for family or clan members to contribute in terms of time, energy, or donation of food or other items. The use and appropriateness of humor might be observed along with acceptable topics of humor. Teasing may be acceptable between certain members of the family like uncle and nephew. These various aspects of behavior are typically learned through observation and in context. Thus, a norm for behavior is established. Those whose actions are beyond the norms for behavior might not fit in as readily.

Native children with disabilities need also to have the same opportunities to learn acceptable behaviors through observation and through situations where they can try out the behaviors in a safe environment. Regardless of the disabling condition, the children are American Indian and Alaska Natives first and all that it may entail—language, culture, values, and beliefs. While it may seem redundant to make such a statement, it is important to note that in the delivery of service to Indian children, their disabling condition does not preclude the presence of a cultural and language base. They are not acultural. People with disabilities are members of their cultural group — Acoma, Choctaw, Shoshone-Bannock, Navajo, and Yakima etc. Acknowledging this premise is to recognize that the extent to which education and services incorporate culture and language and their disability is to serve the entire individual.

Legislation

Legislation has been a leveraging mechanism through which support for disabled persons has been secured. Legislation which has had significant impact on assurances for people with disabilities include: The Rehabilitation Act of 1973 and subsequent amendments, amendments to The Elementary and Secondary Act (ESEA) of 1976, The Education for All Handicapped Act of 1974 and subsequent amendments, (P.L.101-476, Individuals with Disabilities Education Act) Developmental Disabilities Act of 1984, and the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990.

The Rehabilitation Act, Public Law 93-112 enacted in 1973 included language which specifically addressed discrimination against persons with handicaps. Specifically, Section 504 of this legislation stated:

> No otherwise qualified handicapped individual in the United States, as defined in section 7 (6), shall solely by reason of his handicap, be excluded from the participation in, be denied the befits of, or be subjected to discrimination under any program or activity receiving Federal financial assistance.

A 'handicapped individual' was defined as "... any individual who (a) has a physical or mental disability which for such individual constitutes or results in a substantial handicap to employment and (b) can reasonably be expected to benefit in terms of employability from vocational rehabilitation services ..." (Public Law 93-112 Section 7 (6)).

Amendments to The Elementary and Second Education Act of 1976 provided grants to states including the Bureau of Indian Affairs through Title VI for special education projects. The BIA applied for and administered funds to develop projects for Native children with special needs.

In 1974, the Education for All Handicapped Act, Public Law 94-142 was passed addressing specifically education of children with disabilities. Parents and advocacy groups brought attention to the exclusion of children with handicaps who were being denied the right to an education. Two cases were particularly significant in securing the right to an education for children with handicaps — *Pennsylvania Association for Retarded Children (PARC) v. Pennsylvania* (1971) and *Mills v. Board of Education of D.C.* (1972). Both cases were based on equal protection of the law. Provision of a free public education, if provided to all school-aged children, could not be denied to children with handicaps "on the basis of an unalterable trait — their handicap" (Turnbull & Turnbull, 1978 cited in Baca & Cervantes, 1989). The act defines a handicapped child as follows: mentally retarded, hard of hearing, deaf, speech impaired, visually handicapped, seriously emotionally disturbed, orthopedically impaired, other health impaired, deaf-blind, multihandicapped, or a specific learning disability.

Key elements contained in Public Law 94-142 which were meant to protect children from being misplaced in special education are as follows:

- **Screening**. Broad scale-testing procedures are employed to identify students who may require more intensive assessment.
- **Referral**. Appropriate specialists are consulted about a student who may require further assessment and special education services.
- **Assessment**. Information is systematically collected regarding the student's mental, social, academic, and psychological performance to identify specific abilities and weaknesses.
- **Staffing**. An official meeting involves all concerned persons such as teacher and speech therapist, concerning the education and placement of a particular student. The student's primary handicap, need for specialized services, and type of intervention required are discussed during the staffing.
- **Placement**. Special education programs offer a variety of placement configurations. Placement offerings reflect the various types of assistance that students may require (Gearhart, 1980, cited in Baca & Cervantes, 1989, p. 90).

Public Law 94-142 also requires that there be parental involvement in the educational process of the child with a disability with the specific requirement of 'informed parental consent'. If a parent's primary language is other than English, the parent must be informed in the language they can understand.

Subsequent amendments to the Rehabilitation Act were made in 1978 for establishment of American Indian Vocational Rehabilitation Services. Specifically, Section 130 stated that the Commissioner "... may make grants to the governing bodies of Indian tribes located on Federal and State reservations to pay 90 percent of the costs of vocational rehabilitation services for handicapped American Indians residing on such reservations."

Authorization was given for appropriations to Indian tribes in "... the sum shall be not less than 1/4 of 1 percent and not more than 1 percent of the amount under paragraph (1) as determined by the Secretary." Presently, 14 tribes are recipients of grants under this subsection. The 1986 reauthorization of the Rehabilitation Act included that "... where appropriate, may include services traditionally used by Indian tribes" (Section 211 (b)). Inclusion of this part permits the use of culturally unique services such as native healing for the purpose of rehabilitation.

The Developmental Disabilities Act of 1984 was enacted for purposes which included: (a) provision of comprehensive services to persons with developmental disabilities, (b) to assist States in planning activities, (c) to make grants for model programs, demonstration programs, and training grants. The Act also included authority for the Secretary to make grants for projects including those of "national significance ... which hold promise of expanding or otherwise improving services to persons with developmental disabilities (including Native Americans).

The Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990 (Public Law 101-336) referred to as "civil rights" legislation for people with disabilities was signed into law in July 1990. This legislation was enacted to "extend protection to people with disabilities in the public and private sector even when they are not recipients of federal funds" (Brady, 1990).

Natives with Disabilities

Background

A question often posed in varying ways has been, "Why are there so many more handicapped people now than there used to be?" One factor is that medical care coupled with medical technology is much more readily available than it once was resulting in increased survival rates. Thus, many more individuals have the chance to live longer — past childhood into adulthood. Secondly, legislation which authorizes funds for services require that recipients meet certain criteria, resulting in the identification of individuals in order to meet eligibility requirements. Thirdly, the number and percentage of children with disabilities indicate that American Indians and Alaska Natives experience disabilities at a higher rate than the general population. Fetal alcohol syndrome, for example occurs at particularly high rates in some tribes. Other conditions have resulted from suspected maternal exposure to radioactive areas resulting from mining activities. Thus, irrespective of the causes for the Native children and their disabling conditions, they are among us. The most important questions are 'What are their needs?' and 'How can we meet those needs?'

Need

Disabling conditions occur at every stage of life including stages prior to birth — conception and at the pre-natal stage. Children with disabilities may experience delays in normal or average development in areas of: (a) mental development, (b) sensory abilities, (c) communication abilities, (d) social development, and/or physical development. Disabling conditions can result from genetic anomalies (Down Syndrome), teratogenic substances like alcohol (fetal alcohol syndrome), and bacterial infections like hemophilus influenza type B (meningitis).

The needs of American Indian and Alaska Natives with disabilities are determined by the number of individuals with disabilities and the type of disability. These two bases of information will determine the resources that are needed. The number of Indian people needing services is determined by the definitions operationalized through legislation for pre-school aged children, school-aged children, and adults. Table 1 provides information on the number and/or percentage of disabilities followed by the types of disabilities which affect Native people at high rates.

Pre-school children

Head Start programs have been the primary agency serving Native children with disabilities. In the year 1984-85, 11.52 percent (1,907 of 16,548) of the Head Start enrollment were children with handicaps in 103 Indian Head Start programs. The percentage of children with handicaps served by Head Start increased from 8.7 percent for 1979-80 to 11.52 percent for the 1984-85 school year. For preschool-aged children, information has become available through a report mandated by the 1986 amendments to the Education for Handicapped Act, Public Law 100-297 (GAO, 1990) to determine the number of 3 and 4 year old children needing services and the type of services. It was estimated that there are 8,500 to 12,800 preschool children of ages 3 and 4 years with disabilities. Of these estimates, 3,000 children were on 63 reservations with Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) schools. Further, of the 3,000 children, 838 were receiving special education services in the 1988-89 school year. It was estimated that approximately 2,110 to 2,948 children on reservations with BIA schools might need, but were not receiving special education services. For the children receiving special education services (838), service providers included one or more of the following: BIA, Head Start, IHS and public schools. Nearly one-fourth of the 791 children with individual educational plans (IEPs) were not receiving the full complement of services prescribed in their IEPs. However, the number of children who are receiving inadequate services may be an underestimate because IEPs often contain services which agencies are able to provide rather than those which represent the actual needs of the child.

School-Aged Children

A national study was conducted in 1987 to identify problems and needs of American Indians with handicaps (O'Connell, 1987). Data on the school-aged children was derived from two sources — the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the US Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights. These two sets of data provide information on 95 percent of the Native school-aged children. The Bureau of Indian Affairs schools have 10 percent of Indian student enrollment and public schools which serve 85 percent of the students.

There were limitations in the two sources of data, BIA data included the number of children served in 10 categories, whereas OCR collected data on children receiving Special Education services within public schools in five categories. Projections for the total number of Native children with disabilities was 44,752. The data revealed that half (50.05%) of the Indian children were classified as Learning Disabled. The second and third highest placements in special education were Speech Impaired (25.17%) and Educable Mentally Retarded (11.26%) respectively. Based on 5 categories of disabilities (educable mentally retarded, trainable mentally retarded, speech impaired, seriously emotionally disturbed, and learning disabled), the percentage of American Indian and Alaska Native school-aged children with disabilities was the highest at 9.88 percent, with the exception of Blacks at 10.31 percent. The percentage of white children with handicaps was 8.51 percent.

Data from the BIA show that 16.89 percent of the student enrollment are placed in Special Education, whereas 11.20 percent of the US student population are placed in Special Education. Half (8.72%) of the Indian students enrolled in Special Education are categorized as learning disabled. The second highest category for Special Education placements in BIA schools were speech

TABLE 1
Comparison of Percentages by Handicapping Condition from Office of Civil Rights, Bureau of Indian Affairs and U.S. Population Data

Category	BIA %	OCR %	U.S. %
Mentally Retarded	1.04	1.66	1.84
Specific Learning Disabled	8.72	5.28	4.73
Seriously Emotionally Disturbed	0.65	0.61	0.96
Multi-Handicapped	0.38		0.18
Hearing Impaired	0.05		0.18
Visually Impaired	0.02		0.08
Orthopedically Impaired	0.06		0.15
Other Health Impaired	0.14		0.18
Speech Impaired	5.74	2.33	2.90
Deaf-Blind			0.005
Residential handicapped	0.09		
Total Special Education	16.89	9.88	11.20

Note: From "A Study of Special Problems and Needs of American Indians with Handicaps both On and Off Reservation," (p. 25) J.C. O'Connell (Ed.), 1987, Northern Arizona University.

impaired (5.74%) and mentally retarded (1.04%). It must be noted, however, that the category of speech impaired is a duplicated count for children in BIA schools. All children receiving speech services are counted even when if they are counted in another category. For example, a student might be counted as both mentally retarded and speech impaired.

There appears to be some discrepancy in the percentages for students in the categories such as mentally retarded and hearing impaired. The percentage in the category of mentally retarded within BIA was 1.04 percent as compared with the U.S. rate of 1.84 percent. In view of conditions such as fetal alcohol syndrome and meningitis which are frequently associated with mental retardation, it is likely that the percentage of mental retardation as reported by BIA is an underrepresentation. It is possible that Child Find activities are missing some children with special needs. Similarly, the number and percentage of Native children with hearing impairments is considered to be an underestimate. Conditions such as otitis media continue to be prevalent among Native people. In the state of South Dakota, hearing impairments are reportedly 20-30 percent higher for Native children than for non Native children.

In a comparison of data from the US Department of Education, Office of Civil Rights, "the number of American Indian students attending public elementary and secondary schools [between 1978 and 1986] ..." increased eight percent. In this same period, however, the percentage of American Indians students with disabilities (mentally retarded, speech impaired, seriously emotionally disturbed, and learning disabled) in programs increased 41.8 percent. During this period, 80 percent of the American Indian children in special education were in the categories of learning disabled and speech impaired.

Adults with Disabilities

This report focuses on education of Indian children, however data from the vocational rehabilitation system which serves adults with disabilities is important to consider as an index of anticipated needs. In the Survey of American Indians and Alaska Natives (SAIAN) for 1987 (Altman, 1990) which included issues on health status and health care, it was estimated that 172,512 individuals 18 years of age and older had some type of limitation. "This number represents 33 percent of the total estimated population 18 and over who are served by the Indian Health Service and live on or near a reservation" (Altman, 1990, pp 10-11). In particular, Native men and women ages 18-44 are more likely to report limitation of a usual activity due to a health condition than would be reported by the general population. There is an alarming relation between the accidents and resultant disability. Of those who survive accidents, 25 percent report total work limitation, while 37.5 percent reported some activity limitation.

While there are conditions which result in disabling conditions from conception, during pregnancy, or in early childhood, there are conditions which can be prevented like auto accidents which have devastating and long-term disabling effects. Issues and concerns in adulthood are similar to those of non-disabled individuals. Education or training leading to employment is a typical objective of young adults with independence being a high consideration. Many Native disabled adults perceive the possibility of independent living much less employment to be merely a dream. The state-federal system of vocational rehabilitation services which is available to any disabled persons affords individuals the opportunity to achieve goals of independent living, training and/or employment.

Vocational rehabilitation (VR) is a federal-state system of services for adults with disabilities. Vocational rehabilitation services are based on eligibility criteria rather than on an entitlement basis. Although American Indian and Alaska Natives have a rate of disability 1 1/2 times greater than the general population, they are underrepresented in the service delivery system of vocational rehabilitation. In 1978, amendments to the Rehabilitation Act included a section authorizing funding for Indian Vocational Rehabilitation Programs in an amount "... not more than an amount equal to 1 percent of the amount appropriated for ... this subsection."

Fourteen tribes have been awarded funds to operate tribal vocational rehabilitation programs. In 1987, a total of 574 individuals were referred for services; 341 American Indian and Alaska Native clients received services from nine of the tribal vocational rehabilitation projects. In 1988, the number of clients referred was 846; those who received services increased to 643 served by 16 projects.

Sources of referrals to the tribal vocational rehabilitation projects came from a variety of agencies, however of the 574, the largest source was through self-referral (144, 25%) for the year 1987. Other referral sources were: Indian Health Service (93, 16%); Social Security Administration (54, 9%); and public school (31, 0.5%). In 1988, other agencies were involved in making the 846 referrals including: Social Welfare (190, 22%); self-referral (165, 19.5%); tribal organization (65, 7.6%); and public schools (31, 0.3%). Issues of transition for disabled individuals from school to work have been of concern. For example, when disabled students exit from high school including dropouts, are they referred to Vocational Rehabilitation? If not, in what activities are they involved, if any? The low percentages of referrals of less than a half percent (0.5% and 0.3%) indicates that networks need to be established which would facilitate referral of Native children with disabilities to Vocational Rehabilitation.

In the years of 1987 and 1988, tribal vocational rehabilitation projects served 1,035 clients with disabling conditions such as follows: (a) alcoholism (272), (b) "other" disabilities (187), (c) orthopedic/musculoskeletal (113), (d) mentally retarded (96), (e) learning disabled (84), (f) spinal cord injury (43), (g) mental illness/psychological (42), and (i) arthritis (41) (Lonetree, 1989, p. 21). The category of "other" disabilities included those such as heart conditions, renal conditions, cancer, respiratory related conditions, speech disorders, diabetes, and back injuries. Services provided to the Native people with disabilities were of four categories: (a) personal counseling, (b) vocational counseling, (c) vocational evaluations, and (d) psychological testing. Other services included: (a) resource management, (b) training, (c) transportation, (d) on-the-job training, (e) education, and (f) physical capacity evaluation (Lonetree, 1989, p. 24).

Effects of Socio-Economic Conditions

Native people experience rates of disability at considerably higher rates than for the general US population. In addition to high rates of disabilities, Native people are affected adversely by socioeconomic indices in areas of education, health, economy, unemployment, and high rates of poverty. In the 1980 US Census (1983), 27.5 percent of American Indians had incomes below the poverty level compared with 12.4 percent of the general population. Examples of the percentage of families in poverty for specific tribes are: Navajo — 42.7 percent; Sioux — 36.5 percent; Pueblo tribes — 28.5 percent; Choctaw — 17.7 percent; Apache — 29.6 percent; and Creek — 16.7 percent. Although conditions of poverty are not causal factors of learning difficulties or developmental delays, they limit resources brought about by poverty and reduce or eliminate access to services which can improve the quality of life (News Digest, 1987). For example, poverty conditions can influence and limit access to health care and educational opportunities and impact on nutrition. A low socioeconomic level will likely the affect the quality of life. Educators must recognize that children from family situations of limited income do not equate with nor cause limited intelligence. The parallel is drawn that a child from a disadvantaged family (limited resources) will be a disadvantaged learner. Two levels of assumptions typify reactions to children from disadvantaged families:

> First, stereotypic ideas about the capabilities of a child who is poor or who belongs to an ethnic minority will detract from an accurate

> assessment of the child's real educational problems and potential. Second, by focusing on family deficiencies, ... (one) misses the strengths of the cultures from which many disadvantaged students come. ... focusing only on ... family dysfunction may obscure the larger picture of a community's culture and its strengths. (Knapp & Turnbull, 1990, p. 5)

Such perceptions by teachers and evaluators may steer their decisions toward special education referral and placement more readily than a well-dressed child from a middle class family.

Types of Disabilities

Types of disabilities provide indicators of the range of resources needed for persons with disabilities. Conditions which are prevalent among Native children include learning disabilities, fetal alcohol syndrome, meningitis, hearing impairments, communication disorders and others. The prevalence of disabling conditions observed at the pre-school age provide us with information on planning and development of services for school-age populations. Similarly, disabling conditions observed in the school-age population indicate the services for which we can plan in the adolescent and adult age groups. Brief descriptions are provided of some conditions which affect Native children at high rates — learning disabilities, fetal alcohol syndrome, meningitis, hearing impairments, and communication disorders.

Learning Disabilities

The category in which the largest number of Native children are identified is learning disabilities. Learning disabilities are not easily defined perhaps because of the diversity of conditions which might constitute a learning disability. This category defines broadly, persons "who display a significant discrepancy between expectations for academic performance and actual performance." (Coplin & Morgan, 1988, p. 614). Regulations for Public Law 94-142 were released in 1977 pertaining to definitions for learning disability which included specific criteria:

> "Specific learning disability" means a disorder in one or more of the basic psychological processes involved in understanding or in using language, spoken or written, which may manifest itself in an imperfect ability to listen, think, speak, read, write, spell, or to do mathematical calculations. The term includes such conditions as perceptual handicaps, brain injury, minimal brain dysfunction, dyslexia, and developmental aphasia. The term does not include children who have learning problems which are primarily the result of visual, hearing or motor handicaps of mental retardation, or emotional disturbance, or of environmental, cultural, or economic disadvantage. (US Office of Education, 1977, p. 65083)

This definition states specifically that learning disability shall not be used to define children with learning difficulties which might be attributed to culture or economic disadvantage. In addition, an individual who spoke or wrote in a language other than English could not be considered as having a learning disability in the absence of other characteristics which define learning disability.

Fetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS)

In the early 1970s, Jones and Smith (1973) brought attention to the relationship between alcohol abuse during pregnancy and the resultant birth defects. The syndrome is characterized by pre- and post-natal growth deficiencies, dysmorphic facial features, and central nervous system dysfunction (Clarren & Smith, 1978). Among American Indians and Alaska Natives, the incidence of fetal alcohol syndrome ranges from 1 in 100 births to 1 in 750 births (May, Hymbaugh, Aase, & Samet, 1984).

Individuals with fetal alcohol syndrome may require a range of services based on the severity of the syndrome. Services might include medical services, educational services, and family and community resources (Giunta & Streissguth, 1988). Medical care and services stem from the array of conditions like malformations of the ear, eye, heart defects, cleft lip and palate, and skeletal anomalies. Central nervous system dysfunctions might be observed through a weak suck, feeding and sleeping difficulties, and a failure to thrive. The FAS child will likely continue to be 'small for his age.'

Infants and young children with FAS can benefit from early intervention to promote mental and motoric development. The infant stimulation or preschool services may not ameliorate significantly the intellectual or physical deficits, however it can offset any further deterioration. It is possible that FAS children would qualify for Special Education services thereby receiving the educational support that is essential for them. Vocational training in high school should be an option and opportunity, the label of FAS/FAE however does not automatically result in special education placement as the post-secondary training programs may be too rigorous and difficult for FAS students. In addition, it would be most beneficial for FAS individuals to acquire life skills such as "money management, safety skills, interpersonal relating..." (Giunta & Streissguth, 1988, p. 456).

Observations of FAS individuals indicate that "they are at higher than average risk for physical abuse, sexual abuse, and neglect. They are frequently raised in high-risk environments by mothers who struggle for sobriety, have few resources, and little support" (Giunta & Streissguth, 1988, p. 456). A parent who adopted FAS children describes them similarly "Our older children,....cannot function independently, cannot hold jobs, tell the truth, manage money, plan a future" (Dorris, 1990, p. 3).

Dorris (1990) estimated that the number of babies born annually who will experience learning problems due to prenatal exposure to alcohol and crack cocaine is 300,000. Concern exists as to whether the number of FAS or drug babies will continue to increase. Given these estimates, the population of FAS and FAE children will be three million in ten years — "if" the rate were constant. While the consequences of FAS are devastating and irreversible, fetal alcohol syndrome is preventable.

Communication Disorders

National estimates of children under the age of 18 years with communication disorders is 10 percent (Boone, 1987). Harris (1986) suggested that the rates of communication disorders among American Indian children may be 5 to 15 percent greater than in the general population. A conservative estimate is that 70,000 Native children may be in need of services for communication disorders (Pipes, 1990). Conditions which affect communication include cleft palate and cleft lip, which occur at a rate of 1 in 400 among American Indians as compared with a rate of 1 in 700 for the general US population (Pipes, 1990).

In reference to Native children who speak their native language or who lack proficiency in English, it is critical that clinicians determine if indeed a speech or communication disorder exists. Production of language by bilingual speakers should not be misdiagnosed as disorders of articulation, voice, or fluency. Determination of the existence of a speech or language disorder would necessitate an assessment of communicative competence. For example, a speech or language difference might be observed only in one language (English or native language) and not the other. Factors to be considered include: (a) language of proficiency, (b) language sample in school and home, and (c) tribal or regional language differences (Bernal, 1977; Payan, 1989).

Hearing Impairments

Otitis media continues to affect American Indians at high rates leading to hearing loss. For example, in South Dakota, otitis media is reported to occur in Native children at a rate 20-30 percent higher than for non-Native children (Pipes, 1990). However, it is suspected that the detection of hearing loss goes undetected for Native children thereby missing the opportunity for appropriate educational and therapeutic interventions. Impact of hearing loss may affect language development and possibly educational lag. Even a mild hearing loss can result in a student being a grade level behind (Quigley, 1978).

Meningitis

Estimates are that the bacteria of hemophilus influenza type b (HIB) which causes meningitis affects Navajo and Apache children at a rate 10 to 50 times greater than in the general population of children (Habbersett, 1989). Of the approximate 12,000 cases of HIB, most of the cases affect American Indian and Eskimo children. Although half of the children with meningitis recover, 5-10 percent will die and 30 percent will experience adverse neurological effects. Most of the children affected by meningitis are under the age of 12 months. Meningitis can result in paralysis, mental retardation, or speech and hearing impairments.

Assessment

American Indian and Alaska Native students with special needs are placed in instructional programs influenced by the assessment process as required by law and regulations. The assessment process is a critical component in making decisions for the students' programs. Key issues in assessment that need to be addressed in evaluations of American Indian and Alaska Native students with special educational needs are presented in this section.

Assessment Requirements According to Public Law 94-142

Children are referred for evaluation for a range of educational concerns. The assessment process is meant to determine the nature of the concern and how the need can be met, possibly through special education or other services. While there may be variations to the implementation of assessment, Public Law 94-142 requires the following:

> "State and local education agencies shall ensure, at a minimum that:
>
> a. Testing and evaluation materials and procedures used for the purposes of evaluation and placement of handicapped children must be selected and administered so as not to be racially or culturally discriminatory.

b. Testing and evaluation materials and procedures must be provided and administered in the language or other mode of communication in which the student is most proficient, unless it is clearly not feasible to do so.

c. Test must be administered to a student with a motor, speech, hearing, visual, or other communication disability, or to a bilingual child, so as to reflect accurately the child's ability in the area tested rather than the child's impaired communication skill or limited English language skill unless those are the factors the test purports to measure.

d. Tests and other materials used for placement must be properly and professionally evaluated for the specific purpose for which they are used, and administered by qualified personnel in conformance with instructions provided by the producers of the tests and materials.

e. Tests and other evaluation procedures must include assessment of specific areas of educational need.

f. No single test, type of test, or procedure may be used as the sole criteria for determining an appropriate educational program for a child.

g. Evaluation procedures must include an assessment that is sufficiently comprehensive to diagnose and appraise the child's suspected impairment; and a multidisciplinary approach for children suspected of having severe, multiple, or complex disorders, including a specific learning disability.

h. All relevant information with regard to the functional abilities of the child must be used in making a placement determination. (Federal Register, Aug 4, 1984, 300.158)"

Special education assessment is critical to all other decisions. In the absence of fair or non-discriminatory assessment, appropriate educational decisions for Native students with special needs may be seriously diminished. Further, to ensure that tests used in special education assessment of Native students is adequate and appropriate, tests must: (a) be administered in the child's native language, (b) be validated for the purpose for which they are used, (c) be administered by trained personnel, and (d) be tailored to the special educational needs of the students.

Criticisms of Assessment Practices

The recent INAR hearings had few comments on testing practices among American Indian and Alaska Native special education students. There were some concerns expressed regarding the validity of tests. However, available testimony did not elaborate on nor support that contention.

In the general investigation of testing practices throughout the United States, the following criticisms are equally pertinent to the special education assessment of Native students. Laosa (1977) stressed the need to evaluate testing practices in light of the major criticisms uncovered about testing:

1. Standardized tests are biased and unfair to persons from cultural and socioeconomic minorities since most tests reflect largely white, middle class values and attitudes, and they do not reflect the experience and the linguistic, cognitive, and other cultural styles and values of minority group persons.
2. Standardized measurement procedures have fostered undemocratic attitudes by their use in forming homogeneous classroom groups which severely limit educational, vocational, economic, and other societal opportunities.
3. Sometimes assessments are conducted incompetently by persons who do not understand the culture and language of minority group students and who thus are unable to elicit a level of performance which accurately reflects the child's underlying competence.
4. Testing practices foster expectations that may be damaging by contributing to the self-fulfillment prophecy which ensures low-achievement for persons who score low on tests.
5. Standardized measurements rigidly shape school curricula and restrict educational change.
6. Norm-referenced measures are not useful for instructional purposes.
7. The limited scope of many standardized tests appraises only a part of the changes in students that schools should be interested in producing.
8. Standardized testing practices foster a view of human beings as having only innate and fixed abilities and characteristics.
9. Certain use of tests represents an invasion of privacy. (Laosa, 1977; pp. 10-11)

In a study that examined differences in assessment practices and procedures for Native students, McShane (1979) a Native psychologist, observed that movement away from the concerns of fairness and discrimination in test instruments to the actual assessment process had taken place. McShane determined that significant referral differences between the Indian students and non-Indian students occurred. Reasons for referral were varied, however culture was not an integral element in the decisions for referral.

In a review of 12 studies McShane (1980) explored the merits of three beliefs about test performances of American Indians. These three beliefs were:

1. American Indian students had poor language skills and would perform poorly on the verbal scales of the Wechsler tests.
2. American Indian students were shy, nonverbal and tended to be inhibited in responding verbally.
3. American Indian students had perception skills slightly stronger than verbal skills and performed better on the performance scale of the Wechsler.

McShane (1980) examined and analyzed these beliefs in testing and assessment in the studies identified in Table 2.

sequencing skills. There were also differences in performance between traditionally oriented Indians and acculturated Indians.

In a later investigation, McShane and Plas (1984) examined test performances on the WISC, WPPSI, WAIS, and WISC-R. There appeared to be an 8 to 19 point discrepancy between the Performance scale and other scales on the WISC-R, with the Performance scores higher than the others. While the "high-Performance" and "low-Verbal" characteristic of scores by Indian students on the WISC-R were consistent through many testings, it was concluded that this scoring pattern was not necessarily indicative of a learning disability as might be otherwise decided. Finally, when comparing scoring patterns of Indian students with samples of LD children, the scoring patterns of Indian students differed from those of the LD children. Furthermore, the BD, OA, and M subtests of the WISC-R could be construed as a spatial factor for Indian students and are skills indicative of a performance strength for Native students.

TABLE 2
Special Education Studies

Study Author	Tribe	State
Turner & Penfold (1952)	Chippewa, Muncy, Oneida	Ontario
Howell, et. al. (1958)	Navajo	Arizona, New Mexico
Guillams (1975)	Navajo, Apache, Chicano	Arizona
Hollingshead (1971)	Varied	Oklahoma
Cundick (1970)	Varied	South west
Hollingshead (1971)	Varied	Oklahoma
Peck (1972)	Varied	Montana
McReavy (1978)	Sioux	South Dakota
Reschley (1978)	Papago	Arizona

Variables which influence test performance in particular the low verbal scores include reduced language environment, cultural emphasis on performance rather than verbal/abstract skills, and hearing loss brought on by otitis media. Other factors affecting test performances might be test construction and testing environments (McShane, 1980).

Unique performance patterns by American Indian students on the WISC, WISC-R, and WPPSI were noted. Distinct or different performance patterns were found on the subtests other than the verbal-performance dichotomy; these patterns were observed on the Spatial, Conceptual, Sequential, and Acquired Knowledge subtests. For example, Spatial abilities were more developed than Caution is recommended in interpreting WISC-R scores for Native students since the research on these factors have been sparse.

Factors Influencing Native Student Performances

Performances of Native students on psychometric tests such as the WISC-R can be influenced significantly by the developmental level of the Native child:

1. Language Skills. The language skills of Native students were critical to the test performances, particularly, since the verbal scores were lower than the scores on the performance subtests.

2. Physiological factors. One of the more common childhood health problems of Native children was otitis media. There appears to be a significant correlation between children who have experienced otitis media and test performances.
3. Neurological Factors. Hemisphericity was a possible factor in test performances. Bogen (1969) theorized that there were two thought modes, appositional and propositional. Associated with appositional thinking would be a right hemispheric preference, while propositional thinking would be associated with left hemispheric preference. McShane (1984) suggested that the general right hemispheric preference of younger Indian students may influence their acquisition of a second language and logically extended, affect performances on verbal subtests of psychometric measures. However, young college-age adults demonstrated a shift from the right hemisphere to the left.
4. Sociocultural Factors. McShane (1984) dismissed the "deficit hypothesis" arguing that an "equivalent cognitive capacity is required to produce the complex rule-governed activity called language — whatever the language or dialect. There may exist cultural differences that affect test performances.

Kerr (1988) compared the test performances of Indian students on the WISC-R and the K-ABC. The results of the study revealed similar global patterns of test performance. However, Kerr recognized that further research had to be undertaken before it could be generalized to other tribal groups. Furthermore, caution was urged when considering the utilization of either of the tests when making educational decisions.

Nance (1985) reported that when the WISC-R is used with Navajo students, the interpretation of scores on the PC, S, and MZ subtests as well as the PIQ global scale should be done with care. The PIQ global scale may not be the best measure of intellectual capacity in Navajos because of possible incorrect estimations of intelligence and biased predictions of achievement.

If the practitioner focuses primarily on predicting future achievement, the Full Scale IQ of the WISC-R is better at prediction even though the intelligence scores will differ from the average for Navajos. This finding could have relevance to other tribes.

It is difficult to develop and administer tests while trying simultaneously to ensure validity and reliability while avoiding bias. No instrument has been developed that accomplishes this. The WISC-R has been criticized and yet continues to be used. The K-ABC has been found to be an improvement, yet it too, has some aspects that require sensitive interpretations.

Changes in Assessment Practices

The influence of various factors on the test performances of minorities and American Indian and Alaska Natives has prompted further refinement of assessment so that the identification and placement of Native students with special needs can be done appropriately and accurately. Several researchers have advocated changes as summarized.

Academic Task Analysis

Cummins (1989) suggested alternative approaches to the assessment of cognitive and academic potential. Academic Task Analysis was an alternative to the traditional psychometric approach. It would encompass a more holistic or advocacy dimension to evaluation. Rather than focusing solely on the quantification of standardized tests for special educational placement, the Academic Task Analysis model encouraged student attainment of educational objectives as measured by various school developed procedures or criterion-referenced tests of academic tasks or skills.

Academic Task Analysis would locate the child's academic performance and lead to a program of instruction, stated in instructional terms. The Individual Educational Plan would consist of the assessment information of this model, and would describe and track the changes in the strengths and weaknesses. The validity of this approach depends on the sensitivity of the instructional program to factors that are pedagogical.

For instance, if reading is the area of Academic Task Analysis, the teaching of reading is not always directly linked to the diagnosis of reading deficiencies, such as miscue analysis or cloze tasks. Reading instruction is guided frequently by the articulation of a hierarchy of subskills, sequenced for instruction. Instruction begins with simple lower order skills to higher more complex skills. However, this organization of reading instruction may not be related closely to methods for assessing reading difficulty, in areas such as comprehension, word vocabulary, and reading strategies.

Mathematics may be an area of academic performance that has an inherent logical structure which may be easier to task analyze. The measure for determining learning problems in mathematics may be related more closely to the instructional methodology.

If Academic Task Analysis is to replace the traditional psychometric basis for the creation of an Individual Educational Plan, the instructional model for the area of learning must be integrated with the task analysis.

Pluralistic Assessment

Another approach to assessment that draws away from the conventional psychometric test foci, is a pluralistic model that obtains information organized into some normative profile for individual ethnic or socio-economic groups. One model of this is the SOMPA (System of Multicultural Pluralistic Assessment) (Mercer, 1979). SOMPA integrated the test scores of the WISC-R with a set of sociocultural scales to create an Estimated Learning Potential (ELP). The scales revealed the extent to which a language minority student's world contrasted with the Anglo world. That difference in world configuration was examined in four areas: family size, family structures, socioeconomic status, and urban acculturation. Mercer (1979) suggested that an appropriate way to validate the SOMPA Estimated Learning Potential quotient would be based on the amount of variance in the WISC-R score accounted for by the social-cultural variation in the regression equation. A primary purpose of pluralistic assessments was to provide an alternate nondiscriminatory measure in the identification of students for placement into special education programs. Although there are some inherent validity problems that have caused the SOMPA to be used with some degree of caution and reticence, it was an attempt to respond to the overrepresentation of minority students in special education.

Assessment of L_1 Cognitive Functioning

This approach to assessment encourages the translation of norm-referenced tests (WISC-R into Navajo, Lakota, Cherokee, etc.) as a preliminary and imprecise placement indicator for educational purposes. The rationale behind this approach is to provide a better interpretation of student performance. Clarizio (1982) suggested that the translation method might provide a maximum score attained in both languages as an index of ability or potential. The scores of the translated and non-translated tests may move 5 to 10 points higher. It was suggested that within three to four months from the original bilingual assessment, a follow-up evaluation of the student's placement be made.

Culture-Fair Assessment Procedures

Still focusing on the concern with nondiscriminatory issues in placement testing, culture-fair tests have been created to address the concern with culturally biased instruments. Cattell's Culture-Fair Intelligence tests and Raven's Progressive Matrices have been administered to language minority and Native students for the purposes of profiling student performances in a nondiscriminatory and culture-fair manner. Each assesses some form of non-verbal reasoning ability and has been considered equally appropriate for use as has the Performance subtests of the WISC-R (Siddles, 1986). Another test, the Cartoon Conservation Scales of DeAvila and Havassy (1975) measures the Piagetian notion of conservation and has been considered to be fair for all students.

The Kaufman Assessment Battery for Children (K-ABC) measures intelligence and achievement in four global areas of functioning: Sequential Processing, Simultaneous Processing, Mental Processing Composite (Sequential plus Simultaneous), and Achievement. For language minority students, sociocultural norms are provided for score interpretation. Through the use of pantomime and associated motoric response, students with speech and hearing impairment, language disorders, or non-English speaking can be assessed on a nonverbal scale of selected subtests.

Reactions on the use of the K-ABC with minority students include those of Cummins (1984) and Nance (1985). Cummins, impressed with the potential of the test, stated "the K-ABC represents an important advance over conventional IQ tests; so much so, in fact, that it renders the WISC-R obsolete for use with minority students" (p.197). Nance reported favorable results in a study that examined validation issues of the K-ABC with Native Americans (Navajos). The instrument tended to provide an "accurate measure of assessment for both intelligence and achievement with respect to concurrent validity, construct validity, and lack of differential validity between Anglo and Navajo ethnic groups (Baca & Cervantes, 1989, p. 175).

However, not all of the major scales of the K-ABC were equally useful when assessing Navajos, particularly if the English language is required on the SEQ and ACH scales. Caution must be used when interpreting the GC, PS, AR, RI, RD, and RU subtests of the K-ABC because Navajos did not perform as hypothesized in comparison to their Anglo counterparts. Nance suggested that the Mental Processing Composite score of the K-ABC may be the most accurate indicator of intellectual capacity since it predicted academic achievement, while at the same time showing no significantly different mean scores from the Anglo sample.

Fuerstein's (1979) Learning Potential Assessment Device (LPAD) has potential for the assessment of minority students. Originally developed for Israeli immigrants, the LPAD became an assessment model for several language minority environments. The LPAD seeks to assess "how much an individual level of intellectual linguistic functioning can be modified (Baca & Cervantes, 1989, p. 175). It determines the amount of investment of teaching effort required to produce the specified degree of modification. It ascertains the extent to which the student is able to apply new patterns of functioning to other areas. It identifies the student's preferential learning style.

This approach gives a linguistically and culturally different student new learning tasks they have not previously encountered, observe their learning processes, teach them some principles of learning and problem solving, observe how easily they learn given teaching, and then require them to apply the principles to the solution of new problems.

Some limitations do exist for the LPAD. It demands that the practitioner possess certain personality characteristics such as the "ability to be active, stimulating, and encouraging during the assessment. It entails an enormous amount of time to administer the LPAD (several hours) and there is an associated cost that is higher than the costs for more traditional psychometric measures. Special Education practitioners may avoid the use of the LPAD if it is intended for screening or classification purposes alone. Group administration may be possible, but, the practicality still must be questioned if the special education assessment process of the practitioner is a traditional one. Attempting to administer individually the LPAD to the numerous students referred and scheduled for assessment during the beginning of a school year could pose logistical problems that could be reduced if another instrument was used, or if the LPAD was used on a selective basis.

Student Advocacy in Assessment

An alternative role configuration for a school psychologist or special educator, involved in assessment is to "become advocates for the child in scrutinizing critically the social and educational context within which the child has developed" (p. 116). Going beyond the traditional psychometric concerns in assessment, the child's entire learning environment is taken into consideration. There is a focus on how children's language and culture are incorporated within the school program. Educator/parent collaboration is stressed. Students are encouraged to actively use language (L_1 and L_2) with other students to expand their experiences.

De Leon (1990) devised an advocacy-oriented model for assessment that responded to the arguments Cummins (1989) made regarding advocacy roles of psychologists and special educators. Through the use of special assessment instruments, the investigator gathers and interprets information regarding the special needs of students. A dichotomized (Yes/No) survey of factors affecting test performances and interpretations was completed for each child. The categories were: (1) Family/Home, (2) Community, (3) School, (4) Classroom, and (5) Student.

Other pre-referral techniques were recommended that take into account cultural, linguistic, and personal experiences. With respect to language, de Leon stressed the analysis of the students' level of proficiency in terms of Cummins (1984) model of proficiency which conceptualized a context-embedded Basic Interpersonal Communication Skills (BICS) level of proficiency and the context-reduced Cognitive Academic Language Proficiency (CALP) level of proficiency. A Second Language Survey form was completed that indicated whether the learning problem, for which the student was being assessed, was affected by an inadequate level of language proficiency. It may prevent placement into special educational programs.

Socio-Cultural Dimension to Assessment

Hoover and Collier (1988) formulated an assessment "paradigm" that included socio-cultural dimensions for assessment. The three-part assessment procedure characterized in most applications of assessment are: Referral, Staffing, and Placement. The assessment techniques that enable decision-makers to implement referral, staffing, and placement, would consist of: (1) A review of records, (2) Interview, (3) Observation, (4) Work Samples of the Student, (5) Testing, and (6) Analytic Teaching. To reinforce the validity of the analysis generated from the elements of the Assessment Techniques, a Sociocultural Assessment component would be added. This component would obtain: (1) Cultural and Linguistic information, (2) Experiential Background, (3) level of Acculturation, (4) Sociolinguistic Development, and (5) Cognitive Learning Styles. Based on the collected sociocultural information, hypotheses would be created: (1) Sociocultural factors contributing to learning and behavior problems, (2) Sociocultural Factors not contributing to learning and behavior problems, and (3) Sociocultural factors and the presence of handicapping conditions contributing to learning and behavior problems.

By integrating the sociocultural profile with the information obtained from the Assessment Techniques, the assessment paradigm would broaden its information base. It would include information beyond scores derived from tests of intelligence.

Test Development

Although testing instruments have not been developed in native languages with any broad-based use, there are initiatives being conducted by test developers and test publishers in response to bias in testing. For example, Psychological Corporation (1990) established a Bias Panel to review the Stanford Achievement Tests. The Panel consisted of Hispanics, African Americans, Native Americans, a women's advocate, and a representative from a rural community. The Educational Testing Service was also identifying teachers and others in education to provide input on testing issues in an attempt to reduce bias.

The United States has numerous cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups. Among the American Indian and Alaska Natives alone, there are over 300 federally recognized tribes and 500 Alaska Native entities. Thus, in the development of tests, striving toward elimination of test bias is a monumental effort. Not only are there cultural and language differences, there are also regional and socio-economic differences.

Recommendations for Assessing Native Students

The assessment process and procedures necessitate that there be adequately trained psychologists and evaluators who can interpret and make appropriate educational recommendations for Native students. The educational fate of Native students should not be entrusted to professionals who lack awareness, interest or knowledge about the Native child who may have differing values and beliefs than the evaluator. The following recommendations are offered and incorporate findings described in earlier sections along with those by McShane (1983):

a. develop a comprehensive knowledge base of current practices in assessment,

b. establish a resource network of persons with expertise in testing Native students,

c. modify the assessment process by using the K-ABC or the LPAD on research basis and bring results to a network of professionals who can evaluate the usefulness of the instruments,

d. incorporate the advocacy (i.e., home, school, and community information) (de Leon, 1990) and socio-cultural aspects (i.e., work samples and analytic teaching) (Hoover & Collier, 1988). These assessment components focus attention on achieving valid predictions, placements, and educational plans, and

e. thorough knowledge of the child's cultural experience and location is critical for test interpretation. Information concerning reservation and urban ties, language spoken in the home, and extent of participation in a traditional customs can provide knowledge of the ecological context that can influence test performance.

The preceding discussion on concerns with traditional testing, performances of Native students on the most frequently used test, the WISC-R, and alternatives and recommendations for changes in assessment reveal ongoing refinement necessary for refocusing on the specific purposes and uses of assessment. The continued evaluation of the efficacy and validity of the various systems of assessment will lead to more appropriate decisions for American Indian and Alaska Native students with special needs.

Native Bilingual Students with Disabilities

Placement of children in special education places a particular challenge on educators to develop services and programs designed to meet the needs of children rather than "to classify them according to available services." (Hargrove, 1981). Thus, programs need to be designed to meet the needs of students who are linguistically and/or culturally different and who also have a handicapping condition. However, a range of factors suggest that the special education programs in which Native children are being placed are inadequate and minimally relevant. Factors which contribute to these issues include: (a) lack of adequately trained personnel to staff Special Education programs, (b) administrative and staff commitment to address needs of children with disabilities, and (c) programmatic and curricular responses to Native children who may require Special Education services along with Bilingual Education. Bilingual special education (See Baca & Cervantes, 1989) and crosscultural special education (see Ratleff, 1989) are for children with disabilities with varying needs; some of these children also need bilingual instruction in order to have access to an education.

Native Special Education Curriculum

Little was said about Native special education during the INAR Task Force hearings. Consequently, a review of literature was conducted. It, too, provided sparse information. An ERIC search on American Indian and Alaska Native special education was also attempted. From 1973 to 1990, only 47 citations were found. There were several years during that period when no citation was listed. Educators of Native students were not communicating to the larger audience throughout North America. Yet, teachers in Native special education have been concerned with the content of their programs and the effectiveness of their instruction. It has been a concern for teaching efficacy that continues to this day.

Curriculum

A modern viewpoint regards curriculum as what is learned and how that learning is taught. Curriculum, therefore, contains the tasks or content to be learned by students, as well as the methods or strategies used in applying that content. That is the approach taken in this discussion of Native special education.

Special education curriculum addresses two major areas of learning need: (a) Academic Curriculum. The need of children to acquire knowledge, and skills of the basic academic program, and (b) Functional Life Skills. The need of children to become self-dependent by acquiring functional knowledge and life skills. Before discussion begins on the basic content of special education instruction, special educators of Native students should be aware of two key issues affecting curriculum in the years to come. First, bilingual education, particularly the use of Native languages as a medium of instruction remains controversial. Special educational policy must consider the merits of Native language instruction in terms of the needs of its students and the desires of the local Native community. Second, the Regular Education Initiative (REI), which evolved from national policy on Least Restrictive Environment may affect special education at a significant level. There are other policy issues aside from these two. However, language and REI are issues that delve deep into the core of curriculum.

Bilingual Special Education — Policy/Implementation

One of the more controversial aspects of Native education is bilingual education. Decisions on what should be taught would be affected if bilingual education is incorporated into the curriculum. Instructional methods would change as bilingual education involves first and second language learning. However, bilingual education is not an easy proposition to implement.

Bilingual education brings out diverse opinions on its merits. Educators differ in their positions on bilingual education. Parents are often at odds with each other when educators consider teaching their children in the Native language. Administrators are pressured to implement bilingual and ESL instruction without adequate staff, program, and materials.

The use of the Native language as a medium of instruction is affected inevitably by the family and community preferences, and pedagogical merits. Families may believe that schools should assist in the maintenance of their Native language. Likewise, tribal leaders may realize their Native languages can be perpetuated through the assistance of schools.

However, once the decision to implement bilingual instruction is made, the implications on staff development, curriculum, materials, and supplies are enormous. The enormity of the decision depends on the commitment of interested parties to design, organize, and implement an effective program of bilingual education.

Certain factors enhance the effective use of the Native languages as mediums of instruction including: (a) levels of 1st and 2nd language proficiencies of Native students; (b) availability of teachers proficient in the Native language; and (c) adequacy of curricular materials for Native language instruction. Educators may seek alternatives to bilingual education because of its perceived demands on curricular change, funds, and resources. In addition, language proficiency in the first or Native languages cannot be assessed readily to the lack of valid and reliable instruments.

The educational policies cannot continue to be shaped by the alleged inability to determine proficiency, the unavailability of qualified teachers, and curricular inadequacy. If the sociopolitical forces of the Native communities stress the survival of their Native languages, and if it is believed that schools play a key role, then educators must face up to the decision on the basis of these demands. The school systems, as an institution of the local society, must adopt policies that commit to the use of Native languages as mediums of instruction.

Bilingual instruction has benefits beyond the classroom. It can empower the community through its bilingually educated youth. Greater access to societies institutions can be gained and mainstream American society will not be so fearsome.

Regular Education Initiative

Academicians and researchers have become troubled over negative reports on the effectiveness of special education. That concern has resulted in an examination of the special education delivery system. Studies have challenged the very existence of special education (Algozzine, et al, 1990; Jenkins, Pious, & Jewell, 1990; Stein, Leinhardt, & Bickel, 1989; Larrivee, 1989; Reynolds, Wang, & Walberg, 1987). Curriculum, instruction, and policy may be changed within the decade as educational institutions respond to the reform proposition.

In a discussion on the efficacy of special education in the United States, Reynolds, Wang, and Walberg (1987) stated:

> Unless major structural changes are made, the field of special education is destined to become more of a problem, and less of a solution, in providing education for children who have special needs. (p. 391)

The remarks referred primarily to programs for the mildly handicapped rather than those for severely or multiply handicapped children. The concern stemmed from a perceived "flaw" in special education categorization that spills over into the compensatory education of poor learners attending programs such as Chapter I, who are similarly categorized. The critics of current special educational categorization stated that (a) existing categories are not reliable or valid for the mildly handicapped, (b) the cost to the educational institutions for maintaining the current categorization is considered excessive, (c) a high degree of inefficiency in the implementation of the procedures for categorization and ultimately this expense and inefficiency impacts heavily on the school programs, and (d) tremendous disjointedness between and within regular and special education results from the flaw. In the end, children who are not achieving in school are being shortchanged by the imperfections of the system.

The imperfections of the system of special education was considered a major contributor to the academic failure of many students in special education programs. There were four problems stressed by Will (cited in Jenkins, et al., 1990), that reflected concerns with special education:

> 1. Services for special and remedial children seem hopelessly fragmented in distinct categorical programs. This fragmentation not only impairs the programs effectiveness, but also causes children who need services to fall through the cracks.
> 2. Special and regular education operate as a dual system in which the responsibility for educating students with learning problems falls to the special programs, while the role of classroom teachers and building administrators is weakened. Special programs often remove students from regular classrooms for services and fail to coordinate their instruction with that of the regular classroom.
> 3. Students in special programs who are segregated from non-handicapped peers may be stigmatized, suffering negative consequences ranging from lowered self-esteem to unhealthy attitudes towards learning.
> 4. Rigid eligibility requirements associated with special programs create conflicts between parents and school personnel, who may disagree about a student's placement in a particular program. (p. 480)

The implications of the REI proposal for non-Native special education are the same for Native special education. The Regular Education Initiative, suggests that the responsibilities of the Regular Classroom teacher and the special education teacher must change. With that change in the responsibilities, the basic character of regular and special education and the roles of the teachers will occur.

Jenkins, Pious, and Jewell (1990) reviewed the literature on the Regular Education Initiative. They found that the REI proponents wanted regular classroom teachers to be responsible for (a) educating all students assigned to them, (b) making and monitoring major instructional decisions for all the students in their class, (c) providing instruction that follows a normal developmental curriculum, (d) managing instruction for diverse populations, and (e) seeking, using, and coordinating assistance for students who require more intense services than those provided to their peers (pp. 481-482).

The regular classroom teacher would assume primary responsibility and authority for devising an educational program for students in the classroom, including mainstreamed learning disabled and mildly handicapped students. If the regular program staff accept this shift in authority and responsibility, it must be determined which students, currently categorized as special needs students, should be taught in the regular classroom. Decisions on functions and responsibilities of regular and special education staff would require coordination.

Advocates of REI have yet to see their initiative translated into programs. Moving a philosophical and theoretical model of instruction into the field and classroom, no matter its merits, must be convincing to educators in the field before it can be implemented.

Byrnes (1990) and Davis (1989; 1990) acknowledged certain merits of the REI, yet cautioned against schools jumping on the bandwagon and trying to implement a concept still in the formative stages. There are certain pragmatic realities that make any innovation difficult to implement. Radical reform such as the REI may be even more difficult if the concept is not evaluated by the practitioners in the schools and classrooms. Key issues that need to be addressed before an implementation of REI would include the following:

1. The Regular Education Initiative will have a definite impact on the number of children identified as handicapped and those who are identified will have their special needs served by the regular classroom.
2. State and Federal statutes and regulations have expected the system of delivery services to be provided through the current special education structure. The laws and regulations may need to be modified significantly to allow for service delivery to occur in the regular classroom.
3. Placement of the mildly handicapped or learning disabled students into the regular education classroom may lead to the diminishment of separate special education staffing and support. However, REI recognizes the consultative and in-classroom instructional support that would be necessary for certain learning situations.
4. Fiscal economic conditions of the federal and state governments may have a bearing on whether regular or special education programs are better able to service handicapped children. State legislatures are unpredictable and generally conservative in their financial support of education. Nowadays legislatures are seeking ways to reduce their contributions (Brynes, 1990, pp. 346-348).

REI and Native Special Education

This innovation presents its own challenges in producing acceptable levels of academic achievement among the non-disabled Native students. Unfortunately, current teaching practices, and the instructional organization of these schools have yet to produce the academic results desired for non-disabled Native students. Thus, the merits are questioned of shifting the instruction to classrooms that are unable to provide effective instruction for non-disabled students.

The REI proponents have a substantial research base suggesting that the pull-out programs, and the segregated interventions of special education have not shown the desired academic outcomes. Concern exists that pulling disabled students out of the classroom and into special education programs may be perceived as absolving teachers of instructional accountability. Native special education programs are a part of the current system of special education that is characterized by: (a) self-contained special education classrooms with some mainstreaming efforts, and (b) pull-out from the regular classroom into resource rooms where assistance is provided primarily in reading and math.

Educators in the Native special education programs and regular education programs who challenge the merits of the Regular Education Initiative might analyze the existing system. Evaluation of current programs would help identify those educational components which can be improved or require change. The following questions would guide and direct responses the local school may need to make:

1. To what extent does the Native special education program of the school provide an equal or greater opportunity to learn what is valued and tested in the school's academic curriculum when compared to the learning opportunity within the regular education classroom?
2. Since the purpose of Native special education is to effectively instruct Native students, to what extent does the special educational classification of special needs students accurately and reliably reflect the various disabling conditions.
3. Has the Native special education program been able to successfully prescribe a treatment tailored to the disabling conditions of the student.
4. Has the Native special education program been able to document significant long-term improvements resulting from the special education treatment or interventions for the disabling condition and/or remediation of academic delays or difficulties?
5. Has the Native special education program identified and implemented effective special education instruction that will facilitate performance of Native students to progress from the lower quartile closer to the mean or from non-mastery to mastery of academic skills at criterion level?

Early Childhood Education

Disabilities in Early Childhood

Native mothers and fathers look forward to the birth of each son or daughter. Their hopes for a

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healthy "normal" baby are fulfilled most of the time. However, nature and nurture do not guarantee normalcy. Many factors affect the chances for normal growth. And if a child is born with complications or difficulties, their growth pattern may be altered. Years later as Native students with disabilities enter into high school, the chances for academic success may never occur.

However, infants and children with special needs can lead lives more normal than might have been expected. Early childhood interventions are emerging that may diminish deficit effects as children progress through elementary school. Research in special education has identified four major developmental domains that comprise some of the disabilities. Children with disabilities will show "delays, deficits, or distortions" in one or more of the domains.

Communication

Children communicate in verbal and nonverbal ways. Disabilities in this receptive and expressive ability will affect the nature of growth a young child experiences in the home, with peers, and later in school. Young Native children are exposed to a variety of social interactions that involve communication amongst family members, both young and old. Native parents do not systematically keep children from community activities, but rather children accompany their parents to council meetings, tribal ceremonies, dances, pow-wows, bingos, etc. Infants and toddlers are surrounded by the communication that accompanies such events. The verbal interactions, nonverbal signals of the family and community members are learned through this rich interactional environment.

Developmental problems in communication may not be easily detected unless specific indicators are exhibited. Language and communication delays can be explained to parents so that they might recognize them. Some of these communication delays include:

- **Auditory Impairments**. A primary cause for serious language and communication difficulties are deficits in the ability to receive auditory signals or input. If a parent speaks to their child, a normally expected response may not occur. A particular concern is otitis media, an ear infection common amongst Native children; the buildup of excessive fluid can eventually impair permanently a child's hearing ability. This hearing problem can lead to delays in learning.
- **Expressive Disorders.** Some Native children experience difficulties in using their oral muscles to create speech sounds. These impairments can impair articulations severe enough to distort or prevent speech. They may be caused by neurological and motor difficulties. Care should be taken to distinguish between misarticulations and sounds influenced more by the phoneme structure of the Native child's primary language (Navajo, Lakota, Tlingit, etc). Certain sounds of the English language may be difficult for a child dominant in his/her Native language.
- **Learning and Perceptual Disorders**. Difficulties in perceiving and understanding the speech of others may inhibit comprehension of language. Children may show difficulty with short-term memory, inattention, difficulty in sequencing, and directional problems. Assessment may be difficult in Native children with disabilities who may not be proficient in English. Native special educators sensitive to the linguistic and cultural setting can help reduce diagnostic errors which can occur through testing conducted in the non English language.
- **Cognitive Disabilities**. Language development of Native children who have cognitive disabilities ranges from mildly delayed to profound retardation. These children have varying degrees of mental retardation which impact on all aspects of there development. Early intervention can help to minimize the delays and optimize their development.
- **Affective and Behavior Disorders**. Communication and language skills can be influenced by affective and behavior disorders. Autism is one example of this disorder. They represent children who have difficulty in developing interpersonal relationships with others. Caution should be taken when assessing Native children. Lack of awareness of the child's culture may place the child at an unfair or misinterpreted situation in the educational diagnosis.

Affective-Social

Children begin to experiment and practice their socialization skills particularly as they turn 3 years of age. Delays in development of affective behavior limits opportunities for interaction in the social world of humanity. And educational success could be limited.

Social and emotional problems include:

- (a) social withdrawal; Native children considered socially isolate might find their ability to cope with the world diminished seriously by the lack of social interaction with peers. Behaviors, however, are largely defined by culture and situation.
- (b) Hyperactivity. Behaviors might include hyperactive mannerisms such as excessive talking, fidgeting, distraction, and constant movement. While children may exhibit these behaviors periodically, these behaviors would be of concern if they interfere with learning and daily activities.
- (c) Aggression. Parents become concerned when children kick, hit, throw, bite, and verbally abuse other people. Native parents and family friends may notice young children acting aggressively toward other children to the extent that harm occurs. Parents should not ignore these behaviors, for they may signal to the aggressive child that parents tolerate these actions. Classroom management in the preschool classroom is the first line of intervention perhaps through modeling of behavior and behavior management strategies.
- (d) Noncompliance. Young Native children who refuse to obey an adult repeatedly, no matter the significance or insignificance might be observed carefully by the parents and pre-school teacher to determine if this is a symptom possibly due to a hearing impairment. Behavior management can be established. Serious behavior problems should not be overlooked. Few children will exhibit these behaviors. Conditions which cause concern include:
- **Autism**. Autistic children, will unceasingly: (a) remain nonverbal, (b) be unaware or oblivious to others, (c) appear to be blind or deaf because they remain oblivious to others, (d) ignore playthings that normal children will become curious about, or manipulate the toys in a non-playing manner, (e) throw fits or tantrums, unusual laughter or sounds, or in the reverse, reveal no indication of emotion, (f) behave in a self-stimulating manner such as finger-flicking, rocking, and some other behavior that could cause self-injury, and (g) might exhibit some extraordinary high intellectual or high-functioning behavior such as in music, numbers, or mechanical manipulations.
- **Self-Stimulation**. Certain behaviors visible to others are often considered unacceptable by society when done incessantly and at socially inappropriate times. Body-rocking, finger flicking, hand flapping, teeth clicking, etc are examples of this behavior. People, who observe these behaviors, tend to react negatively without understanding the causation.
- **Self-Injury**. Children may harm themselves by pinching, hitting, or slapping themselves. Efforts can be made to modify behaviors. The professional is faced with the challenge to generalize the modified behavior to other situations. Success in modifying the behavior may be short-lived and temporary. Thus, efforts are made to sustain behavioral modifications.
- **Cognition**. Thinking, reasoning, and intellectual development are critical to the education of children. These are factors essential for acquiring skills necessary for comprehending the world around them and the interaction and manipulation of those aspects of life that will sustain them. School-related learning requires enormous amounts of cognitive ability as reading, writing, mathematical skills are acquired.

Native pre-school children who have cognitive deficits are in greater danger of educational failure if appropriate interventions cannot be applied before they attain the age of kindergarten. Unfortunately interventions may not bring normal cognitive ability and children must live in a world to which they must adapt their level of thinking and skills development to that reality. The causes of these include: (a) prenatal infections, (b) postnatal infections, (c) birth trauma, (d) metabolic/nutrition problems (e) cranial abnormalities, (f) chromosomal abnormalities, (g) gestational disorders, (h) fetal alcohol syndrome, and (i) accidents. Approximately 3 percent of the general population are affected (Heward & Orlansky, 1984). However, Native people experience higher rates of disabling conditions than the general population.

Sensori-Motor

Gross and fine motor development is included with sight, hearing, and other sensing competencies. Disabilities in any of these functions can diminish the opportunity to develop basic life-skills and to acquire knowledge and skills learned in school. Children with sensory disabilities often have difficulty with abilities such as: (a) object constancy, in which young children develop skills in a spontaneous search for objects out of reach and thereby the expansion of the child's permanent world, (b) causality, in which young children realize visually that their behavior makes objects move or family members to respond to them, (c) object relations and concepts, in which young children comprehend the reason for reaching and grasping, and the interrelationships between objects, and (d) social communication, fostered through vision and touch, in which young children develop bonding between they and family members. Neuromotor problems also create development impairments for handicapped children. Children with cerebral palsy and other similar impairments are unable to sense and integrate motor skills with their senses. The building blocks for sensori-motor behaviors are obstructed. Impaired children are prevented from successfully performing basic tasks such as sucking, grasping, attending to objects through visual-auditory senses, and gross and fine motor movement. Developmental retardation, which is associated with the cognitive or mental competency of young children also affects areas of development mentioned previously. Profoundly mentally retarded children may not be able to (a) sit upright, (b) explore their environment visually and motorically, nor (c) create concepts of their body image and the person-object relationships.

Programs

Educational policies must state more comprehensively the efficacy of early childhood intervention programs that can diminish the effects of disabilities before young Native children enter into kindergarten and first grade. The type of program intervention will depend on the curricular model that is favored by the local educators. However, there must be greater evaluation of the merits prior to adoption of program models.

It is suggested that as special education early childhood program developers decide on the program model, to be mindful that very young children must learn to develop social interaction skills along with specific training associated with their disability. There is a strong tendency in special education to train students on a one-to-one basis. While that may appear to address behaviorally the disability, it limits development of social skills that are necessary for a fully developed child.

Native students with disabilities should be placed into an early childhood learning environment that provides for both group and individual settings. Control of student behavior should be balanced by the provision of opportunities to have students select activities of interest. Flexibility, independence, along with cooperation and individuality are balanced ingredients for a successful early childhood education.

Parental Involvement

Traditional Native parenting skills are vital in reinforcing appropriate interventions. With additional training, family interactions and attitudes with the disabled child can be modified so that greater constructive and nurturing support can be given by the family. Family support training should strive to meet criteria similar to that which Agosta, O'Neal, and Toubbeh (1987) stated for Navajo family interventions:

> 1. Recognize the family's underlying commitment to care for their family member with a disability
> 2. Embrace practices that promote, not discourage increased family independence from the formal service system, and
> 3. Take seriously the view of the family with regard to how the services should be designed and rendered (p. 41).

Family-oriented instruction can provide inhouse interventions that utilize the resources of the home, including extended family members and a means to create a cultural foundation for development.

Additionally, families should be trained to apply new parenting skills to help develop clinically-based experiences for future formal schooling and to maintain traditional parenting skills that enable the Native child with disabilities to prosper in the home environment. Parents may, at first, hesitate in accepting an increased role if it is considered as the responsibility of some external service agent, such as the Indian Health Service or of the school.

Parents, regardless of income level, are capable of providing enrichment for children in the home. Other family members can be encouraged to foster literacy development. Literacy skills, however, are not only the reading skills traditionally taught in school. It is the awareness of the nature of written language, functions of print, and the form and structure of print. Awareness can be achieved through an abundance of storybook reading at home, in the car, on the way to town, or whenever a book can be read to very young children. This is preschool education for free and probably the most valuable of all. Families, rich or poor, who are willing to include the world of books into their home life will contribute to the literacy of their children.

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Federal Requirements for Early Intervention

By 1990-91, under Public Law 99-457, all states seeking federal funds must provide education for handicapped children ages three through five. If LEAs don't comply they are subject to compliance penalties including loss of: (a) funding for the new Preschool grant, (b) monies generated under the larger Public Law 94-142 formula by the three through five population served; and (c) grants and contracts related to preschool special education authorized under the EHA discretionary program, Parts C through G.

A multidisciplinary team must assess and develop a written Individualized Family Service Plan (IFSP) which would meet developmental needs and may" include special education, speech and language pathology and audiology, occupational therapy, physical therapy, psychological services, parent and family training and counseling services, transition services, medical services for diagnostic purposes, and health services necessary to enable the child to benefit from other early intervention services. The needs of some pre-school Native children with special needs is being partially addressed by Public Law 99-457. It is an incentive both of a positive and negative nature for LEAs to develop new and innovative approaches to early intervention. The law focuses on clinical or medical types of interventions which will involve staff having professional background in the specific intervention. However, the nature of the intervention should also include some aspects of non-medical instructional designs that are commonly found in early childhood programs for regular or non-handicapped children. As young handicapped children are being trained in overcoming specific disabilities, their social interactive skills requires participation in group activities in addition to the typical one-to-one interventions of the medical model.

Native Bilingual Special Education

Native students have had to contend low academic expectations by educators who did not expect them to learn as well as Anglo students, because of their alleged linguistic and cultural deficits. Bilingualism was considered detrimental to academic achievement and basic intellectual ability.

In recent decades, bilingual researchers were successful in demonstrating that bilingualism can be a cognitive advantage. Instruction in the Native language is supported by the effects of the "interdependence hypothesis" which argues that academic proficiency developed in the Native language will transfer to English if there is adequate exposure and motivation to learn English (Cummins, 1984, 1986; McLaughlin, 1985). Bilingual education has provided equal or superior achievement opportunities for Native students, when the programs were well devised, classroom staff were bilingual, and parents were involved (Rosier & Holm, 1976).

Philosophical Premises

As Bilingual special education programs are developed for Native students, there ought to be a rationale, a purpose, a theoretical attitude that supports the articulation of programs which will be in the best educational interests of Native students. Cummins (1989) framed his theoretical attitude on the education of language minority students around the premise that minority students' academic difficulties are not caused by problems within the child or the culture, but caused by the way "... schools have reinforced both overtly and covertly, the discrimination that certain minority groups have historically experienced in the society at large" (p. 111). Countries such as the United States have long applied discriminatory values to education and as a result diminished the ability or power of minority peoples to benefit from education. The antidote for this disempowerment would be for educators to assume direct instructive roles that reflect respect for the cultural identify and language of the Native students and other language minorities.

Educational policy at the local level should be transformed so that it requires staff to operationalize their belief in the value of and respect for the cultures and languages of the Native students. The following are actions which special educators can take to demonstrate their intent on empowering Native students through the valuing and respecting of Native culture and languages:

1. An additive orientation to students' culture and language such that student's L_1 experiences can be shared rather than suppressed in the classroom.
2. An openness to collaborate with community resource persons who can provide insight to students and educators about different cultural, religious, and linguistic traditions.
3. A willingness to encourage active use of written and oral language so that students can develop their language and literacy skills in the process of sharing their experiences and insights with peers and adults.
4. An orientation to assessment in which the primary focus is on the interactions that

> students have experienced within the school system and on ways of remediating these interactions where necessary (Cummins, 1989, p. 117).

Native students receiving special education services are typically not considered for bilingual education support. Yet, the law and regulations for disabled students require that a child has the right to receive appropriate and meaningful education. A special education teacher may posit that it is difficult enough to teach learning disabled students the most basic skills. Instruction in a native language coupled with use and perhaps development of culturally appropriate materials in the Native language may be considered too time consuming.

To counter those arguments, it is not illogical nor unreasonable to consider providing instruction in the language that the student knows best. It may facilitate the transition from the Native home environment into the classroom environment. Baca and Cervantes (1989) reassured special educators, suggesting that it is only natural that teachers "move the child from the known to the unknown through a linguistic or communicative medium ... already mastered" (p. 18). It is a matter of "building on children's acquired repertoires" gained through experience in their culture and Native language.

Federal law allows bilingual education for Native students with limited English proficiency as a way to provide educational opportunities comparable to the opportunities provided to English proficient students. Bilingual special education can help individual Native students to achieve their maximum learning potential, facilitating cognitive and affective growth, and establishing an ease or comfort for school, through the use of the Native languages. With the philosophical premises and rationale for bilingual special education established, the next step is to consider the procedure for designing a curriculum for bilingual special education to accomplish this task.

Designing Bilingual Special Education Curriculum

Currently, bilingual education programs are designed separately from other programs and appear to be distinctive and separate from the regular program as special education classes. That is, a school may provide Native language instruction under Title VII funds within a self-contained class, or through some clearly defined program within the regular classroom. The bilingual teacher and/or aide will be trained to use the Native language as a medium of instruction for all students without consideration for any particular disability.

Special education teachers often cannot speak the Native language or have not been trained formally in the techniques of using the Native language as a medium of instruction. The ideal bilingual program would have the special education teacher become proficient in the Native language and trained in appropriate bilingual methodology. Today, that is becoming more feasible since more Native teachers are instructing special education programs. They may have some level of proficiency in the Native language. If there are Native special education teachers, they could become qualified bilingual instructors.

It is not unreasonable for schools to move towards Native language instruction if there is a definite, comprehensive plan for implementing a program. The next step in creating a program is to design a curriculum that integrates the basic elements of bilingual education with the requirements of special education. Two stages in the development of bilingual curriculum are recommended. The first stage requires the establishment of a team consisting of parents, teacher, bilingual specialist, and special education specialist planning a individual educational program. The eight steps Baca and Cervantes (1989) consider to be critical in this effort are:

1. In the development of short and long-range individual educational plans, the team meets to initiate the planning.
2. The school staff involved in the team are to become familiar with the Native student's culture and language background. To facilitate the educational plan, information and materials useful for preparing the IEP and the instruction would be explored. Certain linguistic and cultural elements of the Native student may affect student learning (e.g., phonemes, syntax, time references, nonverbal communication styles etc.)
3. Become familiar with the special learning style and education needs of the child. But be careful of generalizing a particular style of learning to all Native students for learning style will differ from individual to individual, even within a family. There is no single set of learning styles that represent all Native tribes. Cooperativeness may not be a evident in all Native students. Competitiveness may be present in some Native students. Visual, right-brained preferences may exist for many children, but without testing for that preference, the team may err in assuming this style of learning.
4. Prepare individual instructional plans through a process of assessment, articula-

tion of objectives, instructional methods and evaluation. The use of the Native language as a medium of instruction is described in the plan.

5. Develop individualized lessons and materials appropriate to the Native student's needs.
6. Modify individualized lessons and materials using a "cultural screen" and sensitivity.
7. Refer to resource people for assistance and cooperation in instruction; coordinate services
8. Evaluate Native student's ongoing progress and develop new individual plan, materials, as needed (p. 207).

Policy Recommendations for Special Bilingual Education

Development of Bilingual Special Education programs should be premised on the following areas:

1. Schools need policy on "child-find" that requires the location and identification of bilingual Native children who have a disability. Some parents are unaware of the services available, and are reluctant to inform the school of their children's special needs, or are unfamiliar with the procedures for communicating with the schools. The child-find policy places the burden of locating the students on the shoulders of educators, rather than parents. It should describe the utilization of staff who are culturally and linguistically knowledgeable of the Native people.
2. Policy is needed to assure the accurate and proper placement of Native students into bilingual special education programs. Special education staff trained to interpret assessment information that may include language or cultural data are necessary for implementing this policy.
3. The rights of bilingual Native students with disabilities should be protected by policy to allow them to access all special education services required.
4. Policy is necessary to sanction the provision of bilingual methodologies in the special education services. If it is left up to the building level staff member, there may be teachers and principals who will utilize bilingual methodologies, while others may choose to teach English as a second language.
5. Policy should emphasize the importance of language proficiency in the educational process. Proficiency in language is considered a critical independent variable associated with academic achievement. The use of the Native language as a medium of instruction can lead to greater proficiency in English. The result being that communicative competency can further affect learning in other academic subjects.
6. School policies should be developed requiring the monitoring of the language development process. The development and revisions of IEPs should include information on current language development in both the Native and English languages.

Academic Curriculum

Native and non-Native students are expected to acquire the knowledge and master the skills contained in the regular or mainstream curriculum. By mastering the subjects, students move from grade to grade towards a high school graduation. Most states have comparable subject and course requirements for their public school systems. Private and parochial institutions reflect similar curricular requirements.

For example, California expects special education instruction to include these academic requirements: (a) Basic skills, including language, reading, writing, spelling, math, science, and social science, (b) Communication skills, (c) Socio-Interpersonal Skills, including positive attitude towards self and others, (d) Health and Physical Education, (3) Pre-vocational and vocational skills, (4) Art, music, and other forms of creative expression, (5) Citizenship, and (6) Development of higher order thinking skills.

Special educators adapt the regular curriculum in response to the handicapping condition which Native students possess. Some Native students may be able to attain a level of mastery equivalent to non-handicapped Native students, while others with severe disabilities may find mastery being formulated differently. Like California, most states consider reading and mathematics more important than other areas of learning; for literacy, computational and problem solving skills transfer to other subjects.

Until P.L.99-457, early childhood education was typically outside the purview of state public school systems. Head Start programs are a key provider of early childhood services and are funded from federal sources. Lately, political winds have been blowing favorably for early-childhood education. Educators in elementary and secondary education are beginning to recognize the need for initiating developmental activities such as Emergent Literacy during the preschool years. Curricular interventions for special education early-childhood education are gradually being implemented.

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Reading

Reading is associated primarily with the ability to discern words in print and to comprehend the message of the author. Word recognition and comprehension are the basic processes of reading, which develop out of the early developmental skills of emergent literacy. To become efficient readers, Native students must recognize many words automatically, thereby freeing up mental capacity for thinking about meanings. Comprehension skills requires the Native students bring their prior knowledge or world knowledge, their knowledge of text structures to bear in an active information search, interpreting what they read and evaluating the merits of the message in print (Gillet & Temple, 1990).

There are opposing theories on how reading should be taught. Proponents for phonics based instruction contend that a systematic development of subskills in phonemes and graphemes articulation (decoding) must initiate the reading process. Without that phonic rule-skill base, it is believed that reading ability cannot be achieved. On the other hand, proponents for a meaning-oriented approach believe that words and phrases are more critical to the development of reading ability. While decoding has value, it is felt that decoding does not of itself lead to comprehension. Only instruction in comprehension strategies can accomplish this.

Native students with special needs must be given the chance for learning to read. Reading is one gatekeeping ability of society that opens doors into other worlds, be it a world of academic achievement, career accomplishments, or life-skills. As Mastropieri and Scruggs (1987) pointed out, students with special needs experience serious disabilities in reading skills. Consequently they can't participate in other activities of regular education which require a certain level of reading ability. The findings of reading research for the learning disabled have indicated that: (a) there are differences in reading comprehension between LD students and non-learning students, (b) LD readers may be taught self-monitoring during reading to improve comprehension, (c) LD students may succeed as well as other students on ability level and grade level materials with teacher guidance, and (d) Evidence supports the existence of minimal reading level for LD students to benefit from instruction.

Elementary Reading

Native students who are severely reading disabled should participate in a program of remediation patterned after their prescription. A plan of instruction for the student would identify the strengths and needs of the Native student. That plan would develop: (a) emergent literacy, (b) sight vocabulary, (c) reading fluency, (d) word analysis strategies, such as decoding, and context clues, (e) reading comprehension strategies, (f) listening comprehension, and (g) spelling ability. The skills can be learned in either English or the Native language. If a bilingual literacy program is available, the preceding reading developments would be key elements of the Native language literacy efforts.

Emergent Literacy

It has been established that literacy, which includes reading, begins well before children enter school. Pre-school and home activities can develop an awareness of pre-reading activities often labeled as reading readiness. However, emergent literacy describes an organic integration of the various readiness activities which can emerge of their own accord as children are exposed to certain basic experiences associated with the reading process.

Sight Vocabulary

As Native students grasp the graphaphonic system of the learned language, they become familiar with the syntactic system of the language being taught. They learn the word order, tense, number, gender, and all of the structural rules of a language. Native students become competent in understanding sentence organization and create appropriate sentence organization to demonstrate mastery of syntax. The semantic system, which relates to the "system of meanings in a language" (p. 27) is also acquired. This is "at the heart of reading. We evaluate the reader's use of the semantic system with questions about semantic acceptability and meaning change (Goodman, Watson, & Burke, p. 28).

Middle and High School Reading

Native pre-adolescent and adolescent students who are severely disabled in reading have already failed to read. The implications of this failure are serious. Much of the coursework in grades 6-12 requires independent reading ability and higher order thinking and comprehension skills. Students with disabilities are confronted with a nearly impossible task of maintaining passing grades when their reading ability is several years below grade level. Special education classes are geared towards improving that reading ability. Yet they too are challenged to accelerate a learning disabled student's reading level. If they graduate, which many do not, their reading level will not be at grade level, but may at least approach the ninth grade level. Their chances for success in postsecondary training and education become limited.

The adolescent learning disabled or the mildly handicapped children reading well below grade level should not be abandoned or ignored. Specific instructional strategies can accelerate their progress, or at least can help them develop a functional level of reading. A reading program for the older learning disabled would include the development of: (a) automaticity in word recognition, (b) automaticity in word analysis, (c) comprehension strategies, (d) increased time spent reading, and (e) general knowledge.

Principles of Reading Instruction

As teachers stress meaning-oriented instruction, the reading plan begins to emphasize reading comprehension and the strategies used to achieve that ability. Some conclusions, which resulted from an in-depth study (Harste, 1988) of special education classrooms engaged in teaching instruction, are relevant to the instruction of reading comprehension for Native students. The list below is a modification of the Harste guidelines to reflect the needs of Native students:

1. A reading curriculum for Native students should accommodate the growth of all students disabled and non-disabled, and be flexible enough to adapt to individual, cultural and linguistic characteristics of pupils.
2. It should be a curriculum that assures growth in language and thinking and supportive enough to guarantee student success.
3. Reading and writing should be used actively as tools for learning in the classroom.
4. Reading and writing should be main elements of a language arts program as students are involved in speech, art, music, drama, and dance as means for communication and growth.
5. The reading and writing activities of the classroom should have a high degree of functionality.
6. Higher level thinking abilities must be developed through the implementation of planned instructional experiences.
7. Children are taught how to use various reading comprehension strategies such as storying, visualizing, inferencing, summarizing, generalizing, and drawing conclusions based on reasoning processes, including intuition.
8. As readers activate their reading strategies they must have a set of generic skills that facilitate other strategies. Enabling strategies for reading such as initiating, sampling, predicting, and confirming strategies are key to the acquisition of meaning.
9. Reading materials, activities, and methods to demonstrate text comprehension should be chosen by children. Self-selection, independency, and comprehension occur when individuals no matter the age are capable of accomplishing the reading task independently.
10. Teachers should maintain and use, as an integral part of the reading program at all grade levels, a well-stocked classroom library which includes poetry, newspapers and trade books, as well as content area books and magazines.
11. Teachers should provide daily opportunities for children to share and discuss what they have been reading and writing.
12. Skills should be introduced as options that readers have when encountering unknown items in print, and that children be taught that choice as to which strategy to use under which condition is an integral part of what it means to be strategic reader.
13. In lieu of, or in addition to, standardized tests, evaluators directly observe important behaviors, attitudes and strategies that they associate with successful written language use, learning and teaching.

Mathematics

When decisions are made regarding the content of mathematics instruction for Native students with special needs, the National Council of Teachers of Mathematics has suggested what should be taught. In their "Twelve Components of Essential Mathematics" (1989) the NCTM has summarized their thinking as follows:

- **Problem-Solving**. Learning to solve problems is the principal reason for studying mathematics. Problem solving is the process of applying previously acquired knowledge to new and unfamiliar situations. Solving word problems in texts is one form of problem solving, but students also should be faced with non-text problems. Problem solving strategies involve posing questions, analyzing situations, translating results, illustrating results, drawing diagrams, and using trial and error. Students should see alternate solutions to problems; they should experience problems with more than a single solution.
- **Communicating Mathematical Ideas**. Students should learn the language and notation of mathematics. For example they

should understand place value and scientific notation. They should learn to receive mathematical ideas through listening, reading, and visualizing. They should be able to present mathematical ideas by speaking, writing, drawing pictures and graphs, and demonstrating with concrete models. They should be able to discuss mathematics and ask questions about mathematics.

- **Mathematical Reasoning**. Students should learn to make independent investigations of mathematical ideas. They should be able to identify and extent patterns and use experiences an observations to make conjectures (tentative conclusions). They should learn to use a counter-example to disprove a conjecture and they should learn to use models, known facts, and logical arguments to validate a conjecture. They should be able to distinguish between valid and invalid arguments.
- **Applying Mathematics to Everyday Situations**. Students should be encouraged to take everyday situations, translate them into mathematical representations(graphs, tables, diagrams, or mathematical expressions), process the mathematics, and interpret the results in light of the initial situation. They should be able to solve ratio, proportion, percent, and direct variation and inverse variation problems. Not only should students see how mathematics is applied in the real world, but also they should observe how mathematics grows from the world around them.
- **Alertness to Reasonable Results**. In solving problems, students should question how reasonable a solution or conjecture in relation to the original problem. Students must develop the number sense to determine if results of calculations are reasonable in relation to the original numbers and the operations used. With the increase in the use of calculating devices in society, this capability is more important than ever.
- **Estimation**. Students should be able to carry out rapid approximate calculations through the use of mental arithmetic and a variety of computational estimation techniques. When computation is needed in a problem or consumer setting, an estimate can be used to check reasonableness, examine a conjecture, or make a decision. Student should acquire simple techniques for estimating measurements such as length, area, volume, and mass (weight). They should be able to decide when a particular result is precise enough for the purpose at hand.
- **Appropriate Computational Skills**. Students should gain facility in using addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division with whole numbers and decimals. Today, long complicated computations should be done with a calculator or computer, knowledge of single-digit number facts is essential and using mental arithmetic is a valuable skill. In learning to apply computation, students should have practice in choosing the appropriate computational method; mental arithmetic, paper-pencil algorithm, or calculating device. Moreover, there are everyday situations that demand recognition of, and simple computation with, common fractions. In addition the ability to recognize, use, and estimate with percents must also be developed and maintained.
- **Algebraic Thinking**. Students should learn to use variables (letters) to represent mathematical quantities and expressions; they should be able to represent mathematical functions and relationships using tables, graphs, and equations. They should understand and correctly use positive and negative numbers, order of operations, formulas, equations, and inequalities. They should recognize the ways in which one quantity changes in relation to another.
- **Measurement**. Students should learn the fundamental concepts of measurement through concrete experiences. They should be able to measure distance, mass (weight, time, capacity, temperature), and angles. They should learn to calculate simple perimeters, areas, and volumes. Measurement is essential in both metric and customary system using the appropriate tools and levels of precision.
- **Geometry**. Students should understand the geometric concepts necessary to function effectively in the three dimensional world. They should have knowledge of concepts such as parallelism, perpendicularity, congruence, similarity, and symmetry. Students should know proper-

ties of simple plane and solid geometric figures. Students should visualize and verbalize how objects move in the world around them using terms such as slides, flips, and turns. Geometric concepts should be explored in setting that involve problem solving and measurement.

- **Statistics**. Students should plan and carry out the collection and organization of data to answer questions in their everyday lives. Students should know how to construct, read, and draw conclusions from simple tables, maps, charts, and graphs. They should be able to present information about numerical data such as measures of central tendency (mean, median, mode) and measures of dispersion (range, deviation). Students should recognize the basic uses and misuses of statistical representation and inference.
- **Probability**. Students should understand elementary notions of probability to determine the likelihood of future events. They should identify situations where immediate past experience does not affect the likelihood of future events. They should become familiar with how mathematics is used to help make predictions such as election results, business forecasts, and outcomes of sporting events. They should learn how probability applies to research results and to the decision-making process.

Learning Difficulties in Mathematics

Students with Learning Disabilities often find difficulty in mathematics. The various types of disabilities they encounter can pose problems tackling even the most simple kind of mathematical exercise. The following are examples of disabilities affecting math performances:

- **Perceptual Figure-Ground**. Problems in Perceptual figure-ground involve visual and auditory deficits. First, indicators of visual deficits include: (a) inability to finish all problems on a page, (b) frequently losing place in a lesson activity, (c) inability to see subtraction in a division problem, and (d) difficulty in reading multi-digit numbers. Second, indicators of auditory deficits include: (a) trouble hearing patterns in counting, and (b) difficulty in attending to the task or what the teacher is saying.
- **Discrimination.** Problems in discrimination involve other visual and auditory deficits. First, indicators of visual deficits include difficulty: (a) in differentiating coins, (b) in differentiating between or writing numbers, (c) in discriminating between operation symbols, and (d) in associating operation signs with problems. Second, indicators of auditory deficits include difficulty in: (a) distinguishing between 30- and 13, and (b) difficulty with decimal numbers.
- **Reversal**. Problems in reversals are primarily associated with visual deficits including reversing digits of a number and difficulty with regrouping.
- **Spatial**. Problems in spatial abilities involve several visual deficits and an auditory deficit. Indicators of visual deficits include difficulty in (a) trouble writing on lined paper, (b) the concept of before/after, (c) noticing size differences in shapes, (d) in fraction concepts because of an inability to recognize equal parts, (e) writing decimals, (f) aligning numbers, (g) in understanding ordinal numbers, and (h) writing fractional numbers. An indicator of an auditory deficit is the difficulty in following directions using ordinal numbers.
- **Short-Term Memory**. Problems in short-term memory involve visual and auditory deficits. Indicators of visual deficits are trouble in retaining newly presented material, and difficulty in copying problems from the board. Indicators of auditory deficits include difficulty with oral math drills and dictated assignments.
- **Long-Term Memory**. Problems in long-term memory involve an inability to retain basic facts or processes over a long period and difficulty solving multi-operation computation.
- **Sequential Skills**. Problems in sequencing skills include difficulty in: (a) telling time, (b) following through a multiplication problem and long division problems, (c) solving column addition problems, (d) solving multi-step word problems, and (e) retaining story problems that are dictated.
- **Integrative Closure**. Problems in Integrative closure involve both visual and auditory deficits. Indicators of visual deficits include difficulty in: (a) visualizing math groups, (b) reading multi-digit num-

bers, (c) dealing with missing addends and missing factors, (d) drawing conclusions, therefore, trouble noticing and continuing patterns, (e) in solving word problems, and (f) continuing counting patterns from within a given sequence. An indicator of an auditory deficit is the difficulty in counting from within a given sequence.

- **Expressive Language**. Problems in expressive language involve difficulty in: (a) rapid oral math drills, (b) counting on, and (c) explaining orally why a problem is solved as it is.
- **Receptive Language**. Problems in receptive language involve difficulties in: (a) relating words to meaning, (b) with words that have multiple meanings, (c) relating word to meaning, and (d) writing numbers from dictation.
- **Abstract Reasoning**. Problems in abstract reasoning involve difficulties in: (a) solving word problems; (b) comparing size of numbers, using symbols; (c) understand patterning in counting; and (d) understanding decimal concept.

In addition to the list of difficulties, Burton and Meyers (1987) recognized that many of the learning disabled students are receiving math instruction in the regular classrooms. Therefore, the regular classroom teacher must be aware of the following interferences with a learning disabled students ability to learn mathematics. Learning disabled students tend to have difficulty:

1. Listening carefully to the teacher's presentation of a concept.
2. Concentrating on assignments when independent work is required.
3. Manipulating objects and writing symbols with adequate eye-hand coordination.
4. Copying and organizing their assignments into formats that are readable and spatially workable.
5. Distinguishing between the right and left sides of a multi-digit numeral.
6. Recalling the proper sequence of steps required in an algorithm; and understanding the process and performing each step.
7. Memorizing basic facts for addition, subtraction, multiplication, and division; and understanding the operational processes.
8. Assimilating the mathematical terminology associated with computational skills.
9. Associating symbols with words and ideas they represent (pp. 702-709).

Instructional Remedies for Disabilities in Mathematics

Remedies for those difficulties would involve a systematic integration of the following elements of a effective mathematics program:

1. The instructional environment should include a hands-on concrete-sensory activities since that appears the way in which young children learn. Concept development in mathematics must have more manipulative materials that facilitate this environment.
2. Written symbols/computational procedures typically should be introduced after or in conjunction with exploratory work which focuses on provide meaning to what is written.
3. Problem-solving should be integrated into all facets of a child's mathematics program.
4. Internalization of mathematical concepts and development of language skills are two aspects of learning which can and should reinforce each other. Instructional activities should offer students opportunities to discuss their thinking, ask questions, and present their interpretation of a mathematical idea or computational procedure. As with independent study skills, many learning disabled students do not automatically develop the appropriate mathematical language; consequently, they must be taught the specifics involved.
5. Students' feelings about themselves as learners and about their experiences with mathematics can greatly influence the level of their efforts and eventual success. By providing an environment that is accepting, encouraging, stimulating, and enjoyable, a program can foster a strong self-image and a positive attitude toward mathematics (Bley & Thornton, 1989, p. 5).

There are additional techniques effective with students having difficulty with mathematics. These can be incorporated into the remedies spelled out above. They address the visual and auditory problems described previously:

1. Special education teachers can increase the use of visuals and manipulatives to illustrate new and important ideas.
2. Visual cueing with boxes, circles, and lines can be drawn on the chalkboard or worksheet to help the student organize his visual perception of the problem. Visual cueing can also be accomplished by developing a color code that helps keep steps and sequences of a math procedure organized visually.
3. Fewer problems should be assigned so that accuracy can be achieved. Minimize or

eliminate copying by students from the textbook or chalkboard. Some learning disabled students cannot copy.

4. The presentation of the text material should be altered, adjusted to meet a special need that has been diagnosed. The standard presentation of lecture/recitation, chalkboard presentation, practice may have to be modified.
5. Allow younger children to finger tracing or perform other sensory techniques. It helps them attend to the math task and reinforces visual and auditory cues provided by the worksheet or verbal instruction of the teacher.
6. Capitalize on patterns in the math exercise and other associations to promote understanding or retention.
7. Use auditory cueing as verbal explanations are given. They aid the student in attending to task and following along, without losing his/her place.
8. Make samples for students who need them. Visual aides help them to replicate or perceive the way in which a problem or task needs to be visually organized.
9. Carefully sequence instruction in small steps, with adequate provision for practice and review (pp. 25-35).

Functional Life Skills

The disabling condition may interfere with an individual's ability to deal with ordinary life circumstances in a socially acceptable manner. Learning certain skills associated with this need will assist one in asserting some independency or power over everyday situations. The disabling condition also determines the nature of learning. Certain conditions may prevent an individual from achieving a normal rate and level of learning. Efforts are made to ameliorate, overcome, or compensate for the conditions to help the students achieve their potential. These are part of the basic curriculum and woven into the instructional day along with an appropriate level of instruction in the basic academic skills. Examples of instructional components include:

- ***Readiness and Academic Skills***. With preschoolers and elementary school children, basic reading and arithmetic skills are stressed. Later these skills are applied to practical work and community settings.
- ***Communication and Language Development***. Practice in using language to communicate needs and ideas. Specific efforts to improve memory skills and problem solving skills at the level of the student's ability.
- ***Socialization***. Specific instruction in self-care and family living skills, beginning at the preschool level with sharing and manners, then gradually developing in secondary school into subjects like grooming, dancing, sex education, and drug abuse.
- ***Pre-Vocational and Vocational Skills***. Establishing the basis for vocational adjustment through good work habits (promptness, following through on instruction, working cooperatively on group projects). At the secondary level, this curriculum stream can focus on career education and include part-time job placement and field trips to possible job sites.

Teaching Methodology

There is concern over the effectiveness of special education instruction, either in the pull-out programs or in the mainstreamed setting. Researchers have examined both models and have found mixed results. What follows are recommendations for reform in general teaching practices applicable to most special education teachers in the various types of classroom, self-contained, pull-out, and replacement.

Larrivee (1989) examined the research on the effectiveness of certain special education programs involving mainstreamed instruction and found disturbing results. First, the social status of mainstreamed children was not being impacted as intended. Second, the academic progress expected within a mainstreamed environment did not occur. It seemed that simply physically integrating the handicapped children into the regular classroom was insufficient to foster the improvement in academic progress.

In order to uncover classrooms that were succeeding in generating an acceptable level of academic progress and to discover certain teaching strategies that were correlated with that achievement, Larrivee studied mainstream-teachers for their effectiveness and arrived at the following teacher profile:

1. Provided frequent positive feedback to students.
2. Provided sustaining feedback to students responding incorrectly to questions.
3. Provided supportive, encouraging responses to students in general.

4. Provides supportive response to low-ability students in particular.
5. Provided supportive response to problem behaviors indicative of a learning problem.
6. Asked questions that students answered correctly.
7. Provided learning tasks that students could accomplish with a high rate of success.
8. Used classroom time efficiently.
9. Exhibited low incidences of teacher interventions.
10. Exhibited infrequent need to discipline students.
11. Exhibited limited use of punitive interventions.
12. Exhibited minimal response to students.
13. Criticized rarely student responses.
14. Allowed little student transition or non-instructional time.
15. Produced low rate of student off-task time.

Whether in the regular classroom or in the resource room, the teacher can find great success with Native students with or without disabilities. These are generic teaching behaviors that have been called for in effective schools literature in various forms.

Mastropieri and Scruggs (1987) explored instructional behaviors thought to be indicato of teacher effectiveness for special education. It has been conclusively demonstrated that teachers do make a difference in student learning and that teachers who learn and practice certain teaching skills are more effective than teachers who do not. Some of the teacher effectiveness variables that support that contention for special education are described in Table 3.

Larrivee and Mastropieri and Scruggs stress generic teaching behaviors that common to the "direct-instruction" model of teaching which has its advocates in regular and special education literature. The teacher dominates frequently the communication between teacher and students. Students are expected to receive through direct instruction all the logically organized knowledge and skills required for mastery. A hierarchy of skills and subskills are sequenced for instruction.

However, there are some concerns with "direct-instruction" methods for minority students that have relevance to Native special education. Cummins (1984) argued that the traditional transmission model of teaching reflected the standard curricular design for learning which emphasized, "academic task demands, establishment of sequential learning objectives based on this task analysis, "direct instruction" of individual task components, proceeding from "simpler" lower level subskills to more complex integrations of these subskills" (p. 222).

This approach had negative consequences for some children. The significant numbers of children identified as "learning disabled" may have been placed into special educational programs as a result of a "pedagogically-induced" effect of the

TABLE 3
Teacher Effectiveness Variables for Special Education

Variable	Description
Time on Task	Time students are actually working on specific tasks
Content Covered	Amount of information presented in a given period
Scope and Sequence	Amount to be covered and presentation order
Objectives	Behavioral outcomes of instruction
Pacing	Rate at which objectives are met
Providing Information	Teacher delivery of content
Questioning	Prompting of overt student response
Feedback	Teacher consequation of student response
Guided and Independent Practice	Practice learned behavior
Formative Evaluation	Continuous assessment of progress

"transmission" model of teaching. Teachers rather than continuing with that approach to instruction of educational need, Cummins (1984) proposed a "reciprocal interaction" model of teaching that incorporates the findings from other researchers that stress the following:

1. Teachers should hold genuine dialogue between student and teacher in both oral and written forms.
2. Instead of controlling student learning, teachers should guide, facilitate, and encourage student learning to the point of independency.
3. Teachers should foster collaborative student to student talk, keeping the dialogue on task and focused on the lesson.
4. Teachers should encourage language use that is meaningful rather than require student language use always to be guided by some artificial demand for constant correctness of the surface forms of speech.
5. Teachers should integrate consciously the development of language use with all areas of learning. Do not teach language separate from the other subjects.
6. Teachers should focus on building higher order thinking skills than the lower order skills exclusively such as factual recall.
7. Teachers should work towards intrinsic and extrinsic motivation as they present the tasks to the students for completion.

Summary on Curriculum Interventions

Native special education as it currently is designed encompasses most of the curriculum that is transmitted by the regular education program. The knowledge and skills of the academic program are expected to be learned by the Native students with disabilities. However, there are differences in performances exhibited by the disabled students caused by their disabilities.

Issues that require closer analysis are the policy areas of bilingual education and the Regular Education Initiative. Bilingual education may be critical to the survival of those tribes that desire the maintenance of their language, and students who have Native language proficiency will find the use of their Native language in the classroom beneficial to their acquisition of academic knowledge and skill. It will empower them to obtain the rewards of a successful education.

The Regular Education Initiative is a radical alternative to the current system of special education that separates its programs from the regular classroom through various structures. Researchers have claimed the current programs have not succeeded in preventing academic failure to many if not most of the disabled students. The REI advocates suggest that the regular classroom teacher can, if trained properly, provide instruction to the learning disabled and the mildly handicapped, better than a separate system of instruction represented by the current special education system.

Special education early childhood programs for Native children are critical to any preventative measures in the preschool years. Nationwide policies on comprehensive child-find and preventative education are essential for Native infants and young children.

The academic program for Native students with disabilities replicates the content of the regular program. However, their disabilities suggest special approaches to accommodate their effects. Reading ability can be acquired by Native students if instruction is focused on critical skills such as sight vocabulary, word analysis skills, and reading strategies. There is a need to instill in the Native students a higher degree of automaticity so they can focus their cognitive abilities on the higher order thinking required in later grades.

Mathematics is another area of academic difficulty Native students with disabilities have experienced. There are several aspects of their disabilities that cause problems in mathematics. The interventions necessary for remedying these problems were listed. The utilization of all the senses is critical to their learning. Concrete manipulatives, visual and auditory cues foster understanding and attention.

Generic teaching skills associated with "direct instruction" have been found useful in special education programs. If trained properly in the use of these skills, regular and special education teachers can improve their effectiveness with regular and special education students.

Personnel

Personnel Shortages

Factors which impede significantly the delivery of services to Native children with disabilities are the lack of trained Special Education personnel to fill vacancies and high rates of staff turnover. High staff turnover affects the quality and consistency of educational programs for Native students. Specifically, there are few Native people studying in fields which would prepare them to meet the educational and service needs of Native people with disabilities. Personnel include those trained in the fields of special education, physical therapy, occupational therapy, speech pathology, audiology, vocational rehabilitation, school psychologists, and other support personnel.

School districts in rural areas are particularly affected by the lack of trained professionals. Special education students who graduate from universities are recruited readily and typically find jobs with relative ease; many prefer to work in urban areas. Rural and reservation school district administrators use varied avenues to recruit teachers to fill vacancies. Administrators contact the University Colleges of Education and the Placement Offices. When efforts within the formal network of resources are exhausted they call on anyone who might be in a position to provide leads on where teachers might be recruited. I have received calls from school administrators on or near reservations recruiting for teachers from states like California, North Dakota, South Dakota, New Mexico, Kansas, and school districts throughout Arizona. The need is so great that teachers are occasionally recruited from one rural school district to another or from one state to another. For example, teachers can choose to work on either the New Mexico side of the Navajo reservation or the Arizona side; Arizona, however has higher salary ranges.

Difficulties in recruiting teachers and support personnel extend also to retaining teachers in those positions. Although teachers may find the rural or reservation location to be a challenge, maybe even an adventure, for some teachers, a reservation-based teaching position is accepted only until a more suitable position becomes available in an urban area. For some teachers who decide to teach in the rural or reservation communities, their expectations of a Native community may be discrepant from the reality of the situation. For example, some Native communities may be situated 30 miles from the nearest store from which to purchase gas, basic food items and some household items, however it may be 60 or more miles to a larger urban community. In the Alaska Native communities, where travel in the rural areas is often by boat or aircraft, weather is often the determinant of shopping trips for purchase of food and household items. Some families order food especially canned goods and household items in quantities sufficient to last the year in late Summer or early Fall so that they might be shipped before the waterways become impassable from ice.

Teaching in Rural Communities

Special educational professionals who decide to remain in rural or reservation communities do so for varied reasons. Features of rural employment can be both satisfying and unsatisfying. Offner (1989) listed responses given by social workers, nurse practitioners, special educators, mental health professionals, and physical therapists of rural employment in Table 4.

The Need and the Response

Needs inevitably point to the chronic shortage of trained professionals who can provide such services based on the number of individuals with disabilities and the type of disabilities. The broad and intensive level of needs outstrip the availability of resources. The urgency for training programs which would yield special educators and related personnel has been articulated consistently (Baca & Miramontes, 1985; Gajar, 1985; Ramirez & Johnson, 1988; Ramirez & Tippeconnic, 1979). Although there are university-based training programs, many of which are federally funded, the results of such training are not immediate. Programs of study may take more than four years for a bachelor's degree to include student teaching and 1 1/2 to 2 years for a master's degree which may require internships. Those who do complete their studies typically have job offers prior to graduation.

Table 4

Features of Rural Employment

Satisfying Aspects:
- Relationship with other staff members
- Variety of clients and assignments
- Professional Autonomy
- Therapeutic relationships with clients
- Specific job tasks

Unsatisfying Aspects:
- Low salary levels
- Relationships with superiors
- Excessive job demands and feeling overworked
- Poor funding and budget cuts
- Lack of professional advancement opportunities
- Professional isolation

Note: From "Features of Rural Employment" by R.B. Offner, 1989, Meeting the Rehabilitation Needs of Rural Americans, p. 20.

Although special education training programs for Native students located at universities like Pennsylvania State University, and Northern Arizona University and speech pathology programs like the one at University of Arizona have developed relevant and creditable programs, efforts also focus on recruitment of students who can make the commitment to complete their studies. It is likely that most of the students will be either married with families or single parents. Native students must then balance their efforts and energies toward their studies and family needs.

The shortage of personnel who can serve Native children with disabilities impacts directly the quality of education. This personnel shortage cannot be tolerated, and direct and assertive approaches must be instituted if the education of Native children is perceived as a high priority. On this issue of trained personnel, school administrators, school board, parents, and community need to recognize that teachers and support personnel are integral components to a quality education. They also must make assertive efforts to encourage college students to pursue teacher training programs.

Universities must be take measures to ensure that the graduates from their programs are adequately trained for positions not only in urban areas but also in rural and reservation communities and schools with a predominant minority enrollment. In addition, university administrators, college deans, boards of regents and others must be informed directly about the needs for professionals who can serve children with disabilities.

Strategies for getting trained teachers and support personnel can be met through collaborative efforts and partnerships between tribes, agencies, and universities. For example, a school district in New Mexico in partnership with the University of New Mexico provided training to individuals degreed in areas other than education. The training consisted of university-based coursework coupled with school site-based training. A similar strategy might be implemented to get special education teachers. A recent development was initiated by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA). The BIA signed a Memorandum of Understanding with the Peace Corps Volunteers to recruit returning Peace Corps Volunteers (Indian News, 1991) to teach on Indian reservations. Qualified participants would be placed in paid positions and will have opportunities to pursue graduate studies at collaborating universities.

Tribal community colleges have a role in responding to training needs on a local level. For example, the opportunities exist to develop and implement programs of study for special education aides, early childhood educators, rehabilitation technicians or perhaps speech technicians. Training programs might be designed for one to two years in duration culminating in an Associate degree. Emphasis would be on application of knowledge in a work setting or in the community. The foundation of study at the community college would serve as a stimulus to advance toward a bachelor's degree.

Many Native people have the desire and interest in pursuing training and education, however the purse is empty. Multiple personal and family demands on a limited income leaves little, if any, in reserve for expenses like tuition, board, and other costs. The scholarship funds, which exist through the Bureau of Indian Affairs and within tribes, are a primary source for college education funds. Native students and their parents will recognize readily that these funds rarely meet all college expenses. Native students will likely have to garner a collage of resources to fund their education with parents having to shoulder some of the expense.

Parents, Family and Community

Education calls for the involvement of parents. Special education laws and regulations have embodied the principle of parent involvement. Through the passage of Public Law 94-142 (The Education for All Handicapped Act), the awareness and importance of parent involvement made gains in terms of parental consent on aspects of evaluation, development of the Individual Education Plan (IEP), and special education placement. Information on procedural safeguards was conveyed to parents. Information about the child's education was to be forwarded to parents, in their native language when necessary. Although there may have been a sense of fervor in the initial years following the passage of Public Law 94-142, that commitment seems to have waned. In a study by Connery (1987), Indian parents were much less informed about their rights under Public Law 94-142 as compared to white parents. Less than 25 percent of Navajo parents were aware of the existence of the law while 75 percent of white parents knew of the law's existence. However, 68 percent of both groups of parents did not understand their rights as specified in special education policy.

The basis or premise for parent involvement continues to be promotion and development of learning in children. Involvement of parents in the education of their children signifies the interest and support for the importance of learning, of teachers' efforts, and of educational goals and outcomes. As parents and members of a community, parent involvement is targeted as an essential ingredient in helping to achieve desired or anticipated educational outcomes. In terms of children with disabilities, development of strategies to ensure this involvement is paramount to the optimum growth and development of children with disabilities. Minnesota, through trained Native liaisons, has made efforts to promote and facilitate parent involvement (Stuecher, 1985). The liaisons serve to interpret and communicate concerns of Native parents to school personnel.

One will recognize readily that the learning and support needs of children are varied and diverse. Similarly, the needs of parents also vary given personal and family needs and concerns. Situations which may place anxiety or feelings of jeopardy on parents include limited resources for food, shelter, medical needs, utilities, etc. For parents from culturally or linguistically different groups, these are added factors of consideration in the involvement of parents. Parental needs and concerns will impact greatly on the level and extent of involvement with a child's education.

It is critical that we broaden our view of parent involvement given the varying responsibilities, needs, and priorities of parents relative to their families. Attendance at meetings may be the most efficient means of conveying information, however parents may not find this type of involvement to be the most realistic in terms of their commitments. Families who have a child or family member with a disability may experience demands on their time, energy, and resources to attend to the disabled family member. The type and extent of disability along with the range of resources available to the family who has a family member with a disability will determine whether the parent(s) might feel that they cannot cope nor respond to additional demands on their families.

The need for redefining parent involvement is guided by the changing dynamics of families and of society. Seefeldt (1985) suggested that parent involvement be characterized by: (a) being sensitive to the needs of families, (b) focusing on offering real support for families, and (c) providing true collaboration between home and school (p. 99). Thus, although parent or family involvement is desirable in enhancing the development and learning of a child, it should not place stress on the family, not should parent involvement have to be painful or unpleasant.

Families may focus their energies on the family member with a disability perhaps to the exclusion or oversight of other family members. Although parent involvement is desirable, it must also attempt to balance priorities in their lives. In one situation, there was a single parent with twin girls, one of whom was disabled. She also had older children, one of them was a son in high school. She acknowledged that her attention to her twin daughters had resulted in overlooking the guidance and encouragement her son needed. Her recognition of such needs helped her to bring a greater sense of balance to the attention needed by all the children.

Providing real support to parents would be in terms of facilitating parent involvement. It would be helpful to parents to have greater flexibility in times when parents might participate. Participation might also be influenced with availability of support like child care. Transportation is cited often by parents as a need. The absence of available transportation limits the parent involvement. While a school or program may not be in a position to offer transportation services, it would help parents if a network were in place where they would be put in touch with someone with whom they might catch a ride. Parent involvement should not be burdensome to parents nor be a source of stress or anxiety. Thus, support extended to parents helps parents to participate in their child's development or education.

Collaboration between teachers/educators and parents implies that interaction is one which is a partnership — shared responsibilities and benefits. Given the multiple demands on parents, use of their time should be related to the enhancement of their child's education. Parents must have a role in deciding the type of activities in which they which to participate. Although parents may initially have a role of receiving information (i.e., characteristics of their child's disability or strategies for helping the child to develop) or training (i.e., provision for special education through legislation), these should serve as a basis for a range of involvement in their child's education. For example, parents might work as partners with the teachers in reinforcing use of words in social situations (please, thank you, I want, etc.), or providing consistency in the structure a child might need for learning like limiting the distractions for studying.

Advocacy

Infants and young children with disabilities benefit from the care and support from parents and families; parent support groups can also help family members through the years when needs seem most intense for children with disabilities.

Children quickly grow to an adult age. Children can develop the skills to advocate on their own behalf should be taught.

Recommendations

Indian Nations At Risk Hearings

Recommendations for improved and effective services for Native children and adults with disabilities are advanced from two sources. Testimony presented at the hearings conducted by the INAR is a key source of recommendations. In addition, research reports, studies, and other sources of recommendations will be included.

Implementation of Services to Meet the Need

Simply stated, the mandate of Public Law 94-142 and its amendments to provide a 'free and appropriate public education' for children with disabilities must be implemented. Further, schools and native communities are at a loss of how to meet these educational needs in view of increased need and diminishing funds and resources with which to meet these needs. The needs outweigh the services and resources necessary to provide adequate services. Resources needed include program development, funds, and disparity in per pupil expenditures between public school districts and BIA funded schools. There was also concern for children who are classified as slow learners or 'at-risk' and for whom there is no additional help until they are sufficiently delayed to meet eligibility requirements for special education or until help is no longer needed if they have dropped out. Consideration must also be given to alternative educational programs ... Testimony which attests to these needs include:

> ... more educational programs (must) ... be developed to that the special and unique needs of the multi-handicapped students are met. ... programs should be designed so that these students can achieve a level whereby they can ... become independent. (Lucero, October 15, 1990)
>
> ... changes targeted for Special Education are designed to put us in a position of not being able to meet the basic legal requirements of Public Law 94-142. [as printed in Federal Register, May 3, 1990]

We take strong and unqualified exception ... that the unique educational needs of handicapped children should be ignored in order to effect a balance or reduction in the BIA's education budget" (Sierra, August 20, 1990).

"If a child is labeled as a slow learner by a psycho-educational battery, and achieves at that below-grade, the child can't receive outside help and is consigned to a classroom of 25 to 30 or more children. ... that's the way their education goes till they can't take it any more and get discouraged" (Baker-Benally, Clark, & Thieman, 1989).

Revised Definitions for Eligibility in Special Education Programs

There was concern regarding revisions for definitions of handicapping conditions (see Federal Register, May 3, 1990). Students eligible for Special Education funds would include only those with severe disabilities. Funds would not be available for other than the most severe disabilities and would thereby restrict funds for those with other types of disabilities such as attention deficit disorders, conduct disorders, and children with fetal alcohol syndrome or substance abuse syndrome. Statements from testimony included:

- "The ... proposed regulation ... that any condition less than a severe physical handicap does not merit special educational services will set public policy back to the last century. Fully ninety percent (90%) of ... students qualifying for services defined under P.L. 94-142 would be denied coverage under the proposed changes for ISEP standards" (Sierra, August 20, 1990).
- "The new definitions for several of the handicapping conditions are unduly restrictive. Implementation of these definitions will encourage schools to withhold or ignore pertinent information about a child in order to place him/her in special Education, since no other conditions or separate programs ... exist at this time to assist schools with the special needs of children with problems such as Attention Deficits Disorders, Conduct Disorders or ... fetal alcohol or substance abuse syndrome" (Billie, August, 22, 1990).
- "The revised definitions for special education preclude placement of most of these children in the Special Education Program" (Billie, August 22, 1990).

Pre-School Programs

"We are asking the BIA to address these issues (provision of special education intervention extended from preschool through the second grade without formally labeling them in the Special Education Programs) within the Special Education Program as they have been addressed in the

States' Special Education Program" (Billie, August 22, 1990).

Family and Community Involvement

The need for parent or family involvement is cited as a need of high priority. One of the avenues through which this can be achieved is by training parents about their rights relative to the education of their child with a disability. Efforts to invite parents to the school for meetings for purposes such as reviewing the individual education plan (IEP) can be an intimidating experience. Parents and families may perceive that one should be grateful for any services which can be provided even when they are inadequate. Input into the child's educational plan is invited, however it is difficult to offer suggestions when the range of options are unknown. Further, the language and terminology of the educational and related services are often confusing as they are presented by professionals from various disciplines.

Parents can be trained to respond effectively to the special needs of their children. They must be prepared to meet this responsibility. School districts and local communities can help parents to increase their knowledge base and to enhance their skills.

Future Programming Needs

Fetal Alcohol and Substance Abuse Syndrome. The effects of fetal alcohol syndrome (FAS) are real and impact on every aspect of life for the person affected by it. The rate of FAS is alarmingly high for our Native people ranging from 1 in 60 births among the Plains tribes to 1 in 450 births for Pueblo tribes in comparison to 1 in 600 to 1 in 750 births in the general US population (May, Hymbaugh, Aase, & Samet, 1984). The educational needs of these children can be anticipated and schools and social service agencies can plan and develop services to meet their needs.

Parents and community members can identify needs and issues of Native people with disabilities which require response. Such input can be given through state and local councils for developmental disabilities, independent living and special education. Organizations like the Association for Retarded Citizens or for Learning Disabled Children can also be contacted or perhaps established. The BIA can be contacted for a list of the membership on the BIA Special Education Advisory Committee. The groups provide a forum for input on existing and future needs of disabled Native people and their families.

Other Issues

Extended Year Schooling

Recommendations which call for year-round schooling would also affect children with disabilities. It would be beneficial especially for students with disabilities who might require weeks or months in the beginning of the school year to regain the progress made during the previous school year.

> *Dissemination and Awareness about Services and Resources. It was recommended that, the Indian Health Service should serve as a main vehicle for distributing information about disabilities and rehabilitation services to (Native) people, as well as providing client referrals for vocational rehabilitation services.*

Networking of Resources

Persons with disabilities and their families often have other concerns or problems which may need to be met in concert with the disabling condition. Thus, there may be concerns with housing, as well as food stamps, child care, health care, etc. Determination of priorities have to be made although all concerns may fit in the category of 'high priority'. Since agencies often have limited budgets and resources, it would be beneficial to the children and adults with disabilities and to their families if the assistance were provided to help piece together a network of resources rather than being shuffled from one agency to another until frustration sets in and finally one gives up. In particular, a case manager would be helpful.

Training for persons with disabilities and their families. Native parents have little knowledge of the rights and procedural safeguards as protected by legislation (Connery, 1987). Children who have the potential for semi-independent or independent living skills might also take particular interest in self-advocacy as they approach adolescence and adulthood. A Sioux man with a disability indicated that he and many other Native people are not assertive by nature. It would be helpful to have assertiveness training for people with disabilities since they will likely be required to interact with non Native people who may be more talkative. In addition, training can prepare individuals with disabilities as self-advocates. Advocacy training would be useful for persons who wish to help advocate for people with disabilities.

Housing

In situations where individuals with disabilities might have limited or no access to education, training or employment, the Housing and Urban Development (HUD) should build such housing units. Homes in which there is a family member with a disability should also be considered for modifications by HUD or other agencies which might increase or enhance their level of independence.

Testimony provided to the INAR indicated a concern for the BIA Priority System between such programs as scholarships and adult education and non-education programs for services like general assistance, social problems, unemployment, and reducing crime (Billie, August 22, 1990).

Notes

The term 'disability' will be used in this report as the term of preference which is least offensive to people with disabilities.

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American Indian and Alaska Native Higher Education: Toward a New Century of Academic Achievement and Cultural Integrity

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The Historical Context

Caleb Cheeshateaumuck, an Algonquian Indian from Martha's Vineyard, graduated from Harvard College, Class of 1665. An outstanding scholar, Cheeshateaumuck could not only read, write and speak English, but Latin and Greek as well — not to mention a facility with his own Native language. Although fully able to meet Harvard's rigorous academic demands, the young Native scholar could not escape the dangers associated with life in an alien environment. He died within months of his college degree, victim of a foreign disease to which he had no immunity.

Cheeshateaumuck was among the first in a long line of Native students who have attended colleges and universities during the past three centuries. He represents, too, the challenge and the triumph, as well as the failure and tragedy, that characterize the history of American Indian and Alaska Native higher education. These conflicting outcomes reflect the clash of cultures, the confrontation of life styles, that has ensued on college campuses since colonial days. Euro-Americans have persistently sought to remold Native peoples in the image of the white man — to "civilize" and assimilate the "savages" — but with equal vigor, Natives have struggled to preserve their cultural integrity. The college campus has historically provided a stage for this cross-cultural drama.

Early Resistance to Higher Education

For as long as colleges have existed in America, Native peoples have had opportunities for higher learning. In fact, they provided the impetus for establishing some of the most enduring and prestigious institutions in the nation: Harvard College (1650), the College of William and Mary (1693), and Dartmouth College (1756) — all of which included an American Indian mission in their original charters. Operating under an educational philosophy that has persisted for centuries, these early colleges aimed to Christianize and "civilize" the Indians. The hope was that educated Natives, as schoolmasters and preachers, would become missionary agents among their own brethren.

The colonial experiments in American Indian higher education proved, for the most part, unsuccessful. Targeted tribal groups resisted missionary efforts and tenaciously clung to their traditional life ways. The general Indian sentiment is illustrated by the Six Nations response to the treaty commissioners from Maryland and Virginia, who in 1744 invited the Indians to send their sons to the College of William and Mary. "We must let you know," the Iroquois leaders responded,

> we love our Children too well to send them so great a Way, and the Indians are not inclined to give their Children learning. We allow it to be good, and we thank you for your Invitation; but our customs differing from yours, you will be so good as to excuse us (Van Doren, 1938, p. 36).

This attitude has characterized the Native response to "civilized" education through the present time.

As the colonial era ended with the birth of the American nation, Native education increasingly became a matter of federal policy. Observing the failure of colonial educational missions, George Washington voiced a shift in policy from an emphasis on higher learning to vocational training for American Indians. "I am fully of the opinion," he concluded,

> that this mode of education which has hitherto been pursued with respect to these young Indians who have been sent to our colleges is not such as can be productive of any good to their nations. It is perhaps productive of evil. Humanity and good policy must make it the wish of every good citizen of the United States that husbandry, and consequently, civilization, should be intro-

> duced among the Indians. (Berry, 1968, p. 88)

Washington advocated a policy that limited the educational experience to vocational training and aimed at the dissolution of traditional Native life. This educational philosophy unfolded in the nineteenth century and dominated until the twentieth, even in the midst of tribal efforts to gain a foothold in higher education.

Early Tribal Support for Higher Education

While many tribes resisted attempts to "civilize" them through education, some Native groups eagerly embraced higher learning. During the 1830s, at the same time that Dartmouth was educating 12 members of the Five Civilized Tribes, the Cherokees and the Choctaws organized a system of higher education which had more than 200 schools, and sent numerous graduates to eastern colleges. The 1830 Treaty of Dancing Rabbit Creek set aside $10,000 for the education of Choctaw youth. The first official use of the funds provided under this treaty occurred in 1841, when the tribe authorized the education of Native boys at Ohio University, Jefferson College, and Indiana University. And the 1843 Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs mentioned the education of 20 Choctaw boys, ten at Asbury University and ten at Lafayette College.

The Choctaws selected graduates from tribally-operated boarding schools on the basis of their promise and allowed them to continue their education until they had completed graduate and professional study at colleges in the states. Several members of the Five Civilized Tribes entered Dartmouth in 1838, and in 1854, Joseph Folsom, a Choctaw, received a degree. In all, 12 Choctaw and Cherokee students received support to attend Dartmouth. Ironically, the Choctaw academic system, responsible for a literacy rate exceeding that of their white neighbors, collapsed when the federal government became involved in the late 1800s.

Bacone College, founded by the Baptists in 1880, received tribal support, which came in the form of a land grant from the Creek Tribe. Dedicated to the training of Indian clergy, the College opened to three students; by the end of its fifth year, 56 students had enrolled. Bacone College still operates today with a strong (but not exclusive) commitment to educate American Indians and Alaska Natives (Task Force Five, 1976, p. 268).

Education as Assimilation

Natives who attended universities and colleges during the seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, for the most part, studied the same subjects as did the white students. However, as the federal government began to dominate Native education in the late nineteenth century, it significantly reduced the role of missionary groups, private individuals and the states. The result was a decline in the emphasis on higher learning. Instead, higher education gave way to vocational training.

In 1870 Congress appropriated $100,000 for the operation of federal industrial schools, and the first off-reservation boarding school was established at Carlisle, Pennsylvania in 1879. The boarding school system dominated the federal approach to Native education for half a century. Its methods included the removal of the students from their homes and tribal influences, strict military discipline, infusion of the Protestant work ethic, as well as an emphasis on the agricultural, industrial and domestic arts — *not* higher academic study.

Most importantly, like the colonial colleges, these institutions intended to remake their Native charges in the image of the white man. Luther Standing Bear, a Sioux, attended Carlisle in 1879. He recalled the cultural assaults he and others encountered during the educational process:

> Our first resentment was in having our hair cut. It has ever been the custom of Lakota men to wear long hair, and old tribal members still wear the hair in this manner. On first hearing the rule, some of the older boys talked of resisting, but realizing the uselessness of doing so, submitted. But for days after being shorn we felt strange and uncomfortable... . The fact is that we were to be transformed. (Standing Bear, 1933, pp. 189-93)

Fueled by a large congressional appropriation in 1882, twenty-five boarding schools opened by the turn of the century — among them, Santa Fe Indian School, which became the Institute of American Indian Arts, a two-year postsecondary school, and Haskell Institute (now Haskell Indian Junior College) in Lawrence, Kansas. These institutes, like the normal schools of the nineteenth century, were not true colleges. Their standards of training, at best, approximated only those of a good manual-training high school. At this time, the range of occupational futures envisioned for Indian students in these institutions was limited to farmer, mechanic and housewife.

By the turn of the century, only a few talented Native youth went on for further training at American colleges and universities. Ohiyesa, a Sioux, was among them. Adopting the notion that "the Sioux should accept civilization before it was too late," Charles A. Eastman (his English name) graduated from Dartmouth College in 1887 and three years later received a degree in medicine from Boston University. Eastman was keenly aware that his academic success depended on his acceptance of American civilization and the rejection of his own traditional culture. "I renounced finally my bow and arrow for the spade and the pen," he wrote in his memoirs, "I took off my soft moccasins and put on the heavy and clumsy but durable shoes. Every day of my life I put into use every English word that I knew, and for the first time permitted myself to think and act as a white man" (Eastman, 1916, pp. 58, 65).

Ohiyesa's accomplishments were rare in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Native education — although still preserving the centuries-old purpose of civilizing the "savages" — seldom exceeded the high school level. The impact of this neglect on Native educational attainment is reflected in enrollment figures. As late as 1932, only 385 American Indians and Alaska Natives were enrolled in college, and only 52 college graduates could be identified (McNamara, 1984, p. 52). At that time, too, American Indian and Alaska Native scholarships were being offered at only five colleges and universities.

Federal Efforts in the Twentieth Century

Not until the New Deal era of the 1930s, a period of reform in federal Indian policy, did Native higher education receive government support. The Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, among other sweeping reforms, authorized $250,000 in loans for college expenses. By 1935, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported 515 Natives in college. Although the loan program was discontinued in 1952, the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) had established the higher education scholarship grant program in 1948, allocating $9,390 among fifty students. American Indian and Alaska Native veterans returning from World War II eligible for GI Bill educational benefits added to the growing number of college students. According to estimates, some 2,000 Native students were enrolled in some form of postsecondary education during the last half of the 1950s. The enrollment grew to about 7,000 by 1965. Sixty-six American Indian and Alaska Natives graduated from four-year institutions in 1961, and by 1968 this figure had almost tripled. Still, in 1966, only one percent of the Native population was enrolled in college (McNamara, 1984, p. 52).

During the 1970s, a series of federal task force and U.S. General Accounting Office reports called attention to the academic, financial, social and cultural problems which American Indian and Alaska Native students encountered in pursuing a college education. These reports fell on attentive Congressional ears. By 1979 the Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Program was financing approximately 14,600 undergraduates and 700 graduate students. Of these, 1,639 received college degrees and 434 earned graduate degrees (McNamara, 1984, p. 70). In addition, federal legislation, including the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act of 1975 and the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act of 1978, spawned striking new developments in Native higher education.

Perhaps the most dramatic policy change reflected in the new legislation was the shift to Native control of education. For the first time, American Indians and Alaska Natives — who had thus far been subjected to paternalistic and assimilationist policies — began to take control of their own affairs. Higher education was among the targets of the new Self-Determination programs, best illustrated by the development of tribally-controlled community colleges.

Tribal colleges evolved for the most part during the 1970s in response to the unsuccessful experience of Native students on mainstream campuses. Today, there are 24 tribally-controlled colleges in eleven Western and Midwestern states — from California to Michigan, and from Arizona to the Dakotas. These institutions serve about 10,000 American Indians and have a full-time equivalent enrollment of about 4,500 students.

Current Demographics

Until very recently, failed federal policy worked against full Native participation in higher education. Fostered by the Johnson Administration's "War on Poverty," however, American Indians and Alaska Natives joined other underrepresented minority groups who entered colleges and universities in unprecedented numbers. By 1965 their enrollment grew to 7,000, and a decade later the enrollment experienced a ten-fold increase to 76,367 students (McNamara, 1984, pp. 52, 81). The enrollment during the 1980s peaked at 87,700 in 1982 and declined to about 83,000 in 1984 (Fries, 1987, p. 11). Today, some 90,000 Native students attend postsecondary institutions (American Council on Education, 1988).

While the 1970s and early 1980s experienced major enrollment increases, the growth has since leveled off — an alarming development considering the rapid increase in the Native population and the growth in the college-age cohort during this period (Fries, 1987, p. 1). And despite significant advances, American Indians and Alaska Natives remain among the least educated ethnic groups in the nation. Only 6 percent of the Native population has a college degree, compared to 23 percent of whites, 12 percent of African-Americans, and 7 percent of the Hispanic population (Astin, 1982). Studies reveal that only 55 to 60 percent graduate from high school (Fries, 1987, p. 1; McNamara, 1984, p. 75), and of those who do complete their secondary education, between 21 percent and 40 percent enter college — the lowest rate of any major ethnic group according to the American Council on Education (American Council on Education, 1990; McNamara, 1984; Tierney, in press). A study of 1980 high school graduates, however, revealed a more optimistic finding — that 64 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native graduates had enrolled in some form of higher education by 1986. This compared to 91 percent of Asians, 67 percent of African Americans, and 61 percent of Hispanics (Hodgkinson, 1990, p. 24). College dropout rates, based on several studies, range from 65 percent to 85 percent (Astin, 1982; American Council on Education, 1990; Pottinger, 1990).

Low enrollments and high attrition rates contribute to low college graduation rates, which in turn contribute to even lower rates of representation in graduate programs. American Indian and Alaska Native graduate enrollment fluctuated only slightly between 1976 and 1984, with the largest number (4,377) enrolled in 1980. Their numbers in first-professional degree programs have decreased since 1976, with 1984 enrollments down almost 22 percent from those in 1976 (Fries, 1987, pp. 15-16). Declining and even stable enrollments among a growing and increasingly young population is alarming — further highlighting the pressing need to increase undergraduate degree completions and encouragements to advanced study.

While sketchy data *are* available, the reliability of statistics is a matter of concern. In a landmark national study of minorities in higher education, Astin (1982) revealed that the sample of Native college students "was often so small as to raise serious questions about the reliability of the results" (p. 23). In addition, a recent report on American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education found that "most sample surveys are either too small to produce reliable estimates for American Indians, or Indians are grouped into an 'other' category" (Fries, 1987, p. 31). Moreover, most states or institutions do not collect sufficient data to report Native student retention and graduation rates. Not only do such circumstances leave the available data questionable, but the issue of educational progress goes unaddressed. Without baseline data, educators and policy makers cannot chart the effectiveness of programs and the progress in achieving educational goals.

College-Going Patterns Among Native College Students

Most American Indian and Alaska Native college students attend public institutions, especially those in states with large Native populations. In most colleges and universities, they are a highly invisible minority, representing only a fragment of the total student enrollment. In 1984, over 35 percent of the nation's 1,190 postsecondary institutions reported no American Indian and Alaska Native students in attendance. Only three institutions enrolled more than 1,000 students — Navajo Community College, Arizona (1,570); Northeastern Oklahoma State University (1,090); and Northland Pioneer College, Arizona (1,016) — where Native students represented 80 percent, 15 percent, and 22 percent of all students, respectively (Fries, 1987, p. 28). Only seven four year institutions have at least 500 Native students in attendance (Tierney, in press).

Other predominantly American Indian institutions have been established, however. In addition to the 24 tribally controlled community colleges, three federally operated institutions have majority Native populations: Haskell Indian Junior College in Lawrence, Kansas; the Institute of American Indian Arts in Santa Fe, New Mexico; and the Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute (SIPI) at Albuquerque, New Mexico. Haskell, a federally-funded intertribal junior college, has an enrollment of 835, representing 125 American Indian and Alaska Native groups and 32 states (Morgan, 1990). SIPI enrolled 465 students during fiscal year 1989, while the Institute of American Indian Arts had an enrollment of 160 (NACIE, 1990, pp. 106-07).

While about 15 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native college students attend universities, 31 percent were in other four year institutions. Forty percent of Native college students attend rural institutions (Tierney, in press). Over half (54 percent) attend two-year institutions, compared to 37 percent of all college students (See Table 1). The high proportion of community college students is a matter of concern since national statistics reveal that students who attend these institutions have low rates of transfer to four-year institutions (Kidwell, 1990). In addition, researchers commonly attribute the lower retention rates of American Indians and Alaska Natives to their high concentration in community colleges (Mow & Nettles, 1990, p. 41). However, research on Native community college students is virtually non-existent, although growing evidence suggests that tribal community college students successfully transfer to four-year institutions in relatively large numbers (Wright & Weasel Head, 1990).

Other demographic data is noteworthy. The proportion of full-time enrollees declined from 62 percent in 1976 to 48 percent in 1984. Native women on college campuses outnumber their male counterparts by about 20 percent (Tierney, in press).

In general, American Indian and Alaska Native students pursue the same fields of study as their white counterparts (Tierney, in press). During 1987, institutions of higher education awarded 3,196 associate degrees and 3,971 degrees at the bachelor level to American Indians and Alaska Natives. At the associate level, half of the degrees were in Business and Management (25 percent) and Liberal and General Studies (25 percent). Another one-fourth were in Engineering Technologies (10 percent) and Health Professions (13 percent). The largest representation of bachelor's degrees were in Business and Management (20 percent), Education (11 percent), Social Sciences (12 percent), Health Professions (7 percent), and Engineering (five percent).

At the graduate level, postsecondary institutions awarded 1,104 master's degree and 104 doctoral degrees. The dominant fields at the master's level were Business and Management (15 percent), Education (34 percent), Public Affairs (12 percent), and Health Professions (6 percent). American Indians and Alaska Natives received 104 doctoral degrees in 1987, nearly half (or 49 degrees) were in education, while 16 were in psychology. Of the 304 first professional degrees awarded, 66 (22 percent) were awarded in medicine, 31 (ten percent) in veterinary medicine, and 152 (50 percent) in law (Hodgkinson, 1990, pp. 25-26).

Overall, the fields in which American Indian and Alaska Native students receive degrees are pragmatic ones with good employment opportunities. Moreover, they are areas of critical need in Native communities. This trend is a promising sign, although data are not available on the number of college graduates who return to reservations and villages.

Barriers to Access, Retention, and Graduation

What accounts for the disproportionately low participation and graduation rates among the Native population? In 1969, the Senate Subcommittee Report on Indian Education (commonly called the Kennedy Report) attributed the underrepresentation to inadequate academic preparation, teacher and counselor discouragement of college aspirations, financial difficulties, and problems in adjusting emotionally and socially to college (Special Subcommittee on Indian Education, 1969, pp. 84-87). Two decades since the

Table 1

American Indian and Alaska Native Enrollment in Institutions of Higher Education, by Control and Level of Institution: United States, Even Years 1976-84

Control/Level of Institution		1976	1978	1980	1982	1984
PUBLIC	67	75768	46074	24476	95971	642
4-year	28	44527	19729	06230	85729	568
2-year	39	31241	26345	18246	10242	074
PRIVATE	8	16109	14259	16798	9571	1030
4-year	6	7657	8077	8677	1667	913
2-year	1	8451	6181	8121	7913	117

report, the barriers remain much the same. Today, researchers, educators, and students repeatedly report several factors which contribute to the problems: inadequate academic preparation, insufficient financial support, and unsupportive institutional climate. These issues — while not necessarily exhaustive in scope — illustrate the nature of barriers to Native access, retention, and graduation.

Inadequate Academic Preparation

The entry-level academic skills of American Indian and Alaskan Native freshmen, as measured by standard college admissions tests and other indicators, are substantially less than that of their non-Native peers. Writing, math, and science skill levels are especially problematic, and the deficiencies are compounded as Native students approach college-going age. Researchers "found not only that Indian students achieved well below white students but that they fell further behind as the higher grades were reached" (McNamara, 1984, p. 141). On achievement test scores, for example, one study reported that at entry to the ninth grade, their mean scores were one year below the national norms, but by graduation the mean scores indicated that they had fallen two and a half years behind the average high school student (McNamara, 1984). According to the 1988 *Report on BIA Education*, tenth-grade Native students in Bureau of Indian Affairs schools scored at the 7.3 grade level and 19th percentile nationally in standardized mathematics tests (Bureau of Indian Affairs, 1988). American Indians and Alaska Natives in 1985 received an average score of 392 in mathematics on the SAT, compared to a 449 score among whites. Furthermore, they showed the smallest five-year gain relative to other ethnic groups. Data reflected a mere 2 percent gain for American Indians and Alaska Natives, while Asian-Americans experienced a 48 percent gain, Mexican-Americans showed a gain of 26 percent, and Puerto Ricans had an 11 percent increase (Jacobson, 1986, p. 108).

In examining the issue of academic preparation, one must recognize that the problem is not a matter of Native intellectual ability or potential. The National Advisory Council on Indian Education (NACIE), in its most recent report (1989), emphasized that

> American Indians and Alaska Natives have performed on both the ACT and SAT with scores approximating most other minorities but consistently lower than white students. The reasons for this are often associated with social conditions, family situations, and income within the students' environments. The majority of Indians and Alaska Natives come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds and may not be exposed to as many of the everyday experiences other non-Indians take for granted... The strong cultural and traditional influences of the Indian and Alaska Native communities are other factors to consider (p. 61).

Inadequate academic preparation also affects the status of American Indians and Alaska Natives in graduate education. Achievement levels of Native undergraduates, as measured by the Graduate Record Examinations (GRE), lag behind those of white students. In 1987-88, 1,023 Native students took the GRE. Their mean scores on the Verbal, Quantitative and Analytical sections of the test were 471, 472, and 487, respectively, as compared with scores for *all* test takers of 505, 531, and 541.

Insufficient Financial Support

In nearly every study of barriers to Native higher education and in most testimony from Native educators and students, financial problems are a recurring theme. According to an Alaska Native educator from the Central Council Tlingit and Haida Indian Tribes of Alaska, "We need an increase in scholarship grants to our college students.... Many students are defeated by a lack of funds" (Widmark, 1990). Since American Indians and Alaska Natives most often come from communities with the highest poverty levels and highest unemployment rates, comparatively few Native students receive support from their parents or from their own resources. Ultimately they cannot provide the expected or required parental and personal contributions. The financial problem is intensified because Native students tend to be older than traditional age, most have families, and many are single heads of household.

American Indians and Alaska Natives are eligible for federal and state financial aid programs, some of which are specifically designated for Native students. And indeed the vast majority of Native students (82 percent) do apply for financial aid (Tierney, in press). A primary source of financial assistance is the Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Grant Program. The BIA contribution, however, is only about one-fourth of the total assistance required by students, which may be supplemented by such college-based awards as Pell Grants, Supplementary Education Opportunity Grants, Perkins Loans, and College Work Study. Other public sources of support include the Veterans Administration, welfare, state grants, Social Security, tribal awards, vocational rehabilitation, and state tuition waivers (NACIE, 1989, p. 63).

The BIA program, however, has not kept pace in its funding level with the growing demand among potential Native college students. It is serving an increasing number of students with a decreasing funding level. In 1986, $29.2 million served 14,500 students, while 17,800 awardees shared a fiscal year 1989 allocation of $28.5 million. During that same period, the average award decreased from $1,676 to $1,385 (NACIE, 1990, p. 63). The trend continues into the present. For fiscal year 1991, the BIA proposed a budget of $26.9 million, representing a $1 million decrease (Hobbs, Straus, Dean & Wilder, 1990).

The problem of diminishing funding sources is compounded by rising college costs. As Gordon Dickie, Sr. (1990), Chairman of the Menominee Indian Tribe of Wisconsin, testified,

> changes in federal guidelines have reduced continuing education student budgets and awards. Tuition costs have risen steadily at an average rate of 5% per year for the past 10 years. This has a negative impact on students who already face the other barriers of child care and transportation.

William Baker (1990), Assistant Vice President for Minority Affairs, offered an institutional perspective:

> During the past ten years, the cost of attending my institution — the University of Washington — has increased from about $4,400 to nearly $8,000 for an unmarried student paying resident tuition.... The financial aid programs available to Native American students — all of them combined — have simply lagged far behind the increasing cost of attendance... . Of 110 Native American students receiving financial aid at the University of Washington at the beginning of the 1989-90 academic year, 43 were the recipients of seriously inadequate financial aid packages.

Unsupportive Institutional Climate

Researchers have established that social and academic integration into the life of a postsecondary institution is a major factor in college persistence. In light of the necessary cultural adjustments to an alien institutional environment, integration is especially problematic for American Indians and Alaska Natives. Historical circumstances in Indian-white relations have created conditions in which the distinct cultures of American Indians and Alaska Natives continue to thrive. Surviving values, religious traditions, languages, and other aspects of traditional culture often place Native students at odds with the mainstream culture and with institutions that reflect and support it. To go to college, these culturally different students typically leave small towns or rural reservation communities in which Native life ways are still meaningful. They enter alien, intimidating and overwhelming environments where different, often opposing social and structural systems are hostile, alienating, and isolating. Lin, LaCounte, and Eder (1988) found that "the perception of campus hostility and the feeling of isolation in a predominantly White college contribute significantly ... to the problem of the academic performance of Indian students." Students at the University of Arizona testified that "Native American students face cultural insensitivity and sometimes prejudice by administration service workers, faculty and non-Indian students who are not familiar with or had experience with Native Americans" (Juan, 1990).

The lack of role models and cultural conflicts further illustrate the institutional barriers to retention and academic achievement:

Lack of Role Models

The lack of role models in Native communities and in higher education institutions constitutes a psychological and social barrier to participation and success. Bernard F. Teba, Executive Director of the Eight Northern Indian Pueblos Council (1990), testified that

> the lack of role models in Native American Indian communities and in the classroom and in visible positions of leadership [negatively] influences youth to pursue education and professional careers.... Native American men and women possess an abundance of talent, but ... the lack of parental experience and participation in education, positive role models and other factors have discouraged many of our Native American Indian adults for [sic] persevering in education.

Moreover, in a recent survey of Native educators, a full third cited the lack of role models as one of the top three barriers to educational attainment for young Native men (Falk & Aitken, 1984). Educators agree that role modeling is an important ingredient for American Indian and Alaska Native women students, as well, and that "modeling can be beneficial in recruiting American Indian women students and sustaining their academic achievement at institutions of higher education" (Edwards, Daines & Reed, 1984, p. 31).

In viewing this problem, one must consider that Native people historically have regarded education with suspicion — certainly with good reason based on the adverse effects of past federal policy. College-educated Native people often found themselves alienated and mistrusted when they returned home with the trappings of an alien culture. Over the past decade and a half, however, educational attainment has become a priority among Native governments, which increasingly recognize the need for a technically-trained population.

Still, this changing attitude has yet to produce the intended impacts — a highly educated Native population. Given the low percentage of college graduates, most Native students are first-generation college students. They have not derived the educational and financial benefits that accrue to students with college-educated parents, and relatively few Natives come from homes where higher education is an inevitable phase of adulthood. In addition, the lack of community role models has the adverse impact of limiting the goals and expectations of American Indian and Alaska Native students. The absence of parental and community support has historically, then, had a chilling effect on Native aspirations toward higher education. For example, only 17.2 percent of American Indian and Alaska Native eighth graders plan to enroll in a college preparatory program in high school — compared to 22.5 percent of Hispanics, 24.7 percent of African Americans, and 30.9 percent of whites (Hodgkinson, 1990, p. 23).

The trend continues when a Native student comes to a college or university, where the lack of role models is even more noticeable. The number and percentage of Indian faculty and professional staff is almost negligible. On college campuses nationwide, where 90 percent of the faculty are white, American Indian and Alaska Native faculty numbered 1,310, or only 0.3 percent of all faculty in 1983 (Fries, 1987). As Benjamin and Chambers (1989) summarized, "there are also comparatively few success stories and role models to encourage and inspire youth. For those who endeavor to gain a college education, only a handful will ever have the opportunity to learn from a Native American professor" (p. 3).

Cultural Conflicts

Perhaps more than any other factor related to institutional climate, cultural conflict can affect American Indian and Alaska Native participation and academic success in higher education. Mow and Nettles (1990) reported that "several studies show that they [Native college students] encounter difficulties in making cultural adjustments to predominantly white institutions. What these cultural difficulties are, however, and how they relate to college success or failure are unclear" (p. 11). Testimony from Native students at the University of Arizona is helpful in understanding this issue:

> For Native American students to obtain a higher education, we are faced with going to postsecondary institutions away from our tribal Nations, communities and families. As a result, most students experience cultural conflicts and insensitivity in outside foreign postsecondary educational systems. (Juan, 1990)

Scott (1986), in his model for predicting academic success among Native college students, identified cultural attachment as the most important variable. He found that greater measured ability, higher socio-economic background, and a higher percentage of "non-Indian" blood — indications that significant integration has taken place prior to arrival at college — are expected to reduce attachment to Indian culture, facilitate subsequent integration into the university community, and thereby increase the likelihood of completing college. Scott and other researchers (Benjamin & Chambers, 1989) concluded that Native students who maintain strong cultural ties risk full integration into the university community and reduce the chances of academic success, as defined by the institution. The net result of this cultural confrontation is that, to fully integrate socially and academically, an American Indian and Alaska Native may be expected to reduce her or his attachment to traditional culture.

The foregoing discussion, however, does not imply that cultural persistence is a mark of failure. Pottinger (1990) cited that "minorities perceive the cultural differences they encounter in school as markers of identity to be maintained, not as barriers to be overcome". Many American Indians and Alaska Natives, as a result, opt out of college (Huffman, Sill & Brokenleg, 1986). Moreover, if success is measured by one's willingness to forsake his or her cultural identity, as Scott (1986) concluded, then "many Indians would not consider dropping out of school a mark of failure" (p. 393). Institutions of higher education must address this dilemma.

Current Strategies to Increase Access, Retention and Graduation

What can be done to overcome barriers, so that American Indians and Alaska Natives — on a level equal to their white peers — participate, persist, and perform in higher education? Many current state, private, institutional, and tribal strategies offer promising developments in addressing the problems and needs outlined above:

Academic Preparation

Educators recognize that participation and success in higher education are largely determined early in one's educational career — as early as the elementary school years. Accordingly, the U.S. Department of Education has initiated a number of support service programs designed to assist in improving access and retention for disadvantaged students. Among the most successful are the TRIO Programs. These six programs include Talent Search, Upward Bound, Equal Opportunity Centers, Student Support Services, McNair Postbaccalaureate Achievement, and Staff Training. They assist low-income, first generation college students in completing high school, in obtaining college information, in processing admissions and financial aid applications, and, once enrolled in postsecondary institutions, in pursuing further education. For the 1981-82 year, the most recent year for which data is available, 4.2 percent of the Talent Search and 5.4 percent of the Upward Bound participants were American Indians and Alaska Natives (Haynes, 1990).

The Department has also initiated school-college partnership programs to increase expectations and preparedness for attending college. For example, the School, College, and University Partnerships (SCUP) Program encourages partnerships between institutions of higher education and secondary schools serving low-income students. This federal program supports projects that improve the academic skills of secondary school students, increase their opportunity to continue programs of education after secondary school, and improve their prospects for employment after high school. In the program's first competition for funds in fiscal year 1988, three of the nine successful applicants proposed to serve American Indians. One of these is administered at Northern Arizona University. These projects serve 1,000 students from 11 tribes in Arizona, Minnesota and Utah (Haynes, 1990).

Private organizations have also played a role in encouraging Native youth to pursue and succeed in college. The American Indian Science and Engineering Society (AISES, 1989), for example, sponsors summer math and science enrichment programs on campuses across the nation. In 1989, 220 Indian students participated in these camps. In addition, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation awarded AISES a three-year grant of $480,000 to launch a comprehensive math, science and engineering enrichment program for American Indian and Alaska Native junior high and high school students. The project will entail a four-year progression of culturally-sensitive summer camps at university sites around the country, followed by academic-year enrichment activities and a fifth year internship.

Several postsecondary institutions have advanced initiatives, with federal, private, or institutional funds, to provide early intervention programs aimed at pre-college age students. In 1991, for example, Montana State University will offer three distinct summer camps for junior high and high school students. The breadth of programs makes it possible for students in grades seven through twelve to be eligible to participate in one of these camps, and in future years, to progress into those camps designed for higher grades.

Financial Support

Federal financial aid, especially that awarded by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, has not kept pace with the need. However, some states and private organizations have responded with scholarship and grant assistance for American Indians and Alaska Natives. In the states of Montana and South Dakota, for example, Native students in financial need receive tuition waivers at all public institutions. Minnesota has a long-standing scholarship program, which offers an average award of $1,400 to as many as 1,500 undergraduate, graduate, and vocational education students. State appropriations for the Minnesota Indian Scholarship Program has grown from $5,000 to $1.6 million since 1955 (Aitken, 1990).

Private non-profit organizations have also made efforts to increase opportunities for American Indians and Alaska Natives. Among the most noteworthy is the American Indian Science and Engineering Society, an organization committed "to significantly increase the number of American Indian scientists and engineers; at the greatest possible speed; ensuring professional growth; and developing leaders for nation building (AISES, 1989, p. 1)." While only part of its agenda is the raising and awarding of scholarships, this activity is among one of its most successful activities. The AISES Scholarship Program, started in 1982 with a modest $1,400, has grown in 1989 to $190,000 in scholarships for 151 American Indian students.

The American Indian Higher Education Consortium, an association of tribal colleges, has started the American Indian College Fund. Patterned after the United Negro College Fund, the organization will serve as a clearinghouse for scholarship contributions and awards. During its first year, the fund raised $1,000,000.

Several organizations provide fellowships specifically for graduate study. The American Indian Graduate Center (formerly American Indian Scholarships, Inc.) administers fellowships from private contributions, and, through contract with the Bureau of Indian Affairs, distributes the federal support of American Indian graduate study.

Private foundations have also answered the call for increased access through financial assistance. The Ford Foundation established the Predoctoral and Dissertation Fellowship Programs for minorities, which are designed in part to assist American Indian and Alaska Native graduate students.

Not the least important of these non-federal initiatives are those scholarship and fellowship programs established by individual institutions of higher education. Several colleges and universities offer special financial assistance to American Indians and Alaska Natives, as do several individual Native governments.

It is critical to note that these state, private, and institutional efforts do not and must not supplant diminishing federal assistance. Rather, these laudable programs supplement federal programs in an effort to achieve access and equity in higher education. Still they remain a small contribution in comparison to the need.

Institutional Climate

If American Indian and Alaska Native students encounter a receptive, supportive institutional environment, they are more likely to make the necessary social and academic adjustment. Falk and Aitkin (1984) suggested several factors that contribute to a supportive environment for Native students: a large number or critical mass of Native students on campus; peer support; parental support; support from outside agencies, such as tribal education departments; faculty and staff who show concern for Native students; good academic preparation in high school, personal motivation; and adequate financial support.

In addition, Scott (1986) included positive institutional structures such as cultural centers and curricula which value the Native world as important factors in institutional climate. American Indian and Alaska Native studies programs on college campuses provide these structures and serve as focal points for Native students. In 1984, there were 107 two- and four-year institutions with programs of varying size and scope of operation. Half of these enjoyed full departmental status (Heth and Guyette, 1984). In addition to the teaching, research, and service functions of traditional academic departments, Native studies programs also provide important student services. Perhaps most important, they provide a haven in an otherwise alienating environment — in the words of an Alaska Native educator, "a safe place to be in a strange land" (Widmark, 1990).

Some colleges and universities serving Native students are making efforts to create a supportive institutional climate for American Indian and Alaska Native students. Several model institutions are noteworthy:

Montana State University

Montana State University, a public land-grant institution, has perhaps the most comprehensive support system for its Native students in the nation. The heart of this system is the Center for Native American Studies, an academic department in the College of Letters and Science, with six full-time faculty. These include three teaching faculty, one full-time Native student advisor, and two administrative faculty serving special branches of the Center: the Office of Tribal Service and the Native American Graduate Center. The Office of Tribal Service, the only one of its kind in the nation, coordinates the University's interactions with the tribes of Montana, particularly with the seven tribally controlled colleges in the state. The Native American Graduate Center seeks financial support and administers fellowship programs for advanced study.

In addition, the Center for Native American Studies maintains the American Indian Club Room, a spacious, well-furnished complex which offers an enclave in an otherwise alienating environment. The advisor's office, student computers and typewriters, meeting/lounging/study facilities, and telephones are available here. A Native student in need is eligible for the Center's emergency loans, special scholarships, free tutoring, and other support services.

Other institutional programs complement the Center's activities. The Advance By Choice Program, a federally-funded special services program, provides counseling, tutoring, and developmental coursework for American Indian and Alaska Native and other disadvantaged students. In addition, the American Indian Research Opportunities Program is the University's umbrella organization for three federally-funded projects designed to train undergraduate and graduate students for the health professions and biomedical research careers.

Other programs have included financial support of graduate students, the establishment of faculty development programs for tribal college instructors, faculty and student exchange programs, donations of library books and science equipment, assistance with tribal college accreditation, and the administration of math/science programs for minority high school students.

Perhaps the most vital component of the support network is the institutional commitment that pervades Montana State University. According to the President, William Tietz, "We have, based on our land grant mission, oriented ourselves to assisting the state's American Indian population." Despite a decade of dwindling state resources for higher education, Native education programs have enjoyed continued funding at Montana State University (Trinity, 1990).

Largely because of the supportive climate, in a period of general University enrollment stability, the American Indian and Alaska Native student numbers have continued to increase. The Native student enrollment for fall 1990 was 224, representing an 11 percent increase over the same term last year and a growth of 43 percent since fall 1981.

Northern Arizona University

Two years ago, Northern Arizona University (NAU), a public state institution, embarked on "The New Momentum," a new initiative to undertake a systematic, culturally sensitive, long-term partnership program with various Native governments, to improve their educational and economic opportunities. It proposed to forge partnerships among the University, the tribal governments, individuals, state and federal agencies, school systems, and organizations in the private sector.

Further, to create a more receptive, supportive environment, NAU has established a number of programs and services: The Nizhoni Summer Camp, the Native American Advisement Center, the Talent Search Program, and the Upward Bound Program. In addition, the University operates unique centers which focus curricula and training on needs of the Native communities — the American Indian Rehabilitation Research and Training Center, offered through its Institute for Human Development, and the Center for American Indian Economic Development, supported through the College of Business Administration. As a result of such efforts over the past decade, NAU has more than doubled its Native student enrollment, one of the largest in the nation.

Again, it bears repeating that strong institutional commitment is at the root of NAU's success. As President Eugene M. Hughes recently emphasized, "We at Northern Arizona University are committed to a statewide and region-wide mission of improving the educational and economic opportunities for American Indians" (Hughes, 1990).

Clarkson University/AISES

A decade ago, Clarkson University, a private institution in Potsdam, New York, became the site of the first American Indian Science and Engineering Society student chapter. (Today there are some sixty AISES chapters nationwide.) Considered a model chapter, the Clarkson AISES chapter offers a number of nurturing activities, including the AISES Science Camp and a Mentorship Program for junior high and high school students. The presence of AISES on the Clarkson campus is largely accountable for the highest percentage rate of matriculated Native students, and the highest retention rate in the country (Rydzewski, 1990). According to the Assistant Dean and AISES advisor, to date, 95 percent of Native students who enter Clarkson graduate from the College of Engineering. From a total enrollment of 15 to 20 students annually, as many as seven engineering students have graduated in a single year.

Clarkson's commitment and success have attracted corporate contributions for engineering scholarships and grants. Moreover, the institution is committed to matching all external support, allowing the University to disperse between $75,000 and $100,000 in financial aid awards to American Indian and Alaska Native students.

Assistant Dean Edward Misiaszek attributes this success to selective recruitment of students, often depending on direct referrals from high school counselors and other colleagues, as well as close follow-up and mentoring of enrolled students. In Misiaszek's words, "I ride herd on these students." He has been doing so for twenty years (Misiaszek, personal communication, January 11, 1991).

This unparalleled success speaks well of Clarkson University and the strong administrative commitment in its College of Engineering. But equally noteworthy as a success factor is the national AISES organization itself. Formed in 1977, the Society has dedicated itself to increase opportunities for American Indians and Alaska Natives to pursue science and engineering fields. Unquestionably the individual chapters and the national organization have provided an effective support network with positive results in recruitment, retention, and graduation of Native students in these important fields.

Exemplary institutions which are successful in enrolling and retaining Native college students have common characteristics. Foremost among these is a strong, ongoing institutional commitment, sometimes resting in a single influential administrator. Other factors include collaboration with Native communities, an emphasis on precollege programs, proactive approaches to financial aid needs, and strong student support systems. Certainly, the highlighted institutions are not the only (or necessarily the best) examples of exemplary programs. At the same time, one must recognize that most institutions are either misguided in their approach — viewing the student as the problem rather than the institution and its culture — or they completely ignore the issues (Tierney, in press).

Clearly, positive developments loom on the horizon. They promise educational advancement among American Indians. Ultimately, however, the test will be the definition of success that emerges as Indians increasingly enter and achieve in postsecondary institutions. Will success contribute to the assimilation of Native people, or will institutions accommodate and value the cultural differences which enrich the diversity of higher education and American society as a whole? This remains the critical question.

Strategies for the 1990s and Beyond

The two decades since the Kennedy Report have witnessed significant advances in American Indian and Alaska Native higher education. The sad irony is that the same problems and many of the same recommendations are as relevant today as they were in 1969. Clearly, much remains to be done if the nation is to significantly increase the postsecondary recruitment, retention and graduation of the Native population. Toward a new era in American Indian and Alaska Native higher education, the following recommendations are offered:

- The United States Congress should increase appropriations for federal financial assistance for postsecondary education, especially for the Bureau of Indian Affairs Scholarship Grant Program, to a level that allows every eligible American Indian and Alaska Native person to attend a higher education institution of his/her choice.
- The Bureau of Indian Affairs Higher Education Grant Program (or its contractors) and individual institutions of higher education should collaborate to provide opportunities, especially financial assistance, so that college-bound Native students may attend out-of-state, private, highly selective and/or costly institutions. Currently, students who receive BIA funding are typically limited to support of in-state tuition. Partial tuition waivers, scholarships, and relocation assistance programs represent possible institutional responses. However, the BIA or its contractors should take the initiative to establish bilateral agreements to encourage this option for college-bound Native students.
- Federal financial aid programs and higher education institutions should implement measures to extend the term of financial aid eligibility for students who require additional time to complete their degrees. This category of student would include community college transfer students, whose academic progress is typically delayed in developmental coursework. Other needy students include those pursuing science, engineering and other technical fields which today are considered at least five-year programs. Workable measures include a special provision in the Pell grant guidelines and a new program funded specifically for this category of needy students.
- The U.S. Department of Education, individual states, and institutions of higher education should collect, analyze, and disseminate data on American Indians and Alaska Natives in higher education. A primary goal of the data collection should be to track the progress of Native educational attainment, especially enrollment, retention and graduation. A federal mandate to states which receive Native education funds and to the National Center for Education Statistics is one strategy to meet this need.
- In addressing needs of American Indian and Alaska Native higher education, the federal government, states, and institutions of higher education should be sensitive to the unique needs of urban Native populations and communities which are not federally recognized. Opportunities offered to reservation-based and federally recognized groups should be available to urban and non-recognized Native populations. At the same time, to qualify for all federal or institution-based programs, applicants should be required to provide adequate documentation of one's Native ancestry. Simple self-identification often misplaces opportunities in the hands of individuals whose degree of Native blood is minimal and whose affiliation with American Indian and Alaska Native communities is negligible.

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- The federal government, states, tribal governments, and higher education institutions should collaborate to improve the precollegiate preparation of Native students. The focus of these efforts should not be limited to academic preparation, but also extend to social and emotional readiness as well. Programs like the recently initiated SCUP Program and the proven TRIO Programs should be expanded and should serve Native populations in proportion to their need.
- Junior high and high schools should improve and expand guidance services, especially those which impact students' career and college plans. Such services might include ongoing career education, early college visitations, dissemination of summer program and college information, and alcohol/drug counseling. In general, schools should provide more ongoing encouragement and support to potentially college-bound students, beginning such efforts no later than the junior high school level.
- American Indian and Alaska Native parents and their communities at large should increase involvement in their children's educational achievement and planning. While community control and parental involvement in education are hallmarks of the Self-Determination era, parents can do more to encourage and support their children's educational aspirations. Schools, tribal education organizations, and higher education institutions can assist parents in this goal. Such low-cost activities as financial aid workshops, student-parent college visitations, and career information dissemination, and community career/college fairs are possible strategies. The Parent Action Team at Montana's Rocky Boy Reservation offers a model program.
- Higher education institutions, particularly those with significant Native student populations, should provide adequate financial support and other resources to maintain a quality American Indian and Alaska Native studies center. These academic, student services, and cultural centers should serve as the focal point for Native students, but should not be viewed as isolating, separatist programs. At the same time, these Centers must serve the diversity goals of the institution and provide academic, social, and cultural enrichment to the campus community.
- Higher education institutions should strengthen their affirmative action efforts. In light of the limited availability of qualified Native doctorates and the severe underrepresentation of American Indians and Alaska Natives on college faculties, institutions should develop special faculty development programs to recruit, nurture, and tenure Native faculty. Such programs might encompass research support funds, release time provisions, early sabbatical leaves, mentorships with senior faculty, and financial support for Native faculty pursuing their doctorates.
- The federal government, states, Native governments, and higher education institutions should collaborate to support and strengthen the tribally controlled colleges. In recognition of their proven success, the federal government (with contributions from state appropriations) should provide adequate funding for operations and development, including endowments and facilities construction.

Conclusion: Toward a New Era of Academic Progress and Cultural Integrity

Many of the same challenges that confronted Caleb Cheeshateaumuck at seventeenth-century Harvard face Native college students today. Nearly four hundred years later, the methods used to "civilize" (or, in more contemporary terms, to "assimilate" and "acculturate") Indian youth, as well as the tragic outcomes which resulted, remain much the same. A contemporary researcher, in his recent study of American Indian college students, found that

> Indians do poorly in school because the educational system has been one of the major battlegrounds in the confrontation between Indian and white worlds... As the substance, networks, and activities of education in white schools typically champion white values and practices to the exclusion of Indian ones, fitting in and succeeding in school create special problems for Indian students committed to Indian culture (Scott, 1986, pp. 383-84).

Indian students have been counseled to become 'less Indian,' he added,

> as a conscious strategy for doing better in school. If this is what is meant by success,

> many Indians would not consider dropping out of school a mark of failure. For many, success in education means mastering white ways on one's own terms by maintaining some commitment to Indian values and tradition (Scott, 1986, p. 393).

Considering the cultural conflicts, it is not surprising, then, that Indians continue an aversion to higher education, an institution which for centuries has sought to remold them in the image of the white man. In terms of relative success of educational efforts, their cultural persistence remains a centuries-old tribute to peoples who continue to prevail on the battleground of ideologies and cultures, even if they have not always triumphed in the academic arenas.

Now, more than three centuries after Caleb Cheeshateaumuck confronted the alien environment of Harvard, the time is long overdue for cultural conflict and assimilationist efforts to end. American Indians and Alaska Natives must have opportunities to enter the higher education arena on their own terms — to encounter challenge without tragedy and experience triumph without sacrificing their cultural integrity.

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Underfunded Miracles: Tribal Colleges

Schuyler Houser

Introduction

Tribal colleges are succeeding. These 24 reservation-based postsecondary institutions attract, retain, and educate a new population of American Indian and Alaskan Native students. During a period when enrollments of some groups of urban minority students have been declining throughout the nation, college enrollments of Native students have increased steadily in the 1980s. Tribal colleges have expanded educational opportunities available to Native students for whom, otherwise, college would be inaccessible.

The quality of education provided by the tribal colleges has been validated repeatedly, not only by the performance of their students, but also by regional accrediting associations. As of early 1991, six of the colleges are candidates for accreditation, 14 are accredited at the associate degree level, two — Sinte Gleska and Oglala Lakota — are accredited at the baccalaureate level, and one of those, Sinte Gleska, is accredited at the master's level. Increasing numbers of non-Native colleges, universities and foundations institutions are acknowledging the value of the colleges. An administrator at The College of William & Mary, in Williamsburg, made this clear in the written testimony which she submitted to the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force:

> The [Task Force] needs to understand the ambivalence with which American Indians view Western education. Historically, it has separated children from their tribes and culture, and left them unable to succeed in either world. Western education did not teach any of the skills needed to survive as an Indian; prejudice against Indians prevented them from surviving in the Western world, even with an education. Therefore, Western education was worse than useless, it was destructive. While this is less true than it was 300 years ago, the legacy remains.
>
> I have no wonderful solutions for your [Task Force] on how to solve this problem, but I do have one small suggestion. I believe that tribal colleges are the best hope for higher education for many American Indians ...

No single approach or feature accounts for the success of the colleges. Among the defining characteristics of the colleges, however, their location on reservations, and their governance by local boards, are key. As institutional members of the communities — and the cultures — they serve, the colleges are able to identify and solve problems in their own ways, with their own skills and resources. The persistence and dedication of faculty, administrators, and board members are crucial; many participants have stayed with their institutions, despite low salaries and grueling working conditions, since the colleges opened. These individuals have developed — and shared — essential, long-term experience. This sharing, in fact, constitutes a third vital ingredient for the success of the colleges. From the outset, the colleges have served as each others' best sources of advice, support, and technical assistance. Fourth, frugal and prudent management of material resources has been a hallmark of the colleges' administrative styles (Shanley, 1989, p. 7). Finally, and most essentially, each college acknowledges traditional Native spiritual values, based in its own tribe's living culture, as central in defining its role in the community. Traditional spiritual leaders were prominent among the founders of several tribal colleges. Their ways of looking at the world have shaped the character, not only of their particular institutions, but of the tribal college movement as a whole.

Beginnings and First Principles

The first tribal colleges were founded in the late 1960s and early 1970s, amidst the national ferment of activism for civil rights and Native self-determination. Leaders in many Native communities had come to recognize both the value and the vulnerability of their own tribal ways of life. The credibility of the federal government as the protector of tribes and tribal cultures had been eroded seriously through responses to such challenges to established policies as the Trail of Broken Treaties. Governmental agencies and centralized programs did not seem to offer promising solutions to serious Native issues. Self-governance and the building of local institutions appeared, to some visionaries, as the course which their communities must take if they were to survive (Lionel Bordeaux, personal communication, Jan. 11, 1991).

Higher education, and access to the abilities which it develops, proved a special problem to Native people. Elected tribal officials and Elders on several reservations saw that federal policies towards higher education were not serving Native students or Native communities. Repeatedly, young people would leave their reservations to enroll in postsecondary institutions, and repeatedly, the students would return within a semester or two. The distances which students had to travel — cultural, social, economic, emotional, as well as geographic — often proved too large, and the reception they received at their new institutions often proved insufficiently sustaining. Students, even very bright and determined students, responded by going home.

Community leaders on several reservations recognized that discouragement and dropouts served neither the needs of individual students, nor of the tribal communities themselves. These leaders began to discuss the possibility of founding their own local colleges. Among the early advocates were several traditional Elders who had not received much formal education themselves, but who recognized clearly the values of education for their tribes. These early leaders, from the outset, envisioned local institutions the colleges, locally-controlled and locally-focused. Ideas for a single, national college or university to serve all tribes had been circulated in the United States since at least 1911, but nothing substantive ever came of these ideas (Crum, 1989, pp. 20-23). Tribal colleges came into existence only as individual tribes began, one by one, to address their own needs for postsecondary education.

In 1968, the Navajo Nation became the first tribe to establish its own college, by granting a charter to Navajo Community College. Three years later, the Oglala Sioux Tribe of the Pine Ridge Reservation created Oglala Sioux Community College, and later in the same year, the Rosebud Sioux Tribe chartered Sinte Gleska College. By 1972, tribally-controlled colleges had also been established on the Turtle Mountain Chippewa Reservation, the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation, and the Hoopa Tribe had sanctioned D-Q University at Davis, California.

Although these first institutions each possessed a distinct tribal and institutional identity, they also shared several family resemblances. Many of these common features were taken as models by tribal colleges which developed subsequently. Each was established by a charter granted by a tribal council; from the first, tribal colleges were set up as independent, free-standing institutions, not as programs administered directly by Native governments. Each college had its own governing board, composed of members of the chartering tribe. Each board had an arms-length relationship, at closest, to the local tribal council, to insulate the college from undue political influence. The charter of each institution defined, as one purpose of the college, the serving of the postsecondary educational needs of its own tribal community. Each charter explicitly recognized that the college should have a special relationship to the culture and values of the tribe served.

Local control, therefore, has been a basic premise of the tribal college movement since its beginnings, and each of the colleges regards it as an essential requirement for the building of a successful organization. The responsibilities which accompany local control provide important safeguards for each college. A tribe which wants its own college must make explicit commitments, by granting legal authority through a charter, and often by providing financial resources, facilities, and organizational support for the start-up. In fact, many Native governments have continued to provide resources to their colleges. Uncommitted money is scarce for most tribes; however, buildings, land, and services have all been provided, as well as political support in dealing with federal — and occasionally state — governmental agencies.

Local control, over the long-term, is shaping individual colleges to meet the specific educational needs of their communities. The institutions are diverse, and become more so as they mature; each has its own history, educational philosophy, limitations, and resources. Curricula, both academic and vocational, reflect the social, economic, and cultural situations of individual reservations. Local needs and preferences set the pacing of college development and innovation. Styles of management and human relationships within the organizations are grounded in the cultural values of the communities they serve (Houser, in press). Local control ensures that the colleges do not stand apart from their communities. Instead, the institutions focus community energies and activities on a wide range of issues.

The Value of Mutual Support

While local control was one of the initial premises of the tribal colleges, founders of the first institutions likewise saw that their colleges, despite geographical and cultural separation, faced many problems in common. So they built an organization which would allow for continuing interchanges of information and mutual support. In

October, 1972, presidents of the six existing colleges met in Washington, D.C. The plans which emerged from their conversations led, by June, 1973, to the formation of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) (Stein, 1990, pp. 189-19). While local control was one of the initial premises of the tribal colleges, founders of the first institutions likewise saw that their colleges, despite geographical and cultural separation, faced many problems in common. So they built an organization which would allow for continuing interchanges of information and mutual support. In October, 1972, presidents of the six existing colleges met in Washington, D.C. The plans which emerged from their conversations led, by June, 1973, to the information of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium (AIHEC) (Stein, 1990 pp. 189-19). The consortium now includes, as full members, the 24 tribally-controlled institutions, reservation-based colleges and two affiliate or associate members: Southwest Indian Polytechnic Institute and Haskell Indian Junior College, both controlled and funded directly by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The network which has evolved through AIHEC is a unique source of strength for the tribal colleges. The college presidents meet quarterly as the AIHEC board of directors. These meetings serve as continuing information exchanges for all institutions, and, in effect, training sessions for new presidents of colleges. The frequency and regularity of these meetings, and the considerable experience of many of the participants, makes them a sustaining resource for the tribal colleges.

The AIHEC network has expanded beyond the presidents to incorporate college faculty, administrators, and students. As time, work, and money permit, staff visit each others' institutions to share information and build skills. A special tradition has grown up around accreditation. Colleges preparing for external reviews from their regional accreditation agencies regularly arrange pre-visits from administrators and faculty from other tribal colleges, to insure that institutional systems are in good shape for inspection. Most colleges report that the reviews during these pre-visits (which are usually done at no cost to the college) are at least as rigorous as, and somewhat more skeptical than, the reviews conducted by the accrediting agencies themselves. On a day-to-day basis, colleges share copies of institutional documents — curricula, policies, forms, internal studies, grant proposals — as part of their commitment to mutual support. This sustained commitment is particularly noteworthy; it occurs despite the fact that the tribal colleges must regularly compete against each other, contesting for limited federal and foundation grant dollars. Nonetheless, support is regularly offered, and generously given.

AIHEC has also proven its abilities in legislative advocacy. The first tribal colleges were established with temporary funding, and very little of it. By 1978, the colleges had succeeded in persuading the United States Congress to pass legislation authorizing annual federal support for operations (Congress later added provisions to match college-raised endowment funds). According to staff of the House Education and Labor Committee, the Tribally Controlled Community College Assistance Act was the first piece of education legislation to be written by, and successful lobbied by, Native people themselves. AIHEC has needed to continue its legislative work, returning every year to Washington to make its case for appropriations, and every two or three years for reauthorization of its basic legislation. Since 1981, these efforts have been conducted primarily by the college presidents themselves. The consortium has been unable to afford its own office in Washington, or a full-time staff member for the organization.

The colleges have begun to work together on fundraising. The American Indian College Fund (AICF), which organized formally in 1988, seeks support nation-wide for scholarships, endowments, and other uses which will benefit all the tribal colleges. The Fund raised $1,000,000 in its first year of operation. Meanwhile, each college also continues its own individual development and fundraising activities. Several foundations and corporations have provided assistance to get the AICF started: the Phelps-Stokes Fund; US West Corporation; the Lilly Foundation; the Pew Charitable Trusts; Exxon Education Foundation; the Weyerhaeuser Family Foundation; and the Rockefeller Foundation. (Support for start-up activities from prominent and distinguished organizations is especially helpful at early stages of the AICF's growth; recognition from major donors enhances the Fund's credibility with other potential benefactors, and provides a stable base for operations.) The new organization has developed its own board of directors, begun direct mail, corporate and personal solicitations, and opened an office in New York City. Monies have already been disbursed to all member institutions, for distribution as scholarships to individual students selected by the colleges themselves. The AICF has also established its own endowment fund, assisted by a challenge grant from the MacArthur Foundation and a contribution from the Hearst Foundation (Barbara Bratone, personal communication, Dec. 12, 1990).

The colleges are also collaborating on faculty and staff development. With a grant from the Ford Foundation, the colleges began in the summer of 1990 a training institute for mid-level administrators. The program, administered by Salish Kootenai College and housed at the Center for Native American Studies at Montana State University, provided 18 participants with 2 weeks of intensive training. Student evaluations of this initial session were highly positive, and plans are underway to repeat and refine the institute in following summers (Stein, 1990).

Smaller groups of tribal colleges are finding new ways to collaborate. The five tribal colleges in North Dakota (Turtle Mountain, Fort Berthold, Standing Rock, United Tribes Technical College, and Little Hoop) are, with support from the Bush Foundation, working with local state-supported universities in faculty exchanges. Tribal colleges provide resources and expertise to the state institutions on issues of cultural diversity and ways to work with minority students. The universities provide tribal college staff with contacts and opportunities to work with colleagues in professional disciplines. The project also allows for team-teaching, exchanges of courses, and use of distance-education techniques. The development of similar local networks is under discussion in South Dakota and Montana.

As the colleges gain experience and resources, older types of collaboration are being modified to suit new conditions. New colleges, for example, can now turn to established tribal colleges for a kind of institutional parenthood. Most tribal colleges began as satellites of a nearby accredited state college or university. At best, these relationships provided a kind of apprenticeship for tribal college staff, most of whom were new to their professional roles. The linkages also helped to meet federal guidelines for student aid programs, which were essential for both students and for the fledgling colleges themselves. Working together, however, frequently proved difficult for both parties; geographical, cultural, and institutional differences provided ample opportunities for misunderstanding, stress, and disagreements. As individual tribal colleges reach candidacy for accreditation, federal rules allow them to manage their own financial aid programs. The satellite relationships with the larger institutions are then customarily allowed to lapse.

Tribal colleges are now becoming organizational parents themselves. Since Salish Kootenai College has completed its accreditation process, it has sponsored two satellites of its own, Stone Child College and Fort Belknap Community College. By all accounts, including those of the regional accrediting association, the relationships have been smooth and productive models of their type. The two newer institutions have themselves achieved candidacy status, and they continue to collaborate with Salish Kootenai on a variety of projects.

Students and their Communities

Non-traditional students are the norm at tribal colleges. Women predominate; at most institutions, between two-thirds and three-quarters of all students are female. The median age for students is between 29 and 30 years At some of the more established colleges, however, younger students are enrolling in increasing numbers. As the colleges build track records in their own communities, students and high school counselors come to see the schools as their institutions of first preference. Large numbers of students do not have high school diplomas. Up to one-half of the student body at some colleges has earned a high school equivalency diploma through a General Education Development program (GED), in many cases, through their college's adult basic education program (Carnegie Foundation, 1990, p. 41). Most tribal college students are family-responsible, with children (and often older dependents) living in their households. Significantly, many students describe the close presence of their families as a primary source of support for their academic efforts, not as a source of conflicting obligations. Most students attend full-time. Most are unemployed, and have been unemployed for a significant period prior to enrolling in college. The overwhelming majority of tribal college students are the first members of their families to attend college; again, this percentage is declining as several generations of families, or whole groups of cousins, begin to enroll virtually simultaneously.

The communities in which tribal college students live are, economically, the poorest in the United States. Seventeen of the colleges are located in chronically distressed agricultural areas of the northern Great Plains. The magnitude of reservation economic problems was revealed in a national study, (Johnson, 1987) conducted by the General Board of Global Ministries of the United Methodist Church,which identified the 25 poorest counties in the United States. Of these counties, seven are located in South Dakota on reservations served by tribal colleges. Per capita income in these seven counties in 1986 ranged from $4,580 on the Cheyenne River Reservation, to $3,244 in Shannon County on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Economic conditions are similar throughout other reservations in the northern plains, where most of the tribal colleges are located. Unemployment rates in these communities have consistently exceeded 70 percent for the past decade. Little private-sector employment exists. On the Rosebud Reservation, for example, in 1986 only one job in five was in a for-profit business; the remainder were in education, health care, social services, government, or other public agencies (Sinte Gleska study). Although Native communities typically have many vigorous micro-enterprises, which operate in private homes, the formally organized portions of reservation economies tend to produce few jobs and little wealth. About 98 percent of tribal college students, in consequence, qualify for need-based federal financial aid.

Economic hardships in reservation communities are compounded by the hardships of geographic and cultural isolation, and by extreme climatic conditions. Many students must regularly drive 120 miles or more for each day of classes. Snow, ice, and cold, from December through April, are normal and severe obstacles to travel in rural and remote areas. Both cars and telephones are scarce resources in many Native communities, and if students can afford automobiles, they are liable to be old, inefficient, and vulnerable to breakdowns. Colleges have dealt with transportation issues in several ways: by developing their own bus services; by decentralizing and moving classes to the students; by collaborating with other local agencies to develop comprehensive rural transportation systems. Similarly, several colleges have dealt with the absence of day care facilities in their communities by developing their own systems, or by supporting other local agencies to fill the needs.

The tribal colleges serve communities which extend beyond the boundaries of individual reservations, and beyond the memberships of individual tribes. Each tribal college enrolls a significant percent of non-Native students. For Sinte Gleska, this group regularly comprises about one-fourth of the total student body. Non-Natives living on or near reservations face many of the same obstacles to higher education as do Native students: geographic isolation; extreme distances to postsecondary institutions; declining rural economies; limited personal financial resources; family and job obligations. Both personal stories and continuing enrollment patterns indicate that most non-Natives who enroll find tribal colleges to be accessible and satisfying. These students, in discussing their college experiences, often suggest that their newfound minority status provides them with useful and unanticipated opportunities to explore and re-value Native communities and ways of life. Around several reservations, non-Native alumni of tribal colleges are beginning to help to erode the encrusted barriers of racism, political inequity, and economic exclusion which still divide their regions.

Recruitment and Retention

Getting the Word Out

The founders of tribal colleges recognized from the outset that, if Native students were to be well served, colleges needed to be integral parts of their communities — geographically, culturally, socially, economically, and organizationally. Simply being close to students geographically is, however, a necessary, but not a sufficient condition for success. Each of the colleges is open to, and intertwined with, its community on many levels. For example, rather than creating separate and exclusive organizations for student extracurricular activities, many colleges contribute to community softball leagues, pow-wows, rodeos, sobriety dances, and other functions which serve entire populations. Members of college boards of directors frequently serve their communities as leaders in other respects as well, and college faculty and staff often have visible, positive roles in other local organizations. The colleges have become major employers on their reservations, and college facilities, expertise and resources are regularly used or shared by other groups.

Thus news about the colleges can, and does, travel though many channels. The institutions are open, transparent, and accountable, and these qualities reinforce the sense of local ownership provided by local control. Together, this ownership and control build identification and comfort with the colleges in Native communities. Formal educational institutions, in these same communities, have sometimes been regarded, with ample justification, as irrelevant at best, and at worst, alien, condescending, and predatory. But within tribal colleges, decision-making processes are consistently open to community observation; what college administrators occasionally lose in tranquility they more than regain, over the long-term, in credibility, acceptance, and acknowledgement.

Openness and accessibility likewise aid recruitment and retention. As the tribal colleges grow with their communities, the normal processes of academic life — registering, graduating, applying for financial aid, selecting courses of study — become incorporated as regular parts of local life. Students at non-Native colleges have long been able find out about college life from relatives and friends, through informal processes of information transfer and mentoring. Now these resources are available to tribal college students, and potential students, as well.

For more formal communications, tribal colleges have used whatever opportunities have been available locally. Conventional media strategies, devised for urban areas, are difficult to apply on reservations. Geographically isolated, most tribal colleges are far removed from even minor media markets. The closest television stations and daily newspapers are frequently located in cities hundreds of miles away. Local weekly newspapers, however, have often been generous and supportive in their coverage of college news and events. Local radio stations — particularly low-power FM stations targeted specifically at Native audiences — have likewise been helpful. In addition to promotional announcements, several colleges broadcast their own regular programs on topics of general interest to their communities. In addition, many colleges make splendid posters and visual materials, using local artists and incorporating exuberant and flourishing local artistic traditions.

Personal Relationships

Tribal colleges maintain close contacts, not simply with individual students, but with whole families and communities. These contacts shape recruitment and retention activities. One recruiter at Little Big Horn College, for example, recognizing that extended families form natural support groups for their students, works with whole cohorts of cousins at once. Despite the fact that many colleges are less than 15 years old, second and third generations of students from the same families are enrolling frequently. Most colleges combine an understanding of family-oriented recruitment patterns with more conventional efforts: sending representatives to local high college awareness programs; providing academic scholarship awards to promising high school graduates; familiarizing high school counselors with college programs and services.

Since, however, a very high percentage of tribal college enrollees have high school equivalency certificates rather than diplomas, the institutions have also developed ways to deal with the particular needs of these students. Many colleges operate adult basic education programs for their communities; high proportions of GED graduates continue on to enroll in degree programs. By that point, college staff members have, in most cases, already become familiar with individual educational needs and learning patterns.

Students who have not been involved in formal education for some time — and many recent high school graduates — need opportunities to build skills, both academic and personal, to enable them to succeed. Most tribal colleges, therefore, evaluate each student's needs and academic situation at the beginning of his or her college career. This assessment, which usually combines conversations with diagnostic testing, frequently leads to the requirement that the student take one or more developmental courses (numbered below basic freshman level) to strengthen basic mathematics or language skills. Occasionally, students themselves will request to enter these classes, as a way of building confidence before they proceed. Many colleges also provide individual tutors, or study skills centers, which students may use at any time during their course work; these centers frequently stress the development of writing and communications skills as crucial to academic success.

In addition to academic reinforcement, tribal colleges work to strengthen student attitudes towards academic and personal responsibility. At Turtle Mountain Community College, if a student misses three classes, he or she is contacted immediately by a college staff member, and efforts are made to resolve any difficulties. At Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College (SWCC), distribution of financial aid is pro-rated for first year students, who may choose to receive portions of their living stipends monthly or semi-monthly. Disbursement is made only on condition that the student has been attending regularly. Again, support is available, both from SWCC staff and from other organizations within the community, to work through problems. The approaches used by Turtle Mountain, Sisseton, and other colleges require careful monitoring of student attendance, performance, and morale. These techniques entail moderate investments in record-keeping, and detailed knowledge of community life.

The colleges work to make sure that students understand, at each step of the enrollment and assessment process, what is happening, and why. The colleges also try to communicate to students that the purpose of the developmental courses is supportive and preventive, not punitive. The colleges work to identify problems early, and to encourage students to develop constructive ways of addressing them — through tutoring, counseling, developing new study habits, rearranging study areas, whatever it takes to get on with the business of acquiring an education. Fundamental to this approach is an appreciation, on the part of faculty and staff, of the intense motivation of most tribal college students, coupled with a recognition of the legitimacy of the colleges' standards of performance. Weakening requirements for students, by bending standards or making unwarranted exceptions, weakens the institution as well. Instead, tribal colleges work to help students acquire whatever skills they need to succeed. If the colleges allowed students to continue with impaired skills or diluted educations, those students would only continue to face the limited choices — in employment, careers, and further education — with which they are already familiar.

Student support services at tribal colleges generally attempt to make effective use of scarce resources. The small size of most institutions, coupled with their strong focus on students, facilitate communication among faculty, registrars, support staff, and financial aid personnel. Academic advising, financial aid counseling, and career-planning assistance can often be interwoven for each student by faculty and staff who are familiar both with the individual and with the institution's processes. Fort Berthold Community College has formalized a mentoring process for its students, making available to them contact with several graduates. Colleges also work closely with other agencies in their communities — social services, alcoholism and drug abuse prevention programs, vocational rehabilitation, etc. Since the budgets of tribal colleges often do not permit the institutions to have their own comprehensive student support services, most institutions establish close relationships with, and make referrals to, local organizations which can provide assistance to students.

Tribal colleges likewise encourage students who have not succeeded to try again. As many as one-third of the students at most of the institutions have been enrolled previously at some other college. The simple accessibility of a tribal college frequently provides an incentive to resume efforts at higher education. Federal financial aid policies place sharp limits on the number of times an adult learner without independent means can afford to try for an education, but within those constraints, tribal colleges work to provide opportunities and support for repeated efforts. Thus, in any academic term, as many as 10 to 20 percent of tribal college students may have used up their federal financial aid eligibility, but still need assistance in order to complete their educational programs. Few resources are available to provide this support, but the colleges continue to recognize an obligation to these students.

The social climate at tribal colleges also contributes significantly to student retention. Students and staff repeatedly describe their colleges as functioning "like an extended family," with warmth, humor, and discipline provided in culturally appropriate ways. The colleges are inclusive; parents, children, relatives, friends, and community members regularly turn up at college events, and may pass through campus areas daily. Special efforts are made at graduations and other ceremonial occasions to honor the families of students, and to recognize the values and contributions of Elders. For faculty and staff, personal and social relationships with students continue as a matter of course after they graduate or leave the institution, since they remain within their communities. Interestingly, most tribal colleges also have an informal support networks, primarily composed of former faculty and staff, who have left the institutions and the reservations, but who return for visits, and keep up with the news.

Curricula and Teaching Styles

Tribal colleges vary considerably, one from another, on matters of curriculum, educational philosophy, and teaching styles. The diversity emerges from the institutions' commitments to serve the educational needs of their local communities. These needs differ with the social, economic, cultural, and historical circumstance of each reservation. Some basic common approached, however, appear in degree programs. Most colleges offer a general studies degree at the associate level, as preparation for entry into baccalaureate programs. In response to employment needs on most reservations, many institutions offer degrees in human services or social work. Some colleges are also providing degrees or certificates in alcoholism and drug abuse training. Students in tribal colleges share with their colleagues on other campuses a strong interest in business and management. Most colleges offer degree programs these fields. These programs frequently have the largest enrollments at their respective institutions. Another common feature of many colleges is a program to prepare Native teachers for local classrooms. At two-year institutions, tribal college education curricula are frequently combined with upper division course work at nearby universities. Both Sinte Gleska (54 bachelor's in education as of 1990) and Oglala Lakota Colleges (45 bachelor's as of 1989) also offer baccalaureate degrees, and Sinte Gleska has already produced 13 graduates from its master's program in education. The impacts of significant numbers of locally-trained, professionally- and culturally-skilled teachers and administrators in reservation schools have yet to be assessed; it is clear, however, that potential implications for all of Native education may be significant.

Indian studies and language departments likewise form a central part of the intellectual and spiritual life at many tribal colleges. (Several institutions have chosen to incorporate these fields of study elsewhere in their curricula; the study of language and culture, however, retain their centrality no matter where they are housed.) The evolution of these departments, and the degree programs they offer, has been comparatively gradual at many institutions, in part due to scarcities of qualified staff and appropriate instructional materials. Instructors in these programs must not only have thorough knowledge of their subject areas, but must be able to organize and transmit this knowledge through new cultural forms — lectures, seminars, articles, films, videos, recordings — which were not indigenous to Native communities. In addition, materials which have been written about particular Native culture groups by outsiders may, for a variety of reasons, not be suitable for use in tribal college classrooms. Most colleges have found it necessary to prepare their own texts for language, literature, and music. Recognizing their faculties' expertise and confidence in the creation of courses and materials, several colleges have begun to discuss the formation of a national professional organization to support, evaluate, and accredit Indian studies programs.

Vocational programs, at both the certificate and associate levels, are also essential parts of the curricula at most tribal colleges. Stability in these programs has been difficult to attain, however, because of the methods of dispersal of federal funds specifically designated for vocational training. Tribal colleges must compete individually for grants which support three-year vocational programs. The selection criteria in the grant competitions are weighted to discourage investment in capital-intensive curricula, and the program regulations minimize chances for continued support after the original grant expires. In many cases, the tribal colleges have needed to replace federal vocational education funds with scarce money from alternative sources, in order to maintain existing curricula after the expiration of a grant. State institutions, in contrast, receive regular annual allocations of federal vocational education monies, which may then be used over time to build or upgrade programs.

Within these limits, tribal colleges have, over 15 years, developed occupational and vocational programs which fit their social, economic and natural environments: aquaculture on the Lummi reservation; forestry at Salish Kootenai, Stonechild, and Sinte Gleska; game and fisheries management at Little Hoop; agriculture and natural resource management at Sisseton; dental assistant training at Salish Kootenai; nursing (a baccalaureate program) at Oglala Lakota. Many colleges offer the only sources of training in their regions in data processing and computer applications. Tribal colleges have become increasingly diverse in their approaches to vocational education: Stonechild trains students in log house construction. Oglala Lakota offers curricula in management/entrepreneurship and in media communications. Little Hoop works with the local tribal industry in pre-employment training, and in a specialized program for mid-level managers. Bay Mills Community College, through its Women's Advocacy Program, prepares female heads of household to enter the workforce. The college also offers beginning management training in support of a tribal enterprise program, and prepares students for employment in the local tourism industry.

In general, tribal colleges chose their curricula by determining, through consultation with their communities, what is appropriate and cost-effective. Financial resources are scarce for faculty salaries and curriculum development. The colleges can afford to meet only a few of the most pressing local educational needs. This concentration on educational essentials appears to enhance student interest, performance, and retention.

Similar pragmatism underlies choices of teaching methods and instructional techniques. Both cooperative learning and holistic teaching approaches are widely used, but no single technical method is shared by all of the colleges, much less by faculty within those institutions. Instead, successful instructors at each college appear to arrive at a recognition that cultural differences are real and legitimate, and that these differences shape and strengthen learning styles and social behaviors. Tribal colleges recognize, as a basic premise, that many Native students approach their academic experiences in ways identifiably different from those of students in the mainstream American culture. Instructors work to identify and understand these differences, and to devise instructional strategies which build on their students' strengths. At most colleges, Native instructors or administrators, as members of the local community, serve as informal mentors or cultural translators for instructors who may be less familiar with tribal contexts and social patterns. Faculty from Navajo Community College, in testimony to the Task Force, pointed out that their institution has formalized this process. The college has identified, made explicit, and is working to implement, the Dine Philosophy of Learning, an approach to education based in traditional Navajo values and epistemology. Acquiring the information and sensitivity necessary to work across these cultural boundaries takes time, both for faculty members and for institutions. As individual colleges become more experienced at working in their own communities, they appear to become more distinct both in their educational and their organizational styles.

Evidence of Educational Outcomes

The contexts in which tribal colleges began their work were disheartening. In the early 1970s, mainstream postsecondary institutions regularly experienced attrition rates among Native students in excess of 90 percent. Native students from reservation communities who became discouraged, or were unable to continue, often appeared to give up, not only on higher education, but on their own futures. Simultaneously, however, educational patterns among non-Native students began to shift, especially after the Vietnam War. Older students enrolled in greater numbers; students took longer to complete their degrees. Increasing numbers began their academic careers at two-year institutions. More students remained involved in formal education after they had completed an initial degree. These changes altered the tempos of American higher education. By the end of the 1980s, for example, fewer than one-third of the students entering a major state university in the north central states graduated within five years with bachelor's degrees. Testimony to the Task Force indicated that, in 1990, the median time taken for the attainment of a bachelor's degree, nation-wide, is six years.

Tribal colleges came fairly early to recognize that their own successes, and those of their students, ought not to be evaluated solely by yardsticks appropriate to other communities. Nor should those evaluations be based on assumptions that tribal college students could, or should, progress in lockstep towards degrees. Many tribal college students have families, and therefore must proceed towards degrees at a pace which is realistic for them. Tribal colleges also serve other constituencies: people taking one or two courses to improve job skills; individuals who enroll in a single course out of general interest; staff of public-sector programs who take workshops or special courses developed for them. The communities served by the colleges are geographically and socially isolated; the tribal colleges are often the sole providers in their areas for educational services — adult and community education, skills upgrading, professional development or recertification — which, in more populous areas, would be provided by a whole range of institutions, public and private.

Not all tribal college students intend to earn degrees. Not all students who intend to earn degrees can complete their work in the minimum allotted time. (This point, however obvious, is apparently worth belaboring. During congressional appropriations testimony in 1988, a Senate staff person argued that a two-year tribal college with 500 students should, logically, be expected to produce 250 graduates each year.)

In order to assess the effectiveness of tribal colleges in educating their students, AIHEC, in the spring of 1990, gathered data from six of the accredited institutions, those with large enough enrollments, and long enough track records, to generate statistically significant data: Oglala Lakota; Sinte Gleska; Standing Rock; Turtle Mountain; Salish Kootenai; and Blackfeet. Information was collected for the period 1983-89 (AIHEC, 1990, pp. 4-5). During these years, the six colleges graduated 1575 Indian people. Of these graduates, 210 earned one-year vocational certificates, 1198 earned associate degrees, 158 earned bachelor's degrees, and 9 earned master's degrees in education.

About one-third of these graduates, primarily those with vocational certificates and associate degrees, continued their educations after graduation. The remainder sought employment within their communities. Additionally, an overwhelming majority of tribal college graduates who pursued advanced degrees outside their communities returned after the completion of their academic work.

Tribal college graduates have been successful in finding employment. Depending on the reservation, 83 to 88 percent of the graduates of the six colleges studied were employed. These figures contrast sharply with local unemployment rates, which range from 54 percent on the Flathead Reservation (home of Salish Kootenai College) to 85 percent on the Rosebud Reservation (home of Sinte Gleska College). Independent evidence (Wright & Weasel Head, in press) indicates that 75 percent of tribal college graduates in Montana are employed in fields related to their degrees. Of the remaining 25 percent, approximately half indicated that they had already been working for their employer prior to entering a tribal college.

The employment rates of tribal college graduates are particularly significant because they represent gains made primarily by Native female heads of households, whose median age was about

30 years, with little previous experience in the workforce. Most of these students had been receiving general assistance or Aid to Families with Dependent Children prior to enrolling in college. Similar gains in employability appear to be taking place at every tribal college; data from Stone Child College, on the Rocky Boy Reservation, and Sisseton-Wahpeton Community College, paralleled or exceeded those from the larger and older institutions.

Independent assessments are also beginning to confirm observations made from within the tribal colleges — that tribal college students are fundamentally pleased with their educational experiences. In a recent study of Montana tribal college graduates (Wright & Weasel Head, in press) 33 percent of those surveyed rated their "preparation for continuing your education" as "excellent," and 38 percent rated it "good." Eighty-six percent of graduates surveyed rated the preparation of their instructors as "good" or "excellent." Graduates rated "the quality of educational training received" with a mean of 3.36 on a scale of four, indicating a high degree of satisfaction.

Completion rates at tribal colleges also appear to bear favorable comparison with those of other postsecondary institutions. Data from three of the colleges — Salish Kootenai, Turtle Mountain, and Sisseton-Wahpeton — indicate that as many as 80 percent of students enrolled in any academic term complete their courses; it is not yet clear what percentage of students eventually completes a degree, or the range of times normally required for those completions. A study of Montana tribal college students (Wright, 1989, pp. 126-7), however, revealed that a majority of students who discontinued their education did so for non-academic reasons. Furthermore, among the academic reasons expressed, students most frequently cited: the unavailability of desired majors and courses; uncertainty about choice of major or degree program; and the need for a break from studies. Nonreturning students cited, as reasons for not going back to college: home responsibilities (27.5 percent); personal problems (24.5 percent); insufficient money (22.5 percent); the unavailability of desired major or program (21.6 percent); and the need for a temporary break from studies (19.6 percent). Dissatisfaction with the quality of tribal colleges, or the students' experiences in them, did not emerge as significant reasons for leaving the colleges.

Tribal college students are beginning, in significant numbers, to obtain degrees at off-reservation institutions. The experiences of tribal college students who transfer to off-reservation institutions, or complete graduate degrees, likewise are beginning to provide evidence of the strength of their academic preparation. By their own accounts, individual Native students who have earned graduate and professional degrees at the University of South Dakota Law School, Montana State University, the University of North Dakota, Harvard Law School, Arizona State University, the Harvard Graduate School of Education, the University of Nebraska, or South Dakota State University would not have been able to attend without their experiences at the tribal colleges. As of June 1990, the graduates of a single two-year institution, Turtle Mountain Community College, had earned 155 bachelor's degrees, 25 master's degrees, 3 law and doctoral degrees.

These results are, in themselves, remarkable. They make clear the role which the colleges play in providing Native students access to other postsecondary institutions. Beyond this, however, a study still in progress (Wright, personal communication) indicates that, in Montana, tribal college students who transferred to three state universities, and remained until their senior years, performed academically as well as, or better than, other Indian students at those same institutions. This data also suggests that, if former tribal college students terminated their educations before graduating from the four-year institutions to which they had transferred, they left for non-academic reasons — family responsibilities, finances, employment opportunities, etc. This statistical evidence reinforces narrative evidence from each institution; tribal colleges are providing education of quality to whole groups of Native students who had previously been excluded, for a variety of reasons, from colleges and universities. With that education, Native people are changing their lives.

Evidence of Outcomes: Colleges Strengthening Communities

In addition to the contributions tribal colleges make to the lives of their students as individuals, the institutions also contribute significantly to their communities: through their facilities; through their roles as conservers, innovators, and adapters of traditional values to new situations; and through their abilities to focus sustained energy on local issues and problems. Libraries at tribal colleges, for example, are frequently the only libraries serving their entire regions. Increasing numbers of the colleges are establishing professionally managed archives for their tribal communities, so that historical records will be accessible to the people whose history they record. Oglala Lakota College, with a grant from the Ford Foundation, is working with other tribal colleges to train archival personnel and strengthen management capacities.

Tribal colleges are ideally situated, geographically and intellectually, to provide their communities with applied research. For most, the tribal language and culture have been areas of immediate concern; instructors have often needed to develop appropriate curriculum materials from scratch. Several colleges are collecting oral histories, literature, and songs, and making them available through publications and recordings. Tribal college faculty are gaining recognition beyond their communities not only for their expertise on their own cultures and languages, but for their abilities to share that expertise with non-Native audiences. Two faculty members from Sinte Gleska's Lakota Studies Department recently made substantial professional contributions to the cultural sensitivity of the film, "Dances With Wolves." Blackfeet Community College, Salish Kootenai, and Sinte Gleska have each established summer cultural camps which share local knowledge of traditional ways of life, thought, and belief with increasingly international groups of students.

Economic and development issues form a second area of research for several colleges. Work on these topics frequently requires financial and technical resources which are expensive and difficult to maintain in isolated reservation communities. Nevertheless, a few colleges have already made significant contributions to the body of useful knowledge available about their regions. Oglala Lakota College has established a research institute which has examined issues of rural transportation, leadership, land use, and the economic behavior of very small enterprises. Sinte Gleska's Institute for Economic Development produced studies of reservation employment patterns, and a detailed analysis of federal transfer payments to tribal members. Research work at each of those colleges has led to the formation of spin-off organizations. Both the Lakota Fund at Pine Ridge and the Rosebud Reservation Enterprise Center provide technical support and small loans to entrepreneurs in their communities, using peer-group lending techniques developed in Bangladesh. Each entity began through research conducted at the respective tribal college. Sinte Gleska has also established an institute for tribal governance, which has provided technical and research support to the tribal government and the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Tribal colleges also serve as centers of thought and action from which to address other local problems. Turtle Mountain Community College sponsors public forums which provide, in a neutral setting, information and opportunities for discussion about important local issues. Many colleges work with other local organizations in combatting alcoholism and chemical dependency through community education, sponsoring support groups, and community activities such as sobriety walks, and through training counselors and community workers. Sinte Gleska, with support from the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, has targeted several communities on the large Rosebud Reservation for intensive work in prevention and community education. Several colleges have likewise established programs for AIDS education. Cheyenne River Community College has worked more generally on community wellness and preventive care issues.

Tribal colleges have also confronted issues of political, social, and racial inequity. When, for example, the governor of South Dakota declared 1990 as a year of reconciliation between the state's Native and non-Native peoples, tribal colleges in the state became catalysts for communication. The institutions brought together diverse groups with disparate views; together they explored the legitimacy of the concept of reconciliation, and examined possibilities for its achievement. Other colleges, faced with different situations, have taken different approaches. Little Big Horn College provided strong leadership for court battles which succeeded in ending decades of voting rights abuses against members of the Crow Tribe in the state of Montana.

Several tribal colleges are working to improve the quality of local elementary and secondary education, not only by training Native teachers and teacher aides, but by redefining educational policies, or restructuring the schools themselves. In San Diego, Sherry Red Owl, a founding board member of Sinte Gleska College, told the Task Force about the college's education forums — reservation-wide meetings of educators, administrators, Elders, parents, and political leaders. These forums bring together groups which do not ordinarily discuss educational policy with each other; the groups are systematically reviewing, assessing, and redesigning educational approaches for Rosebud, in order to produce a "blueprint for Indian education." The blueprint will serve not only to guide educational development, at all levels, on the Rosebud Reservation, but also to create and model a process which other colleges and Native communities may adapt to their own situations.

Other colleges are working with specific local schools. In Montana, for example, Two Eagle Rivers High School is located on the campus of Salish Kootenai College. Northwest Indian College is developing a Middle College, to provide institutional links between high school and college work; Little Big Horn College offer enrichment opportunities, in the form of science and mathematics camps, for junior high school students. The skills and approaches which have worked in the colleges may have applications at other levels in Native schools as well.

Constraints

As vigorous and successful as the tribal colleges have been, they are highly vulnerable institutions. They depend for operating monies on the federal government, by which they have been penalized severely for their achievements in the education of Native students. The Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, in its report, *Tribal Colleges: Shaping The Future of Native America* (Carnegie Foundation, 1989, p. 70), summarized the situation: "The harsh truth is, however, that federal support has been woefully insufficient: it simply has not kept pace with the rate of growth in the tribal colleges, or with their most basic needs." The BIA has never requested sufficient funds for the tribal colleges from the Congress; indeed the Carnegie Foundation, in 1989, noted the absence of a spirit of cooperation between the national levels of the BIA and the tribal colleges. Nor has the Congress ever appropriated monies to the colleges to the limits established by law. Attitudes in both the BIA and Congress show signs of change, however; for fiscal 1991, Congress increased significantly the dollar amount appropriated per Indian student, and for the first time, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has appealed to the Office of Management and Budget, the President's budget watchdogs, to increase the amounts requested from Congress for the colleges.

Monies are distributed to the colleges by the BIA proportionately, through a formula which is adjusted annually. The BIA adds together the total number of credit hours for which all Indian students at each of the colleges are enrolled during the year, and calculates an Indian Student Count (ISC), roughly comparable to the number of full-time equivalent students. This number is then divided into the dollar amount of the total congressional appropriation for the colleges, yielding a dollar amount per ISC. Each college then should receive a share of the funds based on its number of ISCs for the year. For fiscal year 1990, each tribal college received $2,200 per ISC.

By comparison, in the state of Montana, three public two year colleges of comparable size to the tribal colleges averaged a cost per student in 1989-90 of $4,340, of which $3,838 was state and local funding. In North Dakota, costs per student at the public two-year colleges in the same year averaged $5,030, of which slightly less than $3,800 came from state and local governments. One Native two-year college which is administered directly by the BIA received a bit more than $10,000 per student for fiscal year 1991 (AIHEC, 1990, p. 11).

Federal funds are, and should be, the basic revenue source for the tribal colleges. The Native communities they serve have very limited resources and revenue bases. The realities of local poverty set sharp limits on the amounts of tuition which the colleges can collect. Yet since 1981, federal support to the colleges has eroded steadily. Inflation has, over time, reduced the value of their appropriations; more significant, however, is the cumulative impact of the colleges' success. Enrollment has grown, when all colleges are added together, at a rate of about ten percent per year; the modest increases in total federal appropriations simply have not kept pace. This has produced a bitter irony; the tribal colleges, by helping each other to grow, and expanding the opportunities for increasing numbers of Native students, have each diminished their own resources (See Table 1).

TABLE 1
Trends in Funding per Indian Student Count for Tribal Colleges by Year

Fiscal Year	Indian Student Count (ISC)	Dollars per ISC
1981	1689	$3,100
1982	2087	$2,826
1983	2194	$2,865
1984	2616	$2,506
1985	2853	$2,459
1986	3000	$2,317
1987	3200	$2,517
1988	3908	$2,159
1989	4400	$1,964
1990	4795	$2,200
1991	4975	$3,000

This steady shrinking of the financial base has affected the colleges severely. Full-time faculty salaries at many tribal colleges average $19,000 per year. Salaries in the same disciplines at neighboring state institutions exceed $30,000 annually. Dedicated faculty and administrators may stay at

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their tribal colleges for the satisfaction which their jobs bring, but their eventual replacements are increasingly unwilling to settle for unreasonable salaries and slender fringe benefit packages. Many institutions rely heavily on part-time faculty. While this may be a prudent use of resources for the short term, the building of curricula and degree programs of high quality demands at least some full-time attention. Without additional resources, these concerns are likely to worsen. Projections of academic workforces in the 1990s all point to a decrease in the supply of college faculty, which in turn will bring an increase in faculty salaries; for the same period, projections of tribal college student populations indicate continued expansions in enrollments.

Salaries aside, basic academic operations may cost more in remote rural areas than in cities. In 1989, researchers (Hargreaves & Chang, 1989, p. 63) found that a standard market basket of food cost about 30 percent more in a community on the Rosebud Reservation than in the city of Sioux Falls. Similar price differentials exist for equipment and services, both because of additional transportation charges, and because of the absence of competition in many rural areas. But tribal colleges need the same sorts of physical equipment and supplies as do colleges in urban areas. Library resources, often meager, are unable to keep pace with the expanding needs for information of increasingly well-educated and developing communities. Laboratory equipment and computer technology likewise demand regular replacement and upgrading, if the educational missions of the institutions are to be served.

Physical facilities also need attention. Most tribal colleges began life in architectural cast-offs and hand-me-downs, buildings which had been abandoned (and sometimes condemned) by their former occupants. Many tribal colleges are still there, dealing with expensive heating bills, leaky roofs, damaged computers, and the occasional rodent or bat. The endemic humor of the colleges makes light of the difficulties, but the high costs of operation and the losses of efficiency remain.

Vocational education at tribal colleges needs additional resources. The colleges have demonstrated their capacities, during the past 20 years, to help students move from economic dependency into the workforce. The students who have made this transition have been, by any definition, among the hard-core unemployed — female heads of households, without high school diplomas, in their late 20s and early 30s, without significant employment experience. Yet the colleges are unable to obtain stable and adequate support for vocational training, while such monies are regularly provided by the federal government, as a matter of course, to state vocational institutions which have weaker track records in serving Native students.

Recommendations

The first recommendation of the report of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (1989, p. 69) has not yet been implemented, and therefore bears repeating:

> First, we urgently recommend that the federal government adequately support tribal colleges by providing the full funding authorized by Congress. Specifically, we recommend that the $5,820 authorized per student be appropriated and that, from this point on, federal appropriations keep pace with the growth of Indian student enrollment.

The tribal colleges continue to demonstrate their successes in providing education, and hope, to Native people and to their communities, in remote and isolated areas, under difficult conditions. In many tribal communities, there is little else which works as well. The tribal colleges have likewise shown that they provide not one replicable model, but several, for effective community involvement with, and control of, a sophisticated educational institution. The colleges have devised and shared techniques for economic and social development, alcoholism prevention and treatment, and adult education. But the colleges cannot continue, much less build on their potential, without adequate financial support.

Secondly, the federal government needs to reexamine policies for student financial aid. Janine Pease-Windy Boy, president of Little Big Horn College and a member of the INAR Task Force, argued persuasively in her testimony that federal financial aid policies need to be re-examined and adjusted to take into account the experiences of tribal college students. Loans do not appear to be an appropriate primary ingredient for financial aid to impoverished students from communities with low wages and high unemployment. Several tribal colleges have declined to participate in federal guaranteed student loan programs, lest their students be encouraged to accumulate large debts. If a student needs to interrupt his or her studies for personal, family, or even financial reasons, payments come due on any loans already received. Yet stop-and-start patterns of enrollment appears to be common, and healthy, among tribal college students. Federal requirements also place strict limits on the number of terms for which a student may receive financial aid. Some limits are necessary, but the number of terms needs to be adjusted to deal realistically with the needs of adult learners, who may not be able to maintain the same schedules as full-time students.

Thirdly, federal agencies need to provide more occasions for tribal colleges to participate in existing programs. This is particularly essential in such areas as agriculture, rural economic development, science and technology education, and historical, linguistic, and cultural preservation. Tribal colleges have demonstrated that they provide uniquely stable and productive environments for innovative work within Native communities. The federal government has designated special opportunities for Historically Black Colleges and Universities to compete for existing programs and monies. This approach requires no additional federal appropriations, but instead a more effective targeting of resources to institutions which can use them effectively. Similar approaches and resources need to be made more accessible to tribal colleges as well. Likewise, new legislation and regulations for federal vocational education programs need to be refined so that the intent of the drafters — increased support for tribal colleges — is not subverted by state governments competing for these resources. Similarly, written testimony submitted to the Task Force argued forcefully that assistance for developing institutions under Title III of the Higher Education Act needs to be made more accessible to tribal colleges.

Fourthly, tribal colleges are now the only major federally-funded institutions of Native education which do not receive forward funding. (This is a budgeting technique used for some federal programs, in which monies are appropriated one year in advance. This assures that organizations which are forward funded will not get caught without budgets, should the Congress fail to approve appropriations legislation on time). Financial uncertainty each fall wreaks havoc with tribal college budgets and operations, as the Bureau of Indian Affairs awaits the passage of appropriations legislation before sending operating monies to the colleges. Forward funding needs to be adopted by the Congress as soon as possible.

Two other issues require remedy through federal legislation. With few exceptions, the colleges' physical facilities are grimly inadequate, in both size and condition. No federal funds have ever been appropriated for construction, however, and only in 1990 was money provided for emergency repairs — literally to keep roofs from falling in. Monies must be found for new and decent buildings for the tribal colleges. Likewise, federal law has established that congressional appropriations should be used to match those funds which the colleges raise for their endowments. As the institutions become more visible and more successful, they must not be penalized for their efforts to create long-term financial stability; federal funds to match endowments must be increased.

On the state level, state governments need to provide tribal colleges with funds to cover the cost of educating non-Native students. The colleges receive no operating funds from the federal government for these students. The tuition collected from them covers no more than one-fifth of the colleges' total educational costs. The colleges provide valuable and unique services to these students, services for which state governments have ultimate responsibility. The dollar amounts involved would be minor from the perspective of the states, but significant and highly useful to the tribal colleges.

Additionally, state universities and colleges need to continue to develop collaborative relationships with tribal colleges. These relationships must be founded in mutual respect, minimizing condescension or territorial defensiveness which have marred such efforts in the past. Tribal colleges have demonstrated their capacities to prepare students for baccalaureate or graduate work at other institutions, their skills at providing education grounded in cultural values and traditions, and their abilities to conduct useful and imaginative research. These strengths, if coordinated with those of other non-Native institutions, can add materially to the quality of education and human life in their regions.

Philanthropic organizations and foundations have been slow to recognize and acknowledge the value of tribal colleges. Several foundations have expressed discomfort with the small size, and apparent lack of national impact, of the colleges. The Bush and MacArthur Foundations, on the other hand, have been conspicuous as leaders and innovators in their support of individual colleges. The Carnegie Foundation report (1989, pp. 83-85) encouraged foundations to support the Tribal College Institute, the journal, *Tribal College*, and the office of the American Indian Higher Education Consortium in Washington, D.C. To the recommendation of the Carnegie Foundation must be added encouragement to support the American Indian College Fund, which has established its effectiveness and credibility during the first year of operation.

Corporate donors have likewise been hesitant, for the most part, to support tribal colleges. Corporate giving policies frequently restrict donations to geographical areas in which plants or businesses are located. Such rules exclude tribal colleges on economically desolated reservations. Again, the national efforts of the American Indian College Fund, the journal and the institute may provide suitable opportunities for corporate donors, but they are also encouraged to re-think the implications of their giving policies for the tribal colleges in particular, and Native and rural education in general.

Tribal governments have, for the most part, been strongly supportive of the colleges which serve their reservations, and understanding of the colleges' needs for administrative and fiscal integrity. Several governments, however, have viewed the colleges not as independent and autonomous institutions chartered by tribal council action, but as a tribal program subject to management by elected political officials. Inappropriate political intervention in the operation of any college places its academic integrity, and its accreditation, at risk. Those tribal colleges which have thrived are those which have been able to place a perceptible distance between themselves and the turbulence of elective tribal politics. Those tribal governments which have not recognized these lessons place their colleges in jeopardy.

Tribal colleges need, as resources become available, to address the issue of baccalaureate level education for their students. Only two colleges, Sinte Gleska and Oglala Lakota, currently offer bachelor's degrees. The Task Force heard repeatedly from tribal college students, faculty, and staff, voicing the hope that their local colleges would move towards baccalaureate and graduate education.

Lastly, the colleges themselves need to pay more attention, as resources become available, to research about themselves and their communities. Location and context are important; research done within, and for the use of, tribal communities is not the same as research which treats those communities, or their members, as distant objects. The colleges, individually or in groups, need to find ways to provide their communities with access to specialized research skills, and to a core group of trained researchers familiar with tribal needs and issues. The colleges also need funds, from the federal and foundation sources, to strengthen contemporary research capacities, and to build archives and museum collections to support historical research. The colleges themselves are appropriate subjects of inquiry; they have created innovative results by developing appropriate educational techniques and new styles of organizations. The work itself has been so consuming, and the resources so scarce, that little time has been available to assess all of the outcomes, or record how they have been achieved. The conscious and reflective examination of both processes and outcomes is essential, if the tribal colleges are to take their rightful places of leadership in the Native, the national, and the international educational communities.

Lessons and Implications

The tribal colleges have derived new solutions to long-standing problems in Native education. This effort has required sustained, patient, hard work; many of the presidents, administrators, and faculty have been with their colleges since the doors opened. The colleges have become institutions, with institutional continuities and institutional memories. No three-year program, or succession of them, has provided comparable results. Benefiting from two decades of continuity, the colleges have been able to learn from their own experiences and those of others. The institutions have, over time, discarded less functional methods and approaches, and accumulated and refined those which work for them. They have shared, patiently and gradually, their experience and expertise with each other, and have built a network which provides information, support, and political effectiveness.

The colleges do not form a unitary system; their network is decentralized. No single, central organization has mastered the sensitivity and local knowledge necessary to serve the diversity of cultures, languages, economies and societies which form the colleges' constituencies.

The colleges demonstrate the utility of smallness, openness, and accountability for working in their reservations. The colleges know their students, their families, and their communities. And the communities know their colleges, not only as collections of teachers, friends, and relatives, but as institutions and as resources.

Ultimately, the colleges derive strength from their accountability. They hold themselves accountable, not only to their tribes, to funding sources, and to accreditation agencies, but also to the intentions for which they were established. The founders of the first colleges insisted that the inclusive values of tribal spiritual traditions be a foundation of the institutions. They insisted as well that the ultimate moral purposes of education at the tribal colleges be acknowledged, celebrated, and shared. They chose wisely.

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American Indian and Alaska Native Adult Education and Vocational Training Programs: Historical Beginnings, Present Conditions and Future Directions

John Hatch

Introduction

There is a growing consensus that the success of Native adult education and vocational training programs is tied to the economic health of Native communities. Problems of illiteracy and unemployment are interrelated and cannot be solved in isolation. They are simply symptoms of the same illness — poverty. One begets the other creating an unending cycle of despair that robs Native families, communities and governments of their culture, traditions and dignity. No single agency or legislative initiative has the power to alter the situation. Reform will occur only after tribal, state and federal agencies combine resources to stimulate Native economies and provide adequate funds for the operation of adult training and education programs. Such a multi-frontal assault will improve employment opportunities, inspire Native adults to obtain employment skills and provide Native governments and enterprises with a better educated work force. All of which will move Native communities further down the road to self-determination.

This paper will survey the historical relationship between the United States Government and Native communities that led to the development of Native adult basic education and vocational training programs. Through government and private reports spanning more than 150 years, it will document the often tragic consequences of that relationship. It will go on to identify current federal, state and Native programs designed to overcome past and present failures, and it will provide specific recommendations for change voiced by Native community leaders, educators, and parents at meetings held by the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force. But prior to that I want to relay the story of William "Billy" Mastaw, a 35-year-old Chippewa from a small reservation in Michigan's rural Upper Peninsula.

Billy obtained a high school equivalency diploma in June 1990 from the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians' federally funded Adult Learning Center. Three years earlier, he came to the Center after the Michigan Department of Social Services refused to continue his general assistance payments unless he enrolled in an adult education program.

Billy did not like the idea that he was again being forced to attend school. He thought he had rid himself of that annoyance 14 years ago when he left the public school system in the ninth grade. But if Billy could have looked past his distaste over the referral, he would have seen that not all was well with his life. His days were filled with long stretches of nothing to do. He did not have a job or a car. He had no one to share his thoughts, his needs and his desires. He was bored and he was lonely, and he often felt out of place. And when things got really bad, Billy got drunk. Since leaving school he had developed a nasty drug and alcohol habit, experienced one failed marriage, spent small stretches of time in jail and been unemployed or underemployed most of his adult life. Lacking a permanent address, he often spent nights sleeping on the living room couch of his brother's or some friend's home.

The Center's diagnostic testing program placed Billy at an eighth grade level for reading, mathematics and English. Based on his past experience within educational institutions, his irritation over the forced referral, and his on-going substance abuse, graduation was not part of his expectations. The first night he attended the program, he walked into the classroom, sat at a desk, pulled out a pencil and glared at the teacher and fellow students. He was ready to suffer the program until his case worker turned attention to another client, allowing Billy to walk away unnoticed.

Billy's attitude began to change after he picked up on the differences between the Center and the public school he had left years ago. For the first time he was not the only dark face in the crowd. At the Center he was not the only student from the reservation — he was part of a majority. No war hoops or Indian jokes were likely to come from this crowd — he knew the other students: he had grown up along side many of them. He knew their parents, had hung around with some of their brothers, and had dated some of their sisters. They dressed like him. They talked like him. Most had enrolled at the Center because they had encountered problems at the public school—just like him. The teachers were also different. It wasn't that they were any more caring than those he had encountered before, but they were more patient, more understanding. They allowed him to work at his own pace. The teachers talked to him about the future and the possibilities that would open after he obtained a high school equivalency diploma. He began to like the idea of being a student and looked forward to each class.

After taking and passing his first General Education Development (GED) test, Billy gained confidence in his ability to succeed. He became motivated. He joined a tribal substance abuse prevention program. His school attendance increased. During the next two years he studied hard and passed all five GED tests. He then enrolled in a two-year Indian community college (Bay Mills Community College), and as of this writing he has completed the first year of a two-year business degree. Billy's success is far from complete. In order to fully leave his past behind, he must complete his college education, maintain his sobriety, and obtain self-sustaining employment. Difficult enough for anyone to achieve, these goals are more elusive for someone who was raised in a dysfunctional and often traumatic environment, and who continues to reside in a community shattered from the effects of a broken culture.

Large segments of America's Native communities are adrift, like Billy, in a world in which they can not compete. Native adults and children within these communities are at risk. At stake is the quality of life for current and future generations of American Indian and Alaska Natives. Education and training programs must be tied to employment opportunities. Otherwise Native adults will continue to base their future expectations on the past realities of meaningless, low paying employment. It is my hope that this paper will motivate policy makers to investigate more deeply into the harsh realities facing Native people. Such exploration will surely uncover new strategies to stimulate Native economies and to better educational services—putting an end to the tragic plight of America's Native communities.

Historical Beginnings

Standing before the August 20, 1990, hearing of the Indian Nations At Risk Task Force in Billings, Montana, a Native educator stated: *"As Indian people...we work with [the] dream and [the] goal that some day our tribal members will become self-sufficient, using education as a tool to achieve...Indian self-determination.*170 (INAR Task Force Hearing, Billings, MT, Baily, 90, p. 1) The task force had heard the statement before, rephrased and retold, by Native community leaders, teachers, and parents at similar hearings across the country.

In Seattle, Washington, Henry Deleve Chaiaie, director of adult education for the United Indians of All Tribes Foundation stated: *"Many adults come into our [program]...because they want to change their circumstances...these people are coming in from alcohol and drug treatment centers...we show them how they can be successful.*170 (INAR Task Force Hearing, 90)

In Juneau, Alaska, Sandy Armstrong, director of education for the Fairbanks Native Association stated that teachers of Natives should work to gain the trust of Native students by telling them that: *"You are no longer invisible. I can see you. I see your value and your potential. I see your problems. I care.*170 (INAR Task Force Hearing, 90)

At similar hearings in Minnesota, Arizona, North Carolina and California, others spoke with anger, frustration and concern and added their voices to the chorus of voices that have declared Native adult and vocational education a failure. The extent of that failure has been documented as far back as 1923 when Secretary of the Interior Hubert Work appointed the **Committee of One Hundred** to quell public indignation over a plan to divest the Rio Grand Pueblos of land (Dennis, 1977, p. 52). The Committee was mainly concerned with the health and sanitation of medical facilities serving Native communities, but it also reported, circuitously, that educators serving Native communities were not competent, and that Native school facilities were inadequate. The committee requested additional federal appropriations to rectify the situation (Fey, 1970, p. 131).

The report spurred the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to push for higher enrollment of Native children in public, non-reservation schools, and to revise the curriculum of federal Native schools to match more closely the offerings of the public school system. Reservation day schools were extended to include sixth grade, and nonreservation boarding school curriculum was expanded to include high school courses. The report focused public debate, and for the first time the majority of a national symposium publicly deplored accepted efforts to destroy Native culture.

Five years later, the **Meriam Associates Report** (1928) refined the debate as it examined the economic, social, and educational conditions of Native Americans. The report noted that the greatest need involving Native education was a *change in point of view.* It promoted a strengthening of the Native family and social structure, and it criticized the boarding school system that separated students from parents. It identified and denounced ineffective teaching methods, dilapidated housing facilities, and staff cruelties to students. It questioned the judgement of allowing a Washington office to prescribe uniform courses of study and examination when there was an obvious need to develop classroom curriculum to fit the abilities, interests and goals of the reservation bound Natives.

The report addressed adult education by candidly stating that family education was a means of bettering the existence of Native people, and it recommended that Native day schools be designed as community centers for reaching Native adults as well as children. It noted that "a genuine education program will have to comprise the adults of the community as well as the children" (Meriam Associates Report, 1928, p. 349).

From the 1930s on, the federal government struggled to determine the best method of providing educational services to Native communities. Mindful of the growing awareness that the destruction of Native culture and traditions brought little but despair and frustration to Native communities, the federal government enacted a series of policies that, for a short time, appeared to benefit Native communities. The boarding school concept was rethought. Additional day schools were built to allow a greater number of Native children to remain at home with their families. Qualified education personnel were sought to instruct at Native schools, bilingual education was introduced, curriculum was adjusted to include cultural programs, and more pertinent vocational training programs were instituted. To compensate states for the cost of Native education, the Johnson O'-Malley Act was passed in 1934. Educational and technical vocational programs were still not offered, to a great degree, to Native adults; there was, however, a growing appreciation for the adult's role in motivating Native children to attend school.

John Collier, Commissioner of Indian Affairs during this period, was responsible for the closing of 16 boarding schools and the opening of 84 day schools. Collier also started programs in adult education, training of Native instructors and inservice teacher training (Kennedy Report, 1969, p. 13).

The humane policies toward Native communities would end in the 1940s. Once again, policies of termination and assimilation would be enacted by the federal government as a *"final solution of the Indian problem."* In 1944 a House Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs reported that *"the goal of Indian education should be to make the Indian child a better American, rather than equip him simply to be a better Indian.* 170 As a result, the progressive agendas put forth by the Committee of One Hundred, The Meriam Associates Report, and Commissioner Collier were ignored. Reservation day schools were closed, forcing Native children into boarding schools far from their parents and homes. In 1952 all Native schools in Wisconsin, Washington, Michigan, and Idaho were closed, pushing Native children into unprepared public school systems.

The goal of this period, according to the Kennedy Report, was to *"get rid of Indians and Indian trust land by terminating federal recognition and relocating Indians into cities off the reservation.* 170 The termination period was capped with the enactment of Public Law 280 which transferred federal jurisdiction of many Native communities to individual states and the passage of House Concurrent Resolution 108 which called for an end of federal services to Native communities. Public Law 280 was later modified by the Indian Civil Rights Act of 1968 which required states to gain the permission of Native Communities prior to the transfer of jurisdiction. In 1988 the House withdrew Concurrent Resolution 108.

In 1969 a Congressional study entitled **Indian Education: A National Tragedy — A National Challenge** (US Senate, 1969) was published. Commonly referred to as the **Kennedy Report**, the study echoed the findings of the Miriam Report, but grabbed the nation's attention with its thoroughness and style of presentation. The study revealed that: Native dropout rates were twice the national average; some school districts had dropout rates approaching 100 percent; achievement levels of Native children were 2-to-3 years below those of white students; Native children fall progressively further behind the longer they stay in school; only 1 percent of Native children in elementary school had Native teachers; and Native children, more than any other minority group, believe themselves to be below average in intelligence (Kennedy Report, 1969, p. IX).

The statistics revealed the need to overhaul Native education programs and prompted the authors of the report to publicly exclaim the failure of federal Native policies: *"These cold (statistics mark a stain on our national conscience, a stain* *which has spread slowly for a hundred years.*170 The authors concluded that national policies for educating Native people were a *"failure of major proportions.*170

The result of that failure was the large numbers of under educated Native adults. The Kennedy report, more than any other report up to that time, focused attention on the problems of Native literacy, adult education and vocational training. It revealed that possibly 75,000 Native adults were not functionally literate; less than one-fifth of the Native adult population had completed high school or its equivalent. Functional illiteracy and a lack of high school graduates were cited as a major cause of the severe poverty on Native reservations and the failure of Native children in school. The study determined that the BIA's adult education and vocational training programs were barely scratching the surface of these problems. Senator Edward M. Kennedy, subcommittee chairman, punctuated the findings with comments that revealed his shock and anger at what the committee had found: *"These cold statistics illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the 'first American' has become the 'last American' in terms of opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life.*170

The report put forth 60 recommendations and goals that the authors felt, if enacted, would better the state of Native education. Four of those recommendations directly affect adult and vocational education:

1. That adult illiteracy in Native Communities be eliminated;
2. That adult high school equivalency programs for all Native adults be established;
3. That an exemplary program of adult education be developed which will provide:
    a. Basic literacy opportunities to all nonliterate Native adults. The goal should be to wipe out illiteracy.
    b. Opportunities to all Native adults to qualify for a high school equivalency certificate. The goal should be to provide all interested Indian adults with high school equivalency in the shortest period of time feasible.
    c. A major research and development program to develop more innovative and effective techniques for achieving the literacy and high school equivalency goals.
    d. That adult education programs be placed under Native control.
4. That there be a thorough review of the vocational educational and manpower programs in the BIA. The review would be conducted by an independent group of experts; the study should include Native parents and tribal leaders, and explore economic opportunities available on reservations for those Natives who may wish to stay on the reservation; vocational training programs should be closely articulated with economic development programs on reservations.

The report challenged the federal government to renew its commitment to Native communities. It called for *"legislative changes; administrative changes; policy changes; structural changes — all of which are geared to making Indian education programs into models of excellence.*170 And, perhaps most importantly, the report called for a reconsideration of the Miriam Report recommendations of Native control over Native education programs.

The Kennedy Report proved to be an effectual document. One year later, President Richard M. Nixon's 1970 message to Congress stated: *"...it is long past time that Indian policies of the federal government began to recognize and build upon the capacities and insights of the Indian people...we must begin to act on the basis of what the Indians themselves have long been telling us."*

Nixon recommended that Native communities assume control and operation of federally funded Native education programs. He pushed for the development of the National Advisory Council on Indian Opportunity, composed of Native educators. The Council's mandate was to provide technical assistance to communities seeking to establish local control of educational programs and tribal schools, to conduct a nationwide assessment of the educational status of all Native children, and to evaluate and report to Congress on the progress of local control and the educational progress of Native children.

The events of the time also influenced the development and passage of the Indian Education Act of 1972. The Act, first referred to as Title IV, now Title V, obligates the majority of its funds to school districts with significant Native populations to develop culturally based education programs. It requires the participation of Native parents in the design, development, and evaluation of all Native education programs funded by the Act, and it promoted the hiring of Native teachers, counselors, tutors and other para-professionals within the school district. Subpart 2 and 3 of the Act provides funds to Native communities, organizations, and institutions for the development of Native conceived and controlled primary, secondary and adult education programs. These funds, however, are competitive and have never reached the level needed to meet the educational needs of Native communities. The Act also provides discretionary funds to public colleges and universities to train Native teachers.

An important, and often controversial, result of IEA was its broad definition of American Indian and Alaska Natives. The Act defined *"Indian*170 as members and their descendants in the first or second degree of federally recognized and terminated tribes, bands, and groups. The definition was meant to include all Natives. Some federally recognized Native communities protested the all-encompassing definition and challenged the authenticity of many of the *"Natives*170 served by the Act. The controversy exists today, despite federal efforts to establish Native identity through the completion of federal forms that have to be signed by Native governments. The Act also established the Office of Indian Education (OIE) within the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (now the U.S. Department of Education), and the National Advisory Council on Indian Education.

The Indian Education Act was followed by the passage of the "Indian Vocational Program" contained within the reauthorization language of what became the Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act (Public Law 98-524). Congressmen Albert Quie (R., Minnesota) and Michael Blouin (D., Iowa) sponsored the then one-percent, set-aside program. The set aside was to be matched by the BIA — this has never occurred as the BIA has continually and successfully obtained Congressional waivers relieving it of its matching mandate. The Act was reauthorized in 1990 (Public Law 101-392), and the set-aside for Native programs increased to 1.25 percent of the total appropriation, with 0.25 percent going to Hawaiian Natives.

The renamed Indian and Hawaiian Natives Vocational Education Program was designed to provide Native communities, organizations, and colleges with funds to develop a wide range of vocational training programs that lead to the employment of tribal members. From 1977 to 1989 some 638 Native communities and organizations applied through the competitive application process for funding. Of these applications, 409 were funded, for a total funding level of $79.7 million. According to the U.S. Department of Education, approximately 5,000 Natives a year were served by these programs.

Three important studies have examined the impact of such federal efforts as the Indian Education Act, the Indian and Hawaiian Natives Vocational Education Program, and the BIA to provide Native communities with better educational services.

In 1977 a ground breaking research study entitled **Literacy and Education Among Adult Indians in Oklahoma** (Hall and Hackbert, 1977) reported on the education attainment levels of Natives within the state of Oklahoma. Study findings included:

- Of the 63,490 Native adults residing in the state, more than 51 percent had not completed high school, and 22 percent had not completed 8th grade.
- 56 percent of the Native adult population could be deemed functionally illiterate in one or more of the basic knowledge or skill areas.
- 42.8 percent lacked the skills necessary to fully participate within modern American society.
- 63 percent were not able to perform basic mathematical functions, while another 17 percent had only marginal math skills.
- 62 percent did not fully possess the skills required to adequately respond to health problems.

The study contrasted the abilities of Natives to better their existence against the complexity of contemporary America and found a very large number of Oklahoma Native adults to be at risk of failure. It recommended that educational programs be developed to upgrade Native survival skills needed to cope with the day-to-day situations involving commerce and health.

In 1981 the **Status of Educational Attainment and Performance of Adult American Indians and Alaska Natives** (Brod and McQuiston, 1977) was released. The nationwide study was funded by the United States Department of Education Office of Indian Education to conduct a basic survey to ascertain the extent of the educational problems among Native adults. The comprehensive study took four years to complete; it gathered detailed information in such areas as the individual's life history, social condition and conducted academic performance level testing through a sixteen page questionnaire completed by some four thousand randomly selected adult Natives. The study also surveyed community, state and federally supported adult education programs to determine their ability to aid adult Natives and to evaluate Native participation and success levels within those programs. Major findings included:

- The median education of Native Americans is more than two years lower than that found among Caucasians.
- Native performance on the Adult Performance Level examination was far below those of non-Natives on the traditional reading, writing, computation and economic scales; Native adults averaged 52 percent compared to a national norm in the 80s.
- 43 percent of the Native adult population had not obtained a high school diploma or its equivalent.
- Unemployment, underemployment and other symbols of a disadvantaged population are the rule rather than the exception among Native adults.

The study reported that one-third of all Native adults were dissatisfied with the education they received; more than three-quarters would have liked more education; two-thirds felt they had received an inappropriate education, preventing them from obtaining the type of occupations they desired and achieving the lives they wanted to lead.

The survey of state sponsored adult education programs revealed the following:

- Few SEAs were able to provide data concerning participation and success rates of adult Natives within their programs.
- 44 percent reported difficulties resulting from inadequate recruitment linkages to Native communities.
- 36 percent lacked an identifiable community from which to recruit Native participants.
- 33 percent lacked trained staff to deal with the special problems of adult Natives.
- 28 percent reported transportation problems.
- 23 percent cited child care problems.
- 21 percent stated problems with cultural incompatibility.

Survey results from Indian Education Act funded tribal programs determined that sixty percent of their participants were unemployed; forty percent lived in substandard housing; twenty-five percent had educational achievement levels below the eighth grade; thirty-two percent were in need of transportation. Most participants ranged from 16-to-34 years old.

Study recommendations called for additional research on Native adult education, an evaluation of the adult Native education delivery system, provisions for instruction in traditional languages, provisions for the development of culturally related education modules, and increased funding for Native education programs. The report concluded that although Native based adult education programs displayed higher completion rates than non-Native programs, neither program adequately served the needs of the Native community. "Success is illusory…[adult education programs] do not fulfill the needs of the Indian student nor do they improve their literacy except in cases of the extremely motivated student who will succeed despite the system." The most recent study concerning Native adult vocational programs was conducted by an ad hoc committee of concerned Native educators. Entitled the **National Indian Vocational Education Needs Analysis**, the report was released in August 1989 and presented to Congress during reauthorization hearings for the Carl D. Perkins Act.

The study surveyed 280 Native communities to identify rates of unemployment, high school drop outs, average educational attainment levels, and other pertinent data. The authors warn of methodological problems resulting from non-standardization of data collection, a small return of the survey instrument (25 percent), and an extremely limited operating budget. Nevertheless, the report contends that the study provides important indications "of the directions that tribes lean with regard to vocational education" (NIVENA, 89, p. 7).

Major study findings include:

- Unemployment ranges from a low of seven percent to a high of 90 percent.
- Drop out rates are exceedingly high: on-reservation rates average 38 percent while off-reservation rates for some tribes average 28 percent.
- Of those surveyed the average grade level completed was grade 10.

The authors included a four-point summary:

1. A great need exists to establish Indian vocational education programs linked to economic development at the local Tribal level.
2. A need exists to address vocational education opportunities for a growing population of Indian youth which attend BIA funded secondary schools. Currently, these schools are not eligible to receive state appropriated or state allocated Carl Perkins Vocational Education Act funds. Resources from the Indian Vocational

Education Program are not sufficient to provide adequate vocational education for this population.

3. A need exists to consistently address postsecondary vocational education opportunities for tribally controlled institutions. In particular, funds need to be made available for tribal colleges and to maintain operation of postsecondary vocational education institutions such as Crownpoint Institute of Technology and the United Tribes Technical College. These schools are not eligible for state appropriated funds, and the receipt of federal funds from each state largely depends on the view of each state toward tribal entities.
4. A significant need exists to establish a National Indian Center for Research in Vocational-Technical Training. The existing research centers are oriented toward states and public schools.

Some of the above concerns were addressed with the reauthorization of the Carl Perkins Act. Tribal colleges and BIA schools now have greater access to Indian Vocational Program funds. Native communities are still afforded the opportunity to apply for discretionary funds. The requested three-percent, set-aside was not incorporated into the new legislation.

Summation of the historical relationship between Native communities and the federal government.

The studies and reports presented in this section provide overwhelming evidence that the federal government has not fulfilled its promise to provide for the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Each of the reports have identified the problems facing Native adults and have made recommendations for change. Yet it is clear that little has changed. The relationship between the federal government and Native communities remains distressingly constant. The conditions within Native communities remain sadly predictable. A 1990 report entitled **The Demographics of American Indians: One percent of the People; Fifty percent of the Diversity** (Hodgkinson 1990) assembled statistics from a variety of sources and provides a present day picture of Native communities: American Indian youth are overwhelmingly attending public schools; the national dropout rate (35 percent) is the highest of any minority group. In 1988 29 percent of Native eighth graders had repeated at least one grade — 40 percent had scored in the lowest quartile on tests in history, math, reading and science — 19 percent expected to drop out of high school or go no further — 11 percent had missed a week or more of school during a four week period (National Education Longitudinal Study, 1988). A 1988 BIA report (Report on BIA Education: Final Draft, 1988, p. 91) presented similar findings and stated that Native students attending BIA operated and contracted schools scored well below national norms on nationally standardized tests. Such conditions mirror past failures because the federal government still tries to manage Native education programs from afar or from within massive bureaucratic institutions. Reform will not occur until the government understands that the greatest need involving Native education is a *change in point of view.* Lewis Meriam's recommendation has been reformulated and reworded but always repeated by the authors of every major report since the 1920s. It was the spirit behind the Indian Reorganization Act and the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistant Act. Boldly interpreted, it calls for a redirection of federal funds from federal agencies to Native governments. It conveys the historic view that Native governments be treated as sovereign nations — fully able to determine the educational direction of their members.

Current Strategies: A Description and Assessment of State and Federal Adult Education and Vocational Training Programs.

Native leaders, educators and community members understand that the success of adult education and training is tied to the economic conditions of their communities. A INAR Task Force member expressed this relationship while attending the 1990 National Indian Education Association Conference in San Diego, California: *The problem with vocational education is similar to the chicken and the egg. There is no reason to become skilled and educated if there are no jobs to look forward to. On the other hand, [Native communities] are not going to attract industry unless there is a skilled labor force.* (Ely, San Diego, 1990, p. 6).

The INAR Task Force collected a wide range of concerns expressed by Native educators, which fall into three basic categories: Economic Development, Labor Force Realities, and Funding. A summary of those expressions follows:

> The presence of a factory off the reservation providing $3.50-per-hour jobs, in my judgement a sweatshop, should not be viewed as an option. We are able to bring onto [our] reservation such jobs as sewing and surging (stitching process)... a very simple, very low technology, very boring [process]. These kinds of jobs do not inspire or motivate young men...to finish high school. (Ho, San Diego, California, 90, p. 6)

> A vocational program is very, very expensive to run. We don't have the equipment...we don't have the money to buy the equipment. We have approached some of the local industry...on or near our reservation...but they are donated out. (San Diego, California, 90, p. 9)

> Several years ago, the [BIA] on our reservation decided they were going to train everyone to be welders...everybody showed up...everyone became certified welders...and they're all unemployed today because there was no connection between industry and training. (San Diego, California, p. 31)

> To be eligible to apply for state (Carl Perkins Vocational Program or Adult Basic Education Program) funds you must either be a local education agency (LEA) or an institution of higher education. A tribe doesn't fall into either category. I've written to Washington, D.C., and to the state, and they each blame the other for that regulation. (San Diego, California, 90, p. 12)

To accurately assess the impact of state and federal adult education and training programs, Native community leaders and federal and state legislators have to resolve the debate that centers around the following questions:

- Who is a Native?
- How many Natives are there?
- How many Native adults are there?
- How many have completed a high school education?
- How many are unemployed or underemployed?

The question as to who is a Native is very controversial.

Of the 500 or so Native communities and organizations in the United States, about 400 have a relationship with the federal government. Native governments determine their membership through blood quantum measurements, descendant roles, marriage, and other criteria established by their constitutions. While the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), U.S. Department of Education (ED), and the Indian Health Service (IHS) acknowledge this historic right, they add variations to the definition and often report differing figures than the Census Bureau. Thus, the data is convoluted and hampers the validity of any report concerning the condition of Native adults. To avert confusion and centralize debate, the following description of Native adults was drawn from a U.S. Department of Interior report entitled **Report of the Task Force on Indian Economic Development** (July 1986).

The data reveals that while Natives account for less than one percent of the nation's total population, on-reservation Natives are highly represented in a number of disheartening categories: Forty-four percent have not attained a high school degree; 41.2 percent are below the poverty level, and 16.9 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployment.

Even more disturbing information can be found in other studies that report a range of data. Such studies (McQuiston and Brod, 1977) (Ad Hoc Committee, 1989) uncover high school drop out rates from 10 to 80 percent; unemployment rates ranging from 7 to 90 percent, and poverty rates exceeding 50 percent. What is missing on the national level are current data concerning the number of Native adults in need of adult basic education and vocational training programs. Without such pertinent data federal budgets will continue to be constructed on invalid estimates of the Native adult population in need.

Federal Legislation and Bureau of Indian Affairs Education Programs

The United States Congress has enacted an array of legislation aimed at increasing the educational and vocational opportunities afforded to adult American Indian and Alaska Natives. The Adult Education Act and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act provide funds to the states to operate adult education and vocational training programs. Natives participate in these federally funded, state administered programs by attending state accredited high schools, adult education programs, junior colleges and four-year universities. The Indian Education Act, the Indian and Hawaiian Natives Vocational Education Program, the Joint Training Partnership Act, and the Family Support Act and such Bureau of Indian Affairs programs as Adult Education and Adult Vocational Training provide direct funding to Native communities and organizations to develop their own educational programs. A summary of these Acts and BIA programs follows:

Adult Education Act

The Adult Education Act (AEA) was reauthorized in 1988 (Public Law 100-297). The federally funded, state administered program is overseen by the U.S. Department of Education's Division of Adult Education and Literacy. The AEA allows for the development of programs to under educated adults in three general areas: Adult Basic Education (ABE), English as a Second Language (ESL), and Adult Secondary Education (ASE).

The AEA provides federal, formula based grants to state educational agencies (SEA), which then, according to a state plan, distribute the funds to local educational agencies (LEAs) and community based educational institutes. Such programs received $134 million in fiscal year 1988, with state and local support for these programs totalling four times that amount.

Table 1 compares the number of American Indians and Alaska Natives with the total enrollment within state-administered adult education programs.

Table 1
Comparison of Numbers of American Indian and Alaska Natives Enrolled in State-Administered Adult Education Programs by Year

Year	U.S. Total Population	Native Population	Percent Native
1985	2,879,125	26,102	0.91%
1986	3,069,677	26,102	0.82%
1987	2,949,720	29,457	1.00%
1988	3,039,430	26,906	0.89%

Source: Department of Education

The National Advisory Council on Indian Education, in its 16th Annual Report (NACIE Annual Report, 1990, p. 12) to the U.S. Congress, cautions that Native national participation totals are inaccurate. The incorrect count occurs because some states combine in their year-end reports students enrolled in state-administered adult education programs with students graduating from Native community programs. Federal appropriations are then based on these inflated reports, creating a financial gain for services not provided. Another problem arises with the definition of American Indian and Alaska Natives. States primarily use self-identification as a means of segregating their counts, which can disguise the amount of services available to Native communities.

Native communities are often left out of the distribution of the AEA funding process since Native educational programs are not considered local educational agencies. Lack of LEA status also prevents most Native communities from sharing in adult education funds raised by state taxes and distributed to state education programs. For example, in the state of Michigan, AEA funds are available to LEAs, non-profit educational institutions, and community based agencies while state generated funds are restricted to LEAs. Native programs seeking AEA assistance as community based institutions can receive around $200 per student. But LEAs can receive up to $3,000 per student from state funds to operate their programs. Thus, the problem facing Michigan Native communities is not one of access to AEA funds but of equity.

Indian Education Act

In 1988 when President Ronald Reagan signed into law the Augustus F. Hawkins-Robert T. Stafford Elementary and Secondary School Improvement Amendments of 1988, he became the third President to reauthorize the Indian Education Act (IEA). The IEA is contained within the language of Public Law 100-297 and provides for the maintenance of the Office of Indian Education, formula grants to school districts containing large Native populations (Subpart 1), discretionary programs to Native communities and organizations seeking to fund educational programs for Native children (Subpart 2) and adults (Subpart 3), a fellowship program, and the continuance of the National Advisory Council on Indian Education.

The Indian adult education program is administered by the United States Department of Education's Office of Indian Education (OIE). Subpart 3 of the Act provides discretionary grants to American Indian and Alaska Native communities and villages, organizations, and institutions to operate adult education programs. Two of the activities funded under the program are: (1) educational services and instruction; and, (2) planning, pilot and demonstration projects. The goals of such programs range from providing basic literacy instruction, adult basic education services, and high school completion to planning, testing, and demonstrating the effectiveness of innovative programs designed to improve Native adult instructional methods and job opportunities. Many programs additionally offer instruction in such areas as consumer education, employment awareness skills, job referral, aptitude testing, and educational counseling.

In fiscal year 1989 OIE awarded 32 grants to projects serving approximately 7,200 Native adults. The awards went to 12 Native communities, 14 Native organizations, and 6 Native controlled community colleges. Eleven of the

Figure 1. Comparison of On and Off Reservation American Indian and Alaska Native Economic Conditions with Total U.S. Population

awards went to urban areas, and 21 went to rural or reservation settings. Grants ranged from a low of $28,468 to a high of $397,414.

Table 2 provides a five-year breakdown of program appropriation levels, distribution of grants, and participant levels.

TABLE 2
Office of Indian Education Adult Education Program Funding by Fiscal Year

Fiscal Year	Appropriations	Number of Programs	Number of Participants	Per Pupil Expenditure
1985	$2,940,000	22	7,222	$407
1986	2,797,000	25	10,692	262
1987	3,000,000	29	9,600	313
1988	3,000,000	25	5,600	531
1989	4,000,000	32	7,200	556

Source: Department of Education, Office of Indian Education

An independent evaluation of ten IEA adult education programs was conducted in 1984. The study entitled **An Evaluation of the Indian Education Act, Title IV, Part C: Education for Indian Adults** described and evaluated adult education programs at ten sites (Pelavin Associates Inc., 84). The report found that most programs offering educational services provided GED and ABE level instruction. Enrollment was open entry and open exit, instruction was self-paced and individualized, and curriculum was mostly commercially prepared instructional materials. The report provided ten questions and report findings to a panel of experts (Native educators) for consensus review. An abridged selection of those questions and panel comments follows:

1. Are Native adult education projects doing what the law and regulations intend? "In all cases, the activities funded were those authorized by law" (p. 109).
2. To what extent are the services delivered actually those that seem to be necessary? "In most cases, the services delivered are

those that seem to be most necessary" (p. 110).

3. Is the grant process mechanism and process as currently established an effective and efficient method for serving the target population? "The grants process as currently structured...may be responsible for two problems discovered in the study. First, only scarce resources are available to meet the needs of the target population...many adult Indians throughout the United States...have no access to any adult education program. Secondly, a number of grantees compete successfully year after year for [Subpart 3] funds, and it seems that few new applicants are successful in competing for grants" (p. 113).
4. Is duplication of services an issue in the distribution of [Subpart 3] funds? "The panel of experts defined 'duplication of services' as instances where the same population is served by two or more local projects, each offering culturally appropriate educational services of comparable scope and quality. The panel concluded that this evaluation found only one instance of such duplication" (p. 114).
5. Is the distinction between educational services, and planning, pilot, and demonstration projects important? "Except for Project SEARCH and curriculum development efforts, the sampled sites showed little difference" (p. 116).
[Skipping 6, & 7]
8. Has the Office of Indian Education (OIE) administered [Subpart 3] well? "[Subpart 3] projects have received little attention, little project monitoring, and little technical assistance from OIE" (p. 118).

Literacy was largely unaddressed by the study as it found few programs that delivered such instruction. The study suggested that for pragmatic reasons most programs provided GED preparation, rather than literacy instruction. Literacy instruction is the most costly instruction to provide. It requires literacy trained teachers, of which there are few; the use of specialized instructional materials, of which little exists; and the recruitment of illiterate adults, a long and arduous process that often reaps few candidates. On the other hand, ABE and GED teachers are comparatively numerous and easily hired. Adult basic education and GED instructional materials are abundant, and large numbers of Native adults who left school after or during the 8th grade are readily attracted to GED completion programs. Literacy programs are needed within Native communities. Subpart 3 of the IEA, however, appears unable to properly fund or motivate Native communities to establish such programs.

Funding levels and the competitive application process of the IEA adult education program are points of contention with Native educators: *We've been [pleading] year after year [for] more money and we know that money's not growing. It's shrinking. Funding needs to be spread as far and wide as possible...because we have problems with Indians fighting each other.* (Bonito, San Diego, California, p. 31).

The adult education portion of the IEA has never been fully funded. Such requests from past and present OIE directors often lack the support of the United States Department of Education (ED) officials and have been turned down by the Office of Management and Budget. Thus, the program has never been able to satisfy the expressed need for adult education within Native communities. For the past five years, OIE has funded an average of 26.6 (new and continuing) applications per year. The yearly number of proposals requesting funding, received by that office, often climbs to three times the amount funded.

Proposals are evaluated and scored by reading panels composed of Native educators and ED personnel. As directed by law, priority points are given to Native communities and organizations. Scores from individual readers are compiled, statistically standardized, and rank-ordered. The order is followed in making grant awards. Grants are awarded on a one, two and three year basis. The process invites challenges from the Native community. Hard pressed to enlist Natives into the review process, the department has often had to reduce panels from three to two readers and to allow readers with marginal adult education experience into the system.

An example of reader conflict occurred in 1988 when the Sault Ste. Marie Tribe of Chippewa Indians' proposal fell from being one of the top rated proposals of previous years to not fundable. An examination of the scoring process revealed that reader disagreement was never standardized prior to ranking the tribe's proposal. Reader disagreement in such key areas as program need, plan of operation, and quality of key personnel varied by as much as thirty points. One reader even deducted points for the omission of a program time line, which was not only provided in the proposal, but also noted in the proposal's table of context. After long discussions between the tribe and the department, the proposal was funded at 50 percent of the budgeted request.

In its 15th Annual Report to Congress, the National Advisory Council on Indian Education implied that the overall operational quality of OIE has suffered from a lack of leadership. For the past 10 years, there have been more acting directors than permanent directors, and only five of the nine directors have been Native or of Native descent. According to the American Indian Adult Education Association (AIAEA), this lack of permanent leadership has led to a decline in the staffing levels of the office and the number of Native people employed or seeking employment within OIE. The AIAEA is concerned that throughout the history of OIE the office has had few staff members able to deal with or understand the problems associated with adult education. The Association further points to the lack of data collected concerning drop out and graduation rates versus high school and GED completion as one of the reasons adult education remains a low funding priority among Native education programs.

Problems associated with leadership, staff shortages, and lack of data culminated in 1989, when the then acting director of OIE stood before the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs and stated he saw no need to increase the funding level to the discretionary adult education program. Such testimony often reflects the view of officials within the Office of Planning and Budget and Evaluation rather than the personal opinions of the director of OIE.

The present director of OIE, John Tippeconnic III, does not share the feelings of his predecessor. In a 1990 meeting with Native educators, he stated his office intends to seek an increased appropriation for adult education programs, to hire additional Native staff, and to collect data to determine the extent of the need for Native adult education programs. In order to accomplish those goals, Tippeconnic will need the support of the Native communities as he takes these requests into discussions with his superiors at the Office of Secondary Education and the Office of Management and Budget.

Adult Education Program: Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs' Adult Education Program is authorized by the Synder Act of 1921 (Public Law 67-85). Program instruction is based on community need assessments and includes such areas as adult basic education, high school completion, consumer education, employment awareness skills, job referral, and educational counseling. In fiscal year 1989, 75 Native communities chose to administer adult education programs under Public Law 93-638 (Self-Determination) contracts; 13 programs were administered by the BIA.

Table 3 provides a five-year breakdown of appropriation levels, distribution of grants, and participant levels.

Table 3

Bureau of Indian Affairs Adult Education Program Funding by Fiscal Year

Fiscal Year	Appropriations	Number of Programs	Approx. Number of Participants	Per Pupil Expenditure
1985	$3,474,000	88	13,520	$257
1986	3,391,000	88	12,800	265
1987	3,141,000	88	13,000	262
1988	3,141,000	88	12,000	251
1989	3,138,000	88	12,500	255

Source: BIA Reports

Native educators cite the low funding level of this program and its inclusion in the Indian Priority System (IPS) as reasons why it has not had greater impact on the educational problems of Native communities. The priority system provides Native governments with some authority to decide the services they would provide if the tribe's base funding level were at 80, 90, 100 or 110 percent of the prior year's level. Programs under the priority system are categorized under such headings as Education, Natural Resources, Indian Services, Credit and Finance, Trust Responsibilities and Administrative Services. Tribal contract programs include Adult Education, Higher Education, Adult Vocational Training, Employment Assistance, Scholarships, Tribal Courts, Social Services, Law

Enforcement, Community Fire Protection, Youth Work Learn, and Water Quality. Priority selections are determined at tribal/agency offices then passed on to Area Offices and compiled at the Bureau's Central Office in Washington D.C. The results are included in the President's budget to Congress. In theory the priority system provides Congress and Central Office staff with the information needed to identify and budget funds for high priority programs. Many Native communities charge that the system does little more than provide Central Office staff with a "hit" list to reduce program funding levels or eliminate programs. A number of Native educators and education organizations would like to separate adult education from the IPS in the hope that it may receive more attention and funding as a stand-alone program. Some Native leaders disagree and want the program to remain in the IPS allowing tribes to continue to administer the program under Public Law 93-638 contracts. Both Native educators and community leaders agree that the IPS forces absurd decisions. To establish or enlarge an adult education program, a tribe must vote to eliminate or decrease such other essential services as social services, police enforcement, or land management.

The BIA adult education program appears to be suffering from a lack of attention and direction. At present the program is being administered by an education specialist who must split duties with the Bureau's higher education program. Prior to the specialist's hiring, the BIA had been unable to permanently fill the position for a number of years. With no one in charge, program end-year reports as far back as 1986 went mostly unread and unanalyzed — stacked in boxes throughout the office. The BIA is well aware of the problem. A 1988 report states "given the current numbers and skills, many OIEP staff are simply overwhelmed by the burden of their jobs...legally required reports to Congress on the status of Indian education have not been prepared at all in some years, and when prepared have lacked basic data, information and analysis." The report contends that at present OIEP is failing to exercise the instructional and management leadership role that is its proper function (Report on BIA Education: Final Draft, 1988, p. 181).

Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act.

The U.S. Department of Education, Office of Adult and Vocational Education administers vocational education programs under the authorization of the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act (Public Law 101-392). The stated purpose of the Act is to "make the United States more competitive in the world economy by developing more fully the academic and occupational skills of all segments of the population."

The Basic Grant program of the Act provides funding to state educational agencies, which then distribute funds within the state according to a state plan. Most often, states distribute the majority of their funds to LEAs, with smaller amounts available to private non-profit organizations and community based organizations. The various programs and amounts funded under the vocational education program for fiscal year 1989 follow.

Native communities and organizations are eligible for funding under this program if the state in which they reside has included their needs in the state plan. Most states do not. If Native needs are not part of the state plan, most states allow Native communities to compete for small subgrants under the title of public and private nonprofit organizations. The major blockage to Native participation is the lack of LEA status.

Native students, however, do participate in state administered vocational education programs within various public school systems. The degree and success of that participation is uncertain. According to the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, the 1982-83 school year was the last time any type of formal count of the number and ethnicity of participants was made. The count revealed that 63,834 Native students were enrolled in state sponsored programs. Of that number, 30,616 were males and 33,218 were females. The total number of vocational students served during that year amounted to 9,810,000.

Indian and Hawaiian Natives Vocational Education Program.

Authorization for the Indian and Hawaiian Native Vocational Education Program (IHNVEP) is contained within the language of the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act. It is administered by the United States Department of Education, Office of Adult and Vocational Education, Special Programs Branch. The program began in 1977 with an appropriation of $5.2 million and has increased to $11 million for fiscal year 1991. The program offers discretionary grants to eligible Native communities, colleges, and organizations to operate vocational training programs in such areas as office administration, construction trades, forestry, engine repair, fishery management, boat building and other trades linked to job placement and Native community economic development. Grants are awarded through a competitive process that involves a panel of expert readers who score each application against set criteria. Applications are then rank-ordered and funded until the year's appropriation is exhausted. The system is identical to the discretionary grant selection process employed by the Office of Indian Education, and it incurs virtually the same criticism as noted in that section. The Perkins Act was reauthorized in 1990, adding significant changes to the IHNVE program. Changes include new programs for Native controlled vocational technical schools — a $2.44 million appropriation; new programs for economic development institutes tied to Native community controlled colleges; the inclusion of BIA schools in the set-aside; new formulas for the distribution of funds to public schools with high Native enrollments; and the elimination of 65 percent placement requirement for graduates of Native programs. A 14-year funding history follows in Table 4.

Table 4
Funding Trends for the Office of Vocational and Adult Education,
U.S. Department of Education

Fiscal Year	Appropriations	Continuation Projects	New Projects	Total Projects	Applications Received
1977	$ 5,281,476	0	20	20	78
1978	5,437,777	19	11	30	40
1979	5,929,888	29	3	32	31
1980	6,929,755	8	26	34	58
1981	6,186,230	26	0	26	0
1982	5,936,734	22	0	22	0
1983	6,645,484	0	30	30	87
1984	6,733,624	29	0	29	0
1985	9,895,639	25	20	45	74
1986	9,564,367	19	22	41	92
1987	10,414,352	18	30	48	71
1988	10,462,777	28	12	40	71
1989	10,808,990	35	5	40	37
1990	11,009,952	16	22	38	70
Totals	$111,237,045	274	201	475	709

Source: U.S. Department of Education, Office of Vocational and Adult Education

Since 1977, 91 individual Native communities and organizations programs, located in 30 states, have been funded by the program. An average of 5,000 Native students are annually served through Native community programs, with an average job placement rate of 75 percent.

Successful Native community programs include the Tribal Management Secretarial Training Program at Bay Mills Community College in Michigan; the Heavy Equipment Operator training program at the Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community; the Industrial Training Program of the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians; and the Bank Teller training program at the Grand Traverse Band of Chippewa and Ottawa Indian Community. All of these training programs are tied to the economic development plans of their communities and report excellent placement rates. The goal of these projects is usually two-fold: to reduce the community unemployment rates, and to enhance tribal operations by providing a trained work force for Native governments, industries and businesses.

At the postsecondary level two fully accredited Native community controlled vocational institutes exist: Crownpoint Institute of Technology (CIT) and United Tribes Technical College (UTTC). Crownpoint was founded in 1979 and is located in Crownpoint, New Mexico, and offers one-year training certificates in nine vocational areas. In 1988 the Institute reported a retention rate of nearly 90 percent and a positive placement rate (student employment or further training) of 80 percent. The Navajo language is employed in the classroom as CIT primarily serves the needs of the Navajo Nation. If funds were available to expand CIT, it could serve the needs of an additional (approximately) 60,000 Natives located in Arizona, New Mexico, Utah and Colorado.

United Tribes Technical College is located in Bismarck, North Dakota, and from August to May of each year enrolls an average of 275 Native adults and some 180 children. The college provides education and vocational training to adults residing on the 105 acre campus, and it operates a nursery, preschool, elementary and middle school for the dependent children. Adults can seek training in one of eleven vocational programs or upgrade basic academic skills through UTTC's adult education program. The college primarily serves the Native residents of North Dakota, South Dakota, and Montana with lesser enrollments coming from Utah, Nebraska, Wyoming, Wisconsin, Michigan, and Washington. The average student is 22 years of age. The college has a waiting list that annually exceeds 200.

Native communities take issue with the IHNVEP in three areas: inadequate funding levels, the competitive funding process and the BIA for its continued failure to provide the mandated funding match. Table 5 reveals that during the past 11 years the program has funded 201 of the 709 new applications it has received from Native communities and organizations. This is a funding rate of 28 percent, which means that 508 applicants were turned down because of a lack of funds and application quality during the past 11 years. Federal program staff affirm that low funding levels have prevented the funding of a large number of quality applications. Crown Point's application was not funded in 1990, and UTTC has not been funded since 1984. The previously mentioned National Indian Vocational Needs Analysis (NIVENA) reported that of the 61 tribes responding to the IHNVEP discretionary grant application category of their survey, 41 had never applied, 6 had been rejected, 10 had received funding, and 2 had applications pending. Reasons for not submitting applications ranged from a lack of program awareness, to a lack of sufficient technical [proposal writing] assistance to compile a proposal. No tribe with 500 or less members had applied for funding. The report noted that some of the reservations with the highest unemployment rates were the least able to present a competitive application.

TABLE 5
Vocational Education Programs of the U.S. Department of Education, FY 1989

Program	Funding Level
Basic Grants	$831,566,000
Consumer and Homemaker Education	33,118,000
National Programs	26,005,000
Community-Based Programs	7,904,000
Permanent Appropriations (Smith-Hughes Act)	7,148,000

Source: U.S. Department of Education

The BIA's failure to match IHNVEP appropriations represents a funding loss of more than $100 million to Native vocational programs. The lost funds would have strengthened and widened the services of the above noted institutions, and probably would have allowed for the development of vocational programs within the most impoverished Native communities. The current system continually rewards those most able to employ or hire effective grant writers. Since 1977 the IHNVEP has funded just over 100 of the 400 eligible Native communities and organizations.

Adult Vocational Training: Bureau of Indian Affairs.

The BIA's Office of Tribal Services administers the Adult Vocational and Training program. The program has two basic components: Adult Vocation Training (AVT) and Employment Assistance. The AVT component is basically a financial assistance program that provides Native communities with funds to help adults attend state accredited vocational training centers. The Employment Assistance program provides funds to assist unemployed adults who possess an employable skill to obtain employment. Such assistance includes job placement, relocation to a job site, work clothing costs, and financial assistance until the first full pay check is received. Like the BIA's adult education program, this program is funded through the IPS and suffers the same funding problems.

In 1991 AVT appropriations amounted to $16,927 million, and the Employment Assistance program totalled $2,274 million. Employment Assistance appropriations have declined in recent years as Native communities have concentrated on developing employment on their reservations rather than assisting tribal members to leave the community to find employment. In 1990 155 Native communities contracted with the Bureau for AVT programs, with the Bureau administering 31 programs.

This is an important program. United States Department of Labor reports indicate that the American economy is rapidly shifting from a manufacturing base to a high technology, service industry. By the year 2000, the majority of new jobs will require at least some post secondary education. Occupations which demand a college trained work force are expected to be the fastest growing. Workers within these occupations will be among the highest paid and the least likely to become unemployed. On the other hand, occupations that will require an untrained work force will be among the lowest paying, and those workers are most likely to become unemployed. These trends indicate that more complex job skills will be required. Employers will expect candidates to have mastered such basic skills as reading and writing, and they will be looking for those who possess specialized computation and problem solving skills. Such projections have important implications for Native communities. They predict that the gulf between the employable and unemployable will grow even wider as the cost of education and training programs rises along side the demand.

A Native educator expressed this view to INAR Task Force in California: *With changing technology and higher skills needed for employment, you need at least a two-year degree to be hired in a decent salaried position...the short term training programs are out.* (San Diego, 1990, p. 7)

The AVT program is designed to provide funding for such training. Yet the program appears to be in decline. The Washington, D.C., office has not had a permanent division chief for a number of years. Office staffing has been reduced to the point where only one administrative officer has been left in charge of the day-to-day operations with no secretarial assistance. While field offices monitor community programs, year-end reports sent to the Central office have not been evaluated to assess national impact for the past two years. The program has not identified model programs, nor has it held conferences to allow community programs to share problems or effective practices.

Joint Training Partnership Act

The Joint Training Partnership Act (Public Law 97-300) was enacted in 1982. Contained within the language of the Act is the Employment and Training Programs for Native Americans and Migrant and Seasonal Farm workers. The program is administered by the United States Department of Labor and Employment's division of Indian and Native American Programs. The preamble of the Act states that because serious unemployment and economic disadvantages exist among members of the Indian, Alaska Native, and Hawaiian Native communities, there is a compelling need for the establishment of comprehensive training and employment programs for members of those communities. The Act provides formula based funds to Native communities and organizations to develop such adult employment and training programs as On-the-Job Training (OJT), Work Experience (WE), Community Service Employment (CSE), and Classroom Training (CT).

The OJT component provides participant training in the public or private sector. It pays up to 50 percent of the participant's salary for a period of 44 weeks. Once the training period is over, it is expected that either the employer will hire the participant full-time, or that the participant will leave with enough experience to obtain full-time, un-subsidized work in a similar field. The WE program is designed to enhance the employability of individuals through the development of reliable work habits and basic skills. The CSE component authorizes subsidized work, normally provided by the government, in occupations which are expected to expand within the public or private sector. The CT program can be designed to fit the labor market needs of the community in which the JTPA program resides. Such classroom programs may train secretaries to fill a need within tribal administrative offices or provide funds to allow participants to attend welding classes to fill an industrial need.

In fiscal year 1989 the Native JTPA program provided 182 grants to Native communities and organizations. Of that number, 133 were located within Native communities, and 49 were located in rural and urban areas. A total of 30,128 Native adults and youth received training under the program, with an average hourly wage of $5.50 per hour for the non-classroom components. Annual appropriations for the program average $60 million.

Participant performance quotas and income level requirements often dictate that Native communities enroll only those adults most able to obtain full-time employment. The practice is called *creaming* and often limits the program's ability to work with those most in need. The creaming complaint is not limited to the Native program but is a complaint heard throughout the whole of the JTPA program.

Family Support Act

The Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Program (JOBS) was authorized in 1988 with the passage of the Family Support Act (Public Law 100-485). The Act provides funding to states to establish programs which create job opportunities and basic skills training for recipients of Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). The program is designed to assist such recipients to become self-sufficient. The program specifically targets single, never-married mothers who did not graduate from high school and who had their first child at a young age. The program provides funds for the care of dependent children while the parent or parents are enrolled in educational completion programs or vocational training programs.

Subpart J of the Act provides direct federal funding, through a formula based system, to American Indian and Alaska Native communities. Native program funding levels are based on the number of adult Native AFDC recipients who live within the service area of the Native community. The program targets this population. Client services are delivered in three stages. The first stage involves an assessment of the client's academic and job readiness skills and the preparation of an individual employment plan. Stage two services depend on the findings of the client assessment and the job readiness plan. For instance, Native adults hampered by reading problems are referred to literacy programs. Adults who have not completed high school are referred to a high school or GED completion program, and adults in need of an employable skill are referred to a technical training or on-the-job training program. Stage three involves securing self-sustaining employment. In addition, program counselors connect participants with a host of social service programs that work to ensure adequate housing, health care, and nutrition. Such services can include Native low-income housing programs, Indian Health Care Services, and federal food distribution programs. The program can also provide participants with travel expenses, clothing assistance, and primary day care costs.

For fiscal year 1991, the JOBS program has provided grants to 76 Native communities located in 23 states. The current funding level stands at $60 million. Native communities receive funds directly from the federal government and an even match from the state in which they reside.

The program is so new that evaluation criteria are still being devised. As a result, impact assessments have not been conducted. However, the target population — unemployed, never married mothers — is prevalent within Native communities and should benefit from such a program.

Concluding Thoughts

The more I learn about the problems facing under educated and unemployed Native adults, the more I believe that we must make repairs on all fronts. On the federal level the two most important agencies serving Native communities, ED and the BIA, appear caught between serving the needs of Native communities and giving way to demands by the federal government to control or reduce expenditures. The situation is further exasperated as both agencies have either been unable or unwilling to resolve issues of sovereignty and self-determination with the Native governments they serve. The result is that both agencies now appear locked in a dysfunctional bureaucratic malaise. The situation has caught the attention of Senator DeConcini whose Special Committee on Investigations was dismayed by findings of mismanagement in the BIA and IHS. The Senator will introduce legislation in the 102nd Congress to redirect federal appropriations from federal agencies directly to Native communities. The legislation would establish an Office of Federal-Tribal Relations in the Executive Branch. Meanwhile, the BIA has taken steps to put its own house in order. In 1990 the Bureau attempted to implement a significant institutional reorganization. The effort, however, was halted after a significant number of Native communities complained to Congress that they were not consulted on the proposed reorganization. Since that time a task force of Native government leaders and Bureau personnel has been established to guide the restructuring of the BIA. The Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs is preparing legislation to establish a permanent Native American Advisory Committee to guide the future actions of the BIA.

Productive change, however, will not occur until both OIEP and OIE can garner the support of the Congress, the Executive Branch and the Native community. Not since President Nixon and the publication of the Kennedy Report has any real attention been given to Native problems. Neither agency currently has the ear of the Congress or the President. There is no Casper Weinberger (the vocal Secretary of Defense under President

Reagan) heading ED or the BIA to push the Native agenda. Native communities have to fill this power gap and begin to better promote their needs on the federal level. Native leaders must refocus their target and rather than taking sole aim at OIE and OIEP for failing to gain additional funding, they must push Congress to challenge or override budgetary restraints coming from OMB. Change will result when Native leaders convince Congress and the President to pay closer attention to the educational needs of American Indian and Alaska Natives.

On the state level, Native communities must be allowed to take an active role in the development of state education plans, to be included in the disbursement of educational funds, to be granted LEA status, and to be appreciated as a valued resource rather than a competitive government. Native communities could hasten this process by establishing state wide education committees. Such committees could determine the educational needs of their communities and present those needs to state departments of education or other state agencies that could provide assistance to Native education programs. Native communities and organizations should take an active role in presenting their concerns to state legislators. Such legislators that are identified as friendly to Native concerns should be supported during elections with fund raising events and voting drives.

On the community level, Native governments must take an active role in the education of their members. Tribal councils should closely monitor the effectiveness of their educational institutions and the public school system in which their children are enrolled. They should enact education codes that stress academic achievement and the infusion of tribal history and culture into the curricula of local school systems. They should monitor schools to determine achievement rates, student policies and curricula content. Native communities must continue to develop drug and alcohol programs, family counseling services, education scholarships, and provide other necessary services to ensure the health and welfare of their members. Native parents must take an active role in the education of their sons and daughters. They must inspire their children to succeed at school and motivate them to move on to a professional life. Parents should be encouraged to sit in on school board meetings, to attend parent-teacher conferences, to review school policies and to take other active roles in the education of their children.

A revitalization of Native education programs and Native economies must occur if Native communities are to gain control of their destiny. In the past twenty years Native communities have established sophisticated administrative organizations. Many communities now operate factories, schools, colleges, hospitals, judicial systems, accounting departments and social service agencies. Such organizations require skilled employees who are able to understand the needs and desires of their community and at the same time operate complex programs according to tribal, state and federal standards. Native communities are already hard pressed to find and employ sufficient numbers of adequately trained Natives to staff such programs. This leaves Native governments with the choice between hiring an undertrained tribal member in the hope that the employee will grow into the position or hiring a fully trained and experienced non-Native. Neither choice is a good one as the first may contribute to a poorly managed program and the second fosters continued dependency on the non-Native community.

Recommendations to improve services provided to Native communities.

The recommendations that follow are not new. They are current expressions of historical proposals for change. In 1969 the Kennedy Report admonished the federal government for not following the recommendations put forth in the Meriam Associates Report of 1926. In 1991 many of the recommendations put forth by the Kennedy Report have not been acted upon and now lay dormant. The recommendations presented here have been gleaned from the reports and studies mentioned in this paper, and from the testimony of those who gathered before the INAR Task Force hearings. As with other recommendations they do not provide a detailed blueprint for change. Some were developed with full knowledge of the present statutory and bureaucratic limitations they would encounter; others were formulated innocent of those barriers. None should be discarded simply because of a failure to meet some present regulation or because they are presently deemed to be not fundable. All should be considered as expressions for change. I will add my thoughts as a Native American and as an administrator of Native education programs.

- OIE and OIEP must conduct basic research: There is a dire need for additional demographic data concerning adult American Indian and Alaska Natives. At present, the Indian Health Service, Bureau of Indian Affairs, the U.S. Department of Education, the U.S. Census

Bureau and other governmental agencies employ differing methods to collect and report data concerning adult Natives. Thus, it is doubtful that Native governments, federal officials or Congressional representatives have a clear understanding of the problems facing Native communities. Some of the best data exists at the local or tribal level. What is needed is a vehicle to bring the data together on a national scale. The data must include Native participation rates in state and federal Adult Basic Education, High School Completion and Vocational Training programs. The Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Department of Education and U.S. Department of Labor must develop standardized evaluation instruments that reveal participant numbers as well as the success and the failure rate of adult Natives enrolled in their programs. Data collection and presentation must be standardized and the results made easily accessible to Native communities. Native governments, communities and organizations must not be left out of this process, but included in the development of common definitions as to who is a Native, who is a dropout, who is a graduate. A consensus must be arrived at as to what program evaluation and data collection methods are to be employed. And, perhaps most importantly, Native communities must be included in the proper use of the data. They must be included in the decision-making process that determines whether or not demographic data will be used to close down old programs or to enact new legislation.

- Indian Priority System: The Congress must change the Indian Priority System (IPS). The IPS fails to provide Native governments with meaningful input into BIA proposed Native program budgets, and this contributes to an erosion of the base budgets of many Native governments. Native governmental representatives charge that the priority system has allowed the BIA to subvert the intent of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. The Act, which authorized the reorganization of Native governments, also promised Native governments the opportunity to comment on proposed Native program budgets prior to their inclusion in the President's Budget and submission to Congress. The promise was never kept. To compensate the BIA developed the IPS to allow Native input into the budget process. In theory, the IPS requires the BIA to develop appropriation budgets based on the expressed program priorities of Native governments. Native leaders charge that in reality neither the proposed Bureau budgets nor Congressional allocations reflect Native priorities. A 1989 BIA report states that many Native communities believe that participating in the IPS is tantamount to participating or assisting in their own destruction (Minneapolis Area Agency IPS Review (Draft) Report). The report contends that communities hold this belief because they mistrust the actions of the Area and Central office. The report documents an example under IPS where a community established an Outdoor Recreational Management Program as a high priority and budgeted $45,500 to the program. To further enhance the program, the tribe added $50,500 from its Higher Education Program raising the total program budget to $96,000. A year later the tribe was informed that the Recreational Program had been removed from the IPS and that the community's base budget had been reduced by $96,000. Other communities have experienced similar reductions to their base funding when such programs as Housing Improvement Program, Self-Determination Grants, Roads Maintenance and Fisheries Management were taken off the IPS. The elimination or reduction of program funding is often taken, according to the report, with no advance warning to a community nor an explanation from the Central Office. The result is an erosion of tribal base budgets. The report surmises that such actions convince many tribes not to participate in the process as it is better to lose a little (through appropriation reductions) than to lose large amounts to programs taken off the IPS.

In 1989 the BIA began a review of IPS in accordance with Public Law 100-472 (Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act Amendments of 1988). The review was conducted through regional teams made up of tribal representatives and BIA staff from Agency and Area offices. Each team met and identified problems within the system and forwarded recommendations for change to the Central Office. The regional reports were assembled at the Central office and compiled into one report. The consolidated report was to be provided to Congress with recommendations for change. As of yet no change to the IPS has occurred either at the Central office or community level.

- Development of Model Programs: The Kennedy Report clearly cited the need for identification of model adult education programs. The recommendation has been repeated, in recent times, by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, the National Indian Education Council, the National Indian Adult Education Association and a host of other concerned organizations and associations. Funds have been made available to pilot, evaluate and disseminate effective adult education programs through the Indian Education Act. To date, no effective program has been widely disseminated.

It is recommended that OIE develop and release a guide outlining the basic components of a standard adult education program. The guide must include funding sources, recruitment techniques, curriculum selection, instructional techniques and evaluation methods. The guide should be sent to those communities that fail to garner enough points on their Subpart 3 proposals. In addition, the Resource and Evaluation Centers should target a number of these communities each year to provide technical assistance in such areas as need assessments, program designs and evaluation methods. The next step would be for OIE to develop evaluation standards to identify effective Native adult education programs. Once identified, a detailed summary of those programs would be disseminated to Native communities.

- Increased technical assistance to Native communities: A major criticism of the discretionary grant process is that the majority of the awards continually go to communities most able to employ or contract with effective grant writers. This leaves communities who have great need but lack the resources to hire grant writers unable to compete. The inequity could be addressed if ED, OIE and BIA would provide these communities the technical assistance needed to complete a competitive application. Currently there is some attempt to provide such assistance through consultants hired by the Special Programs Branch of the Office of Adult and Vocational Education Programs, and by staff members of the Resource and Evaluation Centers under contract with OIE. These efforts, however, have proved ineffective. Neither agency provides little more than handouts and brief workshops on how to develop competitive proposals.

Increased funds to tribal education departments would allow more Native communities to hire staff with the skills to assess community needs and translate those needs into a competitive proposal. An alternative method would be to increase the amount of technical assistance provided to these communities by the BIA, ED and the Resource and Evaluation Centers.

- Support for Tribal Education Departments: Section 1142 (a) of the Indian Education Act provides for the funding of Tribal Education Departments. The section has never been funded. Adequate funds must be devoted to this section of the law. Tribal education departments benefit Native communities by allowing for the centralization of all education programs within one office. Adequately funded departments are able to employ program administrators, program development staff and grant writers. Fully staffed departments can assess and translate the needs of their communities into education and training programs. Such fully functioning education department allow Native communities to contract with the BIA for educational programs, to compete for state and federal discretionary programs, and to provide community control over tribal education programs. Perhaps most importantly, tribal education departments offer a place for community residents to bring their hopes and fears concerning their educational future and the future of their sons and daughters. Such funding must not be limited to communities that operate contract or BIA schools but to all communities as 80 percent of the Native children attending school attend public schools.

- BIA be required to match the Carl D. Perkins Adult Education and Vocational Act Indian set-aside: Since 1977 Native communities and organizations have lost more than $100 million in vocational education funds resulting from the BIA's continual refusal to match funds appropriated under the Carl D. Perkins Act Indian set-aside program. As previously stated, the funds would have done much to improve the funding opportunities for a large number of Native communities and organizations. The Congress should either force the BIA to comply with the law or strike the provision from the Act, and replace it with another source of funding.

- Provisions for funding of Native programs within the Adult Education Act and the Carl D. Perkins Vocational Education Act: The recent reauthorization of both Acts did not require states to identify or address the adult education or vocational needs of Native communities in the development of their state plans. States do not generally fund Native community education programs as such programs usually lack LEA status. It is recommended that each state be required to determine the level of need present within their Native communities and detail how that state plans to service the need. Such determinations would reveal the disparity between services afforded to Native communities versus those services provided to non-Native communities. A comparison of the range and character of that disparity could be used to target additional programs and funds to Native communities.
- Subpart 1 of the IEA: The current direction of IEA formula grant program has to be rethought. The basic purpose of the Act was two fold: (1) to provide public school districts with additional funding to develop programs to meet the special educational needs of Native children and (2) to include Native parents in the planning, development and maintenance of these special programs. To a moderate degree the Act has accomplished those goals. Public school districts have implemented some effective programs and Native parents have taken part in that process. The true extent of the impact of the Act, however, is undetermined. The United States Department of Education has never permitted OIE to assess the impact of the formula grant program. Overall program evaluation is either based on reports developed by LEAs or from quick and infrequent site visits conducted by OIE staff. This has allowed public school administrators to shape and control the debate concerning the effectiveness of their programs. As a result, the IEA formula grant program has not undergone any significant modification since it was enacted in 1973.

Current legislation prevents Native governments from officially participating in the decision-making process of the formula programs. As a result, school district officials compete with lay parents to set the LEA's special program agenda. The competition is unfair. Native parents are often intimidated by the professionalism of LEA staff and fail to challenge or alter programs established by the school district. Parent committees are wholly dependent on the LEA to explain the rules and regulations governing the formula grant program. Such intimidation and dependency forces most committees to surrender their decision-making authority to the school district's perception of the education needs of the Native community. Parent committees within such environments often become non-players in the design, development and evaluation of formula programs.

Any recommendation for change must be based on the achievements of the IEA. Current data reveals that while the IEA formula grant program is not an outright failure, it has not lived up to the expectations of its designers. Native children still suffer the highest dropout rate of any American ethnic group. In comparison to other populations, Native people suffer some of the highest unemployment rates and lowest living conditions. If the IEA was designed eighteen years ago to lessen these conditions, it has failed. Change must occur.

The IEA should be amended to allow one or some combination of the following: allow Native governments that reside within a school district the first opportunity to contract for IEA formula grant funding or expand the Parent Committee membership to include Native governmental representatives.

Allowing Native communities to contract IEA formula grant programs would be in the spirit of Indian Self-Determination. It would provide Native governments with another resource to combat the educational problems within their communities. Tribal education departments could be expanded; additional funds could be used hire education counselors, tutors, and administrators. Strengthened education departments would be more able to contract BIA education programs and compete for discretionary education grants. All of this would allow Native governments to better promote the value of education to Native students, parents and families — making Native communities less dependent on outside agencies to resolve their internal problems. The change would not drastically alter IEA services. Parent committees would retain their authority to take part in program selection and development, most of IEA services would continue to be conducted during the school day and within a classroom, and school districts with significant Native populations but lacking the residence of a Native government would continue to contract the formula grant program.

If the above recommendation is not acted upon, then IEA Parent Committee eligibility requirements must be expanded to allow Native governmental designates to become voting members. The current system requires input only from Native parents not the Native community. Adding tribal designates would enhance communications between LEAs and Native governments. As a result, the LEA would be confronted, in many cases, with a professional Native educator or administrator fully able to understand the possibilities and limitations of the formula grant program. The change would add a needed check and balance to the formula grant program.

- Subpart 3 of the IEA: To fully implement the goals of Subpart 3 of the IEA, additional funding is required, the discretionary award process must be reorganized, literacy programs must be expanded, and additional technical assistance must be provided to Native communities seeking to establish adult education programs.

The current funding level has not adequately served the *expressed* needs of Native communities and organizations as evidenced by the number of quality applications turned down each year because of a lack of funding. However, the amount of the increase cannot be determined until ED conducts research to define the width and breadth of the need for adult education programs. Recommendations that simply propose doubling or tripling Subpart 3 appropriations are welcomed, but they lack the support of need-based research and probably will not be accepted by OMB or Congress.

OIE should set aside discretionary funds to establish literacy programs. The targeted funds would provide for the establishment of low level reading and writing instructional programs. The set-aside is needed because the current systems has produced few if any IEA literacy programs.

The discretionary award process must be reviewed. In theory the current process, administered by OIE and overseen by the National Advisory Council on Indian Education, provides a statistically objective method to award grants to the best proposals. In actuality, however, the process breaks down as OIE has never been able to attract enough qualified Native readers and, at times, has failed to follow its own rules and regulations regarding the scoring method and number of readers per panel. The reading process at OIE is no different than the process required by other ED discretionary programs which probably draw the same criticism. Therefore, it is recommended that OIE simply monitor the process closer to assure reader competency and scoring objectivity. A grievance process should be added for applicants who feel they lost the competition unfairly. Applications that fail to garner enough points to gain funding should be returned to applicants with the Reader's scores and comments. The Resource and Evaluation Centers should provide such applicants with technical assistance to strengthen their grant writing abilities.

- Support to Tribal community colleges and vocational institutions: The Adult Education Act and the Carl D. Perkins Act should be amended to include formula funding to Native colleges and vocational institutions. States should also be encouraged to develop supportive systems that would enable Native colleges and training centers to stabilize their funding base along side other state institutions.
- The United States Department of Labor, ED, OIE, OIEP, and other federal and state agencies must join forces with Native governments to enhance the economies of Native communities: It is clear that adult education and training programs function best when they are tied to expanding or stable economies. It is equally clear that such programs often fail when forced to operate in a depressed or failing economy. Employed graduates make the best recruiters; unemployed graduates spread the word that the program is a failure.

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A Concluding Prospectus on Change and Development for Native Education

David Beaulieu

Introduction

The education of American Indians and Alaska Natives is predominantly undertaken by state controlled and operated public school districts. With 90 percent of all Native students attending state public schools, with a large number, 30 percent, attending state public schools in large metropolitan areas, significant efforts at improving Native education must focus on state governance and control and on the issue of change and development as a public school distinct concern.

State public schools operate within the context of state law and rules and a statewide structure of governance including local involvement. This context provides standards and criteria which determine the outside limits of what is perceived possible and how the process of change through state governance and local control must take place. This context of governance and control also provides the primary arena, given the number of students involved, in which federal efforts to improve the educational situation and status and to meet the needs of Native learners have been undertaken. Change and reform in Native education must reflect an assessment of the impact such standards and criteria have on the ability of existing federal efforts in Native education to accomplish their purposes and improve the overall education status of American Indians and Alaska Natives. The ability of public schools to meet the needs of Native learners and to effectively respond to the challenges presented by their current education status and situation ultimately must focus change on the social, curricular, and instructional environment of schools as institutions of learning.

Contemporary Native education represents a complex amalgamation of programs and schools which exist within or adjacent to state public school districts. This complexity has many features and characteristics important to change and development in Native education.

There exists three government entities involved in the education of Natives. These entities are state, federal, and tribal governments. Each government entity directly governs and controls schools for Native learners. Private non-profit cooperations organized under state laws are also important for the operation of schools for Natives.

In each type of direct school governance, federal, state, and/or tribal governments, have unique and distinct relationships to the school. The tangle of regulatory, contractual, financial resources, monitoring control and advisory input involved in the relationship between federal, state, and tribal governments in the operation of any one of these various types of school situations is extensive.

All Native education programmatic efforts recognize the unique educational and culturally related academic needs of Native learners and require a formal needs assessment and parental advisory input into the development and implementation of programmatic ideas. Federal Impact Aid also requires tribal and parental advisory input into the expenditure of funds.

Native education programmatic efforts must be developed so as to not supplant the purposes of other programs or the efforts of the school district to provide for the education of American Natives and Alaska Native.

Native students as consumers will utilize all types of school situations (state, tribal, federal, private non-profit) at various times in their life and for various reasons deemed important to them and their parents where opportunity and access enable viable choices.

The purpose of this paper is to propose a series of strategies for the improvement of Native education. Proposals for change and reform in Native education have, for the most part, focused on the assessment and endorsement of specific programmatic approaches and options deemed excellent or appropriate. Less attention has been paid, at the expense of implementing good ideas, to the process and mechanism of change at the level that such change must occur. Good ideas in Native education abound but have little institutional support. Indeed, good ideas and effective approaches are often discouraged or isolated and have little or no influence on curriculum or instructional practice within the school as a whole. Native education must focus on the issue of change and development as a distinct and specific concern.

This paper attempts to describe strategies which will enable or compel school districts to accurately determine and define the actual needs of Native students enrolled in a particular school district and to respond in a comprehensive and creative manner to meeting these needs. These strategies which focus on the nature of change and development involve a primary consideration of the nature of governance and control and the information and decision making needs of schools and school districts.

These strategies are based on a number of assumptions which follow.

- The most important description of Native student needs are those descriptions which are accurate, comprehensive, and locally based.
- Native student needs and interests, as well as community social and educational needs, must be directly determined.
- In order for schools and school districts to respond, Native student and community needs must be effectively and directly translated into programmatic ideas and objectives locally conceived or deemed valuable.
- Not all Native learners will respond to any given approach or set of options in the same way or at the same time.
- A diversity of approaches or options systematically organized to maximize utilization and choice by students is better than a singular option.
- Solutions offered for improving Native education can not be perceived as terminal ideas no matter how well they work elsewhere.
- Approaches and options must be conceived or adopted locally, based on the real needs and circumstances at hand. They must be allowed to develop overtime if they are to be responsive and effective.
- The goal of reform and change should not be perceived as the ultimate accomplishment of any particular approach or option, but the constant enabling of change, development or enhancement. This will challenge, not only how school districts and schools think about and respond to Native student needs, but will require a general restructuring, to broadly enable schools and school districts to be responsive and effective.
- In school districts with Native learners this necessary broadly based change, though initiated in the interests of Native learners, should have positive effects on the ability of these systems to generally define and respond to the needs of local constituents.

Definition of Problem

Despite significant investment in Native education grant programs, school districts continue to affect and impact the educational performance of Native students in ways which suggest that public school systems, as educational institutions, are not functional for Native learners. A general overview of grant proposals for Native education submitted by public school districts suggests a major reason why, after 20 years of focusing on the educational needs of American Indians and Alaska Natives, the essential status and situation of Native education remains unchanged. Despite the excellence and creativity of grant programs for Native education, these programs are almost without exception justified in terms of what is wrong with the public school system submitting the proposal. In other words, our best and most creative ideas for improving Native education are ultimately dependent on the continuing failure of public school systems.

The institutionalization of this phenomenon creates a system whereby Native education grant programs, which accurately and directly describe the needs of Native children, proposing ideas and programs to meet these needs, are formally defined in competition with the predominant curriculum and instructional program of the public schools. Despite the implementation of Native education programmatic efforts, the curriculum and instructional programs of the school remains intact.

There exist a general inability of school districts to sustain innovation and change. In a system-wide evaluation of the Minneapolis Public Schools regarding the education of Native learners it was noted that throughout the district there existed many fine examples of individual initiatives by teachers, principals and parents. These efforts, however, were not substantially included in the policies and practices of the district and, therefore, are nor replicated throughout the system. The report determined that examples of excellence in Native education are the results of personal initiatives rather than district-wide leadership.

The report emphasized that the best examples of what may be actually working are threatened and vulnerable. "The district on a policy level does not aggressively recruit Native professionals, develop a relationship with the community nor show continuity in its program efforts for Native students. We all know that no single panacea exits that will improve education for Native children. However, we do know what ingredients will likely raise the probability that it will succeed. These ingredients are a positive relationship with parents and community; a curriculum that integrates culture in content and teaching methodology; Native role models as teachers; administrators and support staff; a supportive and personal environment; high expectations that teach difficult work at each grade level; and access to better opportunities."

Functioning as small additions to the principal curriculum and instructional program, Native education grant programs are isolated and viewed as singularly vital to Native education. Yet it is the predominant curriculum and instructional program, indeed the entire school arena, which must be affected if progress is to be made in meeting the needs of Native learners. One might argue that the current existence of Native education grant programs at the boundary of the schools curriculum and instructional programs makes it less likely that change will occur in the best interest of Native students within the school district as a whole.

Our historic reliance on Native education grant programs in state public schools to respond to the needs of Native learners and meet the challenges presented by their educational situation and status has created a predictable view that financial resources available for Native education are very limited.

Such a perception is not accurate. Financial resources available for the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives not only include Native education grant dollars, but the total amount of state revenue available on the same basis as to all students, as well as a significant number of categorical grants from federal and State governments such as those available for special education or for compensatory education. In Minnesota additional state aid is given to school districts with a concentration of students in families receiving AFDC on the assumption that more revenue is necessary to educate children from poor families. When one considers the social, economic and educational characteristics of Native learners, the actual amount of revenue directly "available" for the education of Native learners is very high.

The resources question for Native education in public school districts is not a question of amount, but a question of whether the resources generated by the characteristics of Native learners are actually being spent on these specific learners and whether these resources are organized in complimentary programmatic approaches which are effective and meaningful for specific Native learners.

The role of Native social and cultural uniqueness in education is not solely a curriculum issue resolved by making the content of the curriculum more sensitive or appropriate for Native learners. Nor is the uniqueness of Native learners an issue which can be compartmentalized out of context with what goes on in schools. The entire school society, which is controlled and determined by the district's various policies and procedures, the manner whereby instruction is offered, and the style of pupil and staff interaction affect and impact upon the ability of the school to be functional with students having unique social and cultural backgrounds.

The rules and expectations for student behavior on the part of schools must be congruent with the dispositions for behavior on the part of students within the school setting in order for learning to occur. This proposition, as offered by Getzel in the Handbook of Social Psychology, suggests that theoretically in cross cultural situations there exists two basic strategies for creating a functional learning environment; change the child or change the school.

Attempts to approach the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives, or to address the improvement of current approaches through efforts to change the child or to make the child more appropriate or suitable for learning have failed terribly. These approaches lay at the heart of the assimilationist approach to Native education now deemed as a national policy to be officially undesirable through the proclamation that Natives have unique academic and culturally related education needs. These approaches also set the seeds for negative self-concepts and lower self-esteem on the part of the learner as a person.

A rejection of the "change the child" approach does not, however, reject the vital role of schools as institutions cooperatively participating in the healthy growth and development and socialization of Native children. This role, however, must recognize and respond to the unique character and nature of Native children as they are. Growth and development and socialization must occur connected to the child within the themes and currents which are real to the child socially and culturally.

Curriculum theory has presented a great variety of models on how curriculum is to be developed. Whether one accepts a narrow view which suggests that curriculum represents only content of instruction or the broad view that curriculum represents all planned and informal interactions which occur within the school, all models ultimately describe three sources of curriculum. These include the needs and interests of learners, the needs of society, and available knowledge.

Social and cultural differences should have a significant impact on curriculum if we were to actually apply curriculum development models. The social and cultural uniqueness and diversity of Native learners should correspond to unique and various statements of needs and interests. Tribal governments, societies and Native communities have distinctive needs which define unique statements regarding the purposes and goals for education. The knowledge and information heritage incumbent within the culture and experience of tribal societies and Native communities within America provide a unique and diverse foundation heretofore unavailable for instruction.

If we are to create, change, or develop schools to become effective institutions of learning for Native learners, schools must directly and comprehensively determine the actual needs and interests of learners, the social and community needs to be addressed by education, and make available for instruction the necessary knowledge.

Though these arguments seem reasonable and logical on the surface, schools and school districts rarely go about the business of directly creating their own curriculum and instructional programs. These institutions do not have the internal information gathering and decision making structures which enable them to directly plan and develop their own educational programs. The processes which determine the needs and interests of learners, the needs of society, and which makes knowledge available for instruction are processes which are handled at a significant distance from affected learners, their communities, and outside the context of school.

Decisions related to composition of the educational program are not based upon assessments of actual needs and circumstances, but on assumptions based upon tradition, social and cultural familiarity, and an increasingly generalized nonspecific sense of student and social needs.

Because Native programmatic efforts focus the development of their approaches at one or more of these sources, these efforts can become a mechanism for the development of the school for Native learners by linking such development to the sources of curriculum.

What is true about Native education grant programs within state public school districts is also true in a functional sense about the role of Native operated and controlled schools within any local region of state public school districts. These Native operated and controlled schools, despite the creativity and innovation of their approaches, have not had an influence on change in instructional and curricular practices in regional state public school districts. These schools function like their programmatic counterparts in schools to make it less likely that change will occur within state public schools. Currently, state public school districts are less likely to feel the need to respond to the needs of Native students directly because of Native operated schools.

In many regards, this situation is the outgrowth of the unique recent history of Native education where ideas and approaches have competed on a fundamental terminal (either this or that) level. For example, many tribally operated schools can trace their origin to the significant conflict of a local Johnson O'Malley Parent Committee within the school district often including a formal student and parent boycott of the school district. Efforts to reform state public school districts have competed in a fundamental sense with the development and survival of tribally operated schools. Opportunities to cooperate in a fashion that would benefit the ability of both types of schools to meet, in a more comprehensive manner, the needs of all Native students in the region have long been avoided.

The creation of Native alternative schools, primarily in urban areas, developed under the label of 'survival' schools. Such a label defined a sense of mission which was to educate those Native students the public schools had abandoned. These schools saw themselves as educating a Native student as the student's school of last resort. Predictably the fundamental basis for operating a survival school would disappear if an urban public school did not abandon Native students. Also, communication and cooperation seemed unnecessary when the criteria of failure was viewed as a sort of admission requirement to a Native survival school.

Over the years these types of schools have developed more comprehensive approaches to the education of Native student's needs. Nonetheless, the basic themes affecting the development of the schools generally as well as those affecting Native programmatic efforts in state public schools has caused overall improvement and development in Native education to run its course. The result has been an important and significant variety of schools and programmatic approaches isolated and uncoordinated from each other, unable to influence change and development within state public schools or to collectively impact the overall status of Native education.

Though Native controlled and operated schools have developed comprehensive elementary and secondary educational programs, they do not serve the majority of Native students in comparison to their state public school counterparts and lack the variety of course offerings many students need or desire. They are also charged, given the characteristics of Native student transfers from state public school districts, to educate those Native students often most in need with significantly less resources than their state public school counterparts.

Framework for Change

If we are serious about meeting the challenges of Native education and of reforming public education to meet the needs of Native learners, we must align all of the school system resources and programs in the interests of meeting the needs of Native learners and not depend solely on special grant programs to do the job. Native education must become a central concern for district-wide planning and development and what is "public" about public education must more directly and effectively involve affected constituents in actual planning and decision making. Formal and informal evaluations and accreditation reviews of school districts must focus on specific Native education needs and the relationship of all resources, policies and practices on meeting Native student needs and enabling achievement.

Existing accreditation efforts utilized by most public schools, such as, the North Central Accreditation process of review, have failed to specifically look at the system-wide impact of school district policies, procedures, its curriculum and instructional program quality of teaching staff, etc. on the needs and performance of Native children. If traditional accreditation reviews of public schools focused on evaluation of instructional programs, policies and procedures, student support services, teaching resources, etc. in relation to the needs of Native learners and their communities, most public schools could not be accredited.

Our new sense of mission and purpose regarding Native education and the role of grant programs must call upon public schools to assess the actual needs of Native students in their schools and to organize the entire school program to meet these needs. Native education must become a vehicle for initiating change and causing reform.

There is no reason why a school district which has had a particular Native education program providing direct services for a period of time should not recognize the need for the program and pick it up from local school district revenue sources. There is no reason why the effective strategies developed by Native education grant programs or modeled in Native schools should not be adopted by the school district. Certainly the extent to which school districts improve attendance and retention rates is the extent to which these districts receive increased state revenue. One could argue, if revenue were the only criteria, that effective strategies could pay for themselves if revenue is increased beyond the point needed to maintain direct services district-wide.

There must be a mechanism in place that requires and enables a public school system to access its failures, determine needs and to change programs, policies, and practices in the interest of Native students.

The fragmented and uncoordinated nature of contemporary Native education, the isolation of programmatic efforts within schools and school districts and of Native operated schools from school districts, affects our ability to respond comprehensively to the needs of Native students and to generate a dynamic for positive and effective change.

Continued change and development in Native education will require a broad perspective. Our objective must be raised above the current limiting and diminishing type of competition, between Native education programs and schools with the predominant state public school system. Some way must be developed to incorporate all the diversity and resources into a systematic regional approach to the education of Native students which enables viable diverse choices for Native students and which compels the desire to be responsive to the needs of Native students. We must develop a system for the public education of Native students in any particular region which makes sense to the education of all American Natives within the region. The challenge is to put the pieces together in such a way that maintains diversity, enables improvement and development within schools, and allows for creativity and innovation. Given this broad approach, the following objectives seem apparent, given the existing features and characteristics of Native education.

1. Schools and school districts must respond in a comprehensive manner to the educational needs of Native learners.
2. Native controlled and/or operated schools must receive equitable funding, whereby, they receive the same funding upon the

same basis for the same type of students as state public schools.

3. Native students should be enabled to maximize utilization of schools and programmatic options available to Natives specifically or to all students within a region irrelevant of the type of school (state, tribal or federal) in which the student is enrolled.
4. Schools must maximize locally based creativity and innovation in the development, dissemination, and incorporation of curriculum and instructional strategies within a region.

Strategies and Initiatives

The following strategies and initiatives are proposed so as to enable and require school districts to respond in a comprehensive manner to the needs of Native learners. Ideas to cause school districts to respond, in a comprehensive manner, to the needs of Native students include expanding the role of the parent committees, increasing parent and community involvement, and requiring the development of district-wide comprehensive Native education plans.

Currently, every Native education grant program requires a needs assessment and parent and community involvement in the development of projects and their implementation. The role of Native parent advisory committees, established for the purposes of Native education programmatic efforts should be expanded to include advisory input on all aspects of school district programs, policies, and procedures. These committees should be consulted on all formal planning requirements of a school district as representing Native parent and community input.

Native parent advisory committees must insure the maximum involvement of Native parents and community members in school district planning and development rather than becoming sole representatives of parental involvement. Native parent committees must become a vehicle through which Native parents and community members become involved in providing advise. Broadly based comprehensive needs assessment establishing priorities (rather than survey endorsements of specific programmatic approaches) and public meetings on non- proposal related topics, would increase and broaden the definition and description of needs that Native parent committees are required to represent in all planning and development activities.

School districts should be required to develop a comprehensive long-range Plan for the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. These plans would establish district-wide goals and objectives for the education of American Natives establishing specific milestones for improvement. These district-wide plans should encompass the entire scope of school district programs, policies and procedures, and identify how *all* resources will be organized to accomplish the plan.

These comprehensive district-wide Native education plans would identify the specific role of Native education programmatic efforts within the total scope of efforts to meet the needs of Native students. They would enable a school district to be held accountable to specific objectives, to evaluate the strategies used and to readjust approaches. These plans should be developed by school districts with the involvement and endorsement of Native parents and community members.

There are a number of ways in which these ideas can be accomplished. In Minnesota these ideas have been approached through state legislation. This legislation has required establishment of Native parent advisory committees to maximize Native parent involvement and input in all aspects of school district programs, policies, and procedures. Significant progress will occur in the ability of school districts to respond to the needs of Native students when state governments take an active progressive role with regard to Native education. There are a number of ways in which the federal government can accomplish these ideas and the purposes underlying them directly within a school district or generally encourage the involvement of states.

The federal strategy involves directly requiring these initiatives and broadening the scope and coordination of federal involvement with Native education in a state public school districts. All federal categorical programs and not just Native education efforts can be amended to include a recognition of the unique academic and culturally related education needs of American Natives. Within the context of these programs, school districts can be required to describe how the purposes of these programs will address the needs of Native learners. All federal categorical programs can require documentation of a Native needs assessment and Native parent involvement and input.

As a requirement for participation of a school district in all federal programs or as a requirement for each specific federal program, a school district can be required to develop a comprehensive district-wide plan for the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. These plans can describe the comprehensive interaction of all federal programs in meeting the needs of Native learners and improving their educational status.

Federal education efforts administered through state government, which require a statewide plan such as Adult Education or the Block Grant Program, can be amended to include specific requirements to accomplish district-wide planning and development regarding Native education.

The federal government can require the development of a statewide plan for the education of Native learners tied to all federal sources of revenue within state public school districts. This plan could be conditional to varying degrees under certain circumstances on the participation of a state with federal programs, would document certain requirements important to Native parents, communities, and tribes such as how state public school districts will respond to the needs of Native learners and will utilize federal resources in the process. This statewide plan could mandate requirements to which all state public school districts must comply, such as district-wide plans or expanding parent involvement.

Native education programmatic efforts can be amended to require more comprehensive parent committee involvement and a justification of the proposal within the context of a district-wide effort to improve Native education. Within this context federal Native education programmatic efforts can be changed to take on a more long-term planning and development role. Long-term multi-year funding of a particular idea intended to be incorporated into the school district can be required before allowing the district to submit a proposal for a different idea.

An important change in policy affecting the ability of Natives to have input in state public school districts, in reservation areas, concerns federal Impact Aid. Federal Impact Aid could be incorporated into the idea of requiring a comprehensive school district plan for improving Native education. This would bring Impact Aid as operational dollars into the scope of a district-wide response to meeting the needs of Native learners in the same manner as intended for state revenue. A more radical position important to strategies and initiatives regarding Native choice and funding equity concerns a change in the view of what is Impact Aid. The current view is half a picture. This view says that Impact Aid is that revenue which makes up for the impact of tax exempt reservation lands within the territory of a state public school district. The other half of the picture can include the view that Impact Aid which involves trust status lands is directly tied into the federal and tribal government relationship and represents a unique form of tribal tax resource for education. This view could require, under certain conditions and standards, important to reservation-wide public education, more direct tribal government say so in the expenditure of the funds, and flexible allocation of these resources to tribal and other types of schools.

The following strategies and initiatives are proposed to enable effective and meaningful choices for American Natives students within a region of "public" education for American Natives.

Within Native reservation settings there exists an increasing diversity of schools; federal, tribal and state public schools. Native student enrollment within federal and tribal schools are drawn from state public schools in the region. This transfer of Native students is often not a one-way trip nor does it occur for the same reasons or for particular types of students. Because of the character of federal and tribal schools there exists a real choice for Native students, a choice in which the atmosphere of the school is or can be very different than that of a state public school. The isolation of federal and tribal schools in the region financially and programmatically causes many issues which affect the quality and diversity of curricular options for students attending federal and tribal schools and which cause state public schools to avoid improvements of its program quality and effectiveness.

We must improve the overall quality of education programs in tribal schools, enable equitable funding to all types of schools within the same area, allow for competition among schools for Native students, enable Native students to maximize the utilization of all types of schools and programs, and enable the development and dissemination of creative and innovative approaches to Native education.

Currently, when Native students attend tribal schools the overall quality of education within both tribal and state public schools declines. This is caused by the way these types of schools are funded and what occurs to the resources available for the public education of American Indians and Alaska Natives collectively within the region if a Native student transfers to a tribal school from a state public school.

Funding of tribal schools occurs on a per-pupil basis according to the number of eligible students present at a particular time. The amount available for an Native student's education is typically less than that available for the same student in the state public school. Also those Native students who transfer during the year to a tribal school are not provided any revenue for their public education from any source, federal or state.

The state public school is deprived of all the revenue it would have received for students who are at the tribal school and the revenue for students who transferred during the year. The tribal school does not get the difference between what it gets from the federal government and what the state would have provided for students enrolled in the Fall and the school gets nothing for students who transfer mid-year. Consequently, the overall quality and resources available for the public education of American Indians and Alaska Natives declines when an Native student exercises his/her choice.

In many reservation areas the revenue loss for state public schools is very significant. The transfer of Native students out of state public schools, for example, cannot only reduce the amount of Impact Aid available on a per-pupil basis, but change the rate as well. Added to these losses are the other losses of state foundation revenue and categorical aid. The amount is very significant, and the loss is not compensated in the funding of tribal schools. Not only is the overall quality of education lowered, but the ability to cooperate programmatically, share or purchase services, etc., is eliminated for the lack of funds.

If an equitable basis and means of funding tribal schools could be developed there would exist a means to purchase services from state public schools as desired. Such schools would then receive income based upon providing such activities or services. This would allow tribal schools to utilize the diversity of courses and activities in the area, to become more effective in the provision of the total array of special education services through the development of cooperative arrangements with state public schools. The ability of state public schools to be effective with Native students is enhanced when these schools compete, to provide services to meet the needs of Native students and to retain the enrollment of Native students through effective program development.

For example, in Minnesota an effort to change the rules for athletic competition has been made as a strategy for retaining Native student enrollment in state public schools. Native students enrolled in the state public schools in the Fond du Lac Reservation are allowed to play on the tribal school athletic teams and vice versa. There is also an idea to allow students attending the tribal schools to participate in the band, take a foreign language or advanced math courses in the state public school.

Ttribal schools, because of their experience in developing instruction and curricular strategies, can become an effective resource for state public schools. Tribal schools may be more effective in the proper assessment of specific education needs, but may not have the resources or programs to respond directly to these needs.

By changing the basis and means for funding tribal schools and enabling or promoting certain forms of regional cooperation, the capacity of all types of public education within the region to meet the needs of Native students is enhanced as is the overall quality and effectiveness of Native public education.

These ideas can be enhanced through efforts to "regionalize" reservation area federal and state and tribal public education through advancing tribal governments' political and legal involvement in public education.

Within many Native reservations throughout the United States, the jurisdiction of tribal governments and state public schools overlap. Currently, all forms of federal assistance related to Native education and Impact Aid require some form of Native advice on the expenditure of funds within state public schools. Significant issues exist over the viability of Native input into public school districts. As indicated, already there are significant issues related to the transfer of Native students between state and tribal schools affecting programmatic and financial issues.

In order to coordinate focused tribal governmental involvement in reservation Native education, a provision can be developed to either require or enable the development of a tribal government/state government (including those school districts within the scope of a tribal jurisdiction) education agreements. Such agreements if required of state government could place certain requirements upon state and state public school districts regarding the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Any number of specific items could be negotiated, including academic, athletic activities, specific education cooperation, etc.

Specific issues regarding how federal Impact Aid and other federal Categorical Aid is to be expended could be negotiated within certain limits important to the interests of tribal citizens. The required or enabled state/tribal government negotiation of these and other matters affecting the education of Native students within state public schools, or the relationships between various types of schools within a reservation area would be beneficial in a number of ways. Not only would a number of specifics be resolved, but Native education could be regionalized and stabilized in the interests of Native learners as previously indicated.

It is proposed that model regional Native Resource Centers within tribal schools be developed that would enable tribal schools to cooperate with public schools in the improvement of Native education. Tribal schools could serve as centers of expertise to cooperate under agreement with regional public schools to facilitate improved learning opportunity for Native children in public schools. Public schools could similarly cooperate with tribal schools to enhance certain education experiences for Native children.

Another strategy important to regionalizing the Native education and advancing tribal political and legal involvement in Native education within a region is to encourage the development of tribal codes and ordinances regarding education and to enable these standards and criteria to create an appropriate context of standards and criteria for the public education of tribal citizens within all types of schools.

A very significant need is to create an equitable funding formula for tribally operated schools so that these schools can have the same amount and type of resources as state public schools. There are two major forms of revenue which must be considered, state Foundation Revenue and federal Impact Aid. Given the current basis and means for funding tribally operated schools, these sources do not follow mid-year student transfers from public schools to tribal schools nor are they available to equalize differences in what is provided a tribal school with what should be provided a tribal school given state standards.

Two policy initiatives affecting the definition of these sources of revenue needs to be made. State revenue must become available to tribal schools without affecting the nature and character of tribal control of these schools. The proposition most likely to work is the view that state responsibility for the education of Native state citizens is not eliminated because a tribal government asserts its jurisdiction to operate a school. In such a situation, the state's responsibility can be defined as financial in character, the amount of which can be determined given the character of federal funding in comparison to state funding.

This proposition, which is the underlying foundation of Minnesota's state tribal School Equalization Act could be advanced by the federal government through legislation.

A second initiative regards changing the definition of federal Impact Aid so as to minimally make this source of revenue also available to equalize other federal sources of per pupil aid the same as intended with state revenue and to enhance the ability of tribal schools to utilize the aid available from Impact Aid for students who transfer. Another possibility is to write tribally operated schools and colleges into the Impact Aid law in such a way as to create equitable funding for these schools whereby Impact Aid is viewed as a sort of tribal education tax levy to be added to the funding of tribally operated schools as part of the overall revenue picture for such schools.

The situation within large urban and metropolitan school districts presents many of the same possibilities for creating a regional system for the public education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Missing in many urban areas is the central focus of a tribal school. Development of urban Native education must include, as a key component, the development of publicly funded Native schools so as to enable the same options and dynamics to occur as envisioned for reservation area public education. Within Minneapolis a number of proposals have been offered ranging from a separately established metro-wide Native controlled state public school district for Natives, a Native magnet school as part of a district desegregation effort, an Native target school focusing Native related programs and chartered schools for Natives.

A major hindrance to the development of these schools and, indeed, the ability of Native education programmatic efforts within the urban public school districts, is the implementation of the desegregation policy. The federal government can assist in the development of Native school options by formally asserting the unique political and legal status of American Indians and Alaska Natives and the unique academic and culturally related educational needs of American Indians and Alaska Natives.

A number of distinct possibilities exists. A few have been mentioned with regard to federal categorical aid and the development of an Native education long-range plan. Others require strategies to broaden the application of federal laws affecting Native education such as the recent act affecting native language to include urban public school districts with the same regard and style the federal government applies civil rights laws. Given that some urban public school districts have entered into Johnson O'Malley contracts with tribal governments, the federal government could also legislatively enable similar relationships in facilitating the development of Native schools within urban areas.

There is a broad need to review and strengthen the unique status of Native education within the overall discussion and concern for the education of minorities within the United States. We need to sharpen and enforce our sense of the "possible" in the construction of recommendations and options for improving the education of American Indians and Alaska Natives. Public education policy is strongly influenced by our vision of society and what it should become. A vision which does not incorporate an accurate sense of American Native and Alaska Native experience or history or the political legal realities of tribal government is not complete nor an accurate vision upon which to develop public policy considerations.

Public education policy is also strongly influenced by what is legally and politically possible. The political legal status of tribal government, the public policy thrust of the federal government and the existence of schools operated by tribal government under contract with the federal government provide a unique set of legal and political options available for the education of American Indian and Alaska Native children. Public education may fail Natives because it excludes from consideration *all* of the possible options which could be conceived or developed for improving Native education which emerge from a consideration of the legal and political "resources" uniquely available to American Indians and Alaska Natives.

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